

The Complete Works of

HERODIAN

(c. AD 170–c. 240)



Contents

The Translation

Roman History

The Greek Text

Contents of the Greek Text

The Dual Text

Dual Greek and English Text

The Biography

Introduction to Herodian by Edward C. Echols

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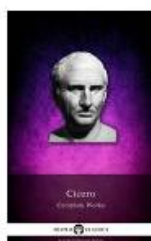
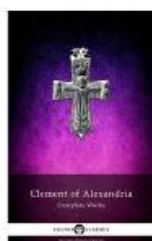
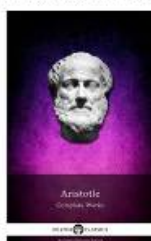
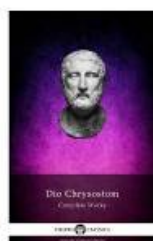


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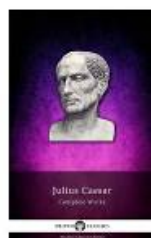
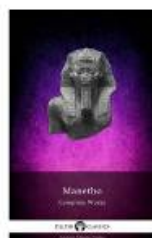
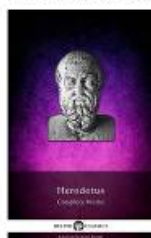
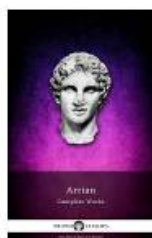
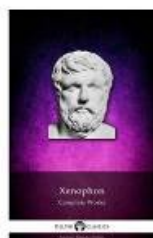
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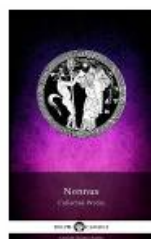
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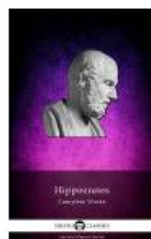
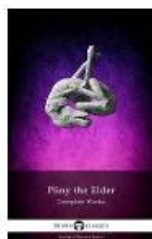
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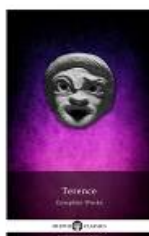
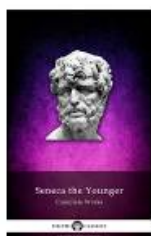
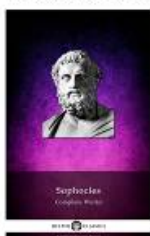
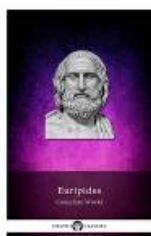
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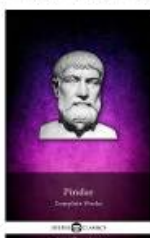
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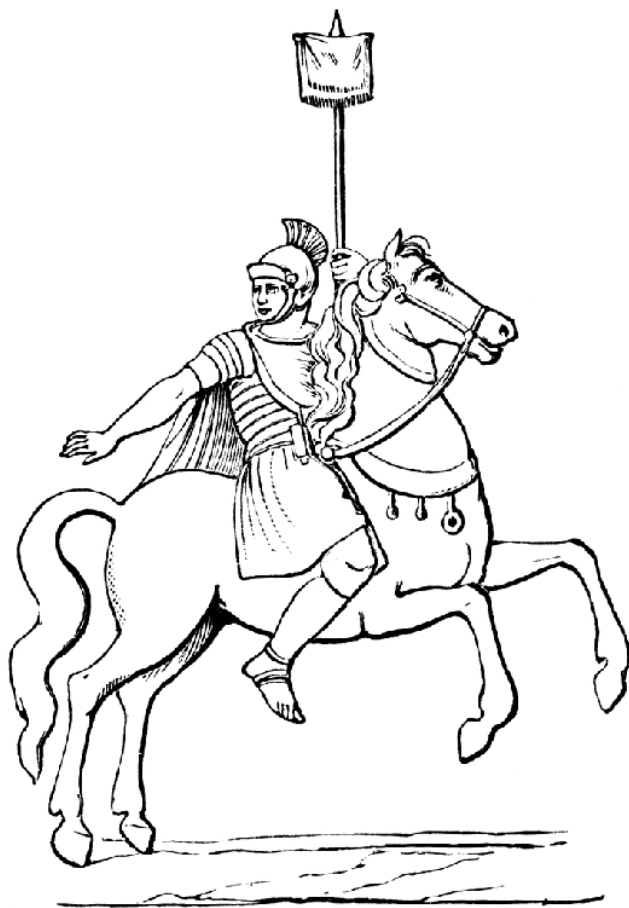


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The Complete Works of
HERODIAN OF ANTIOCH



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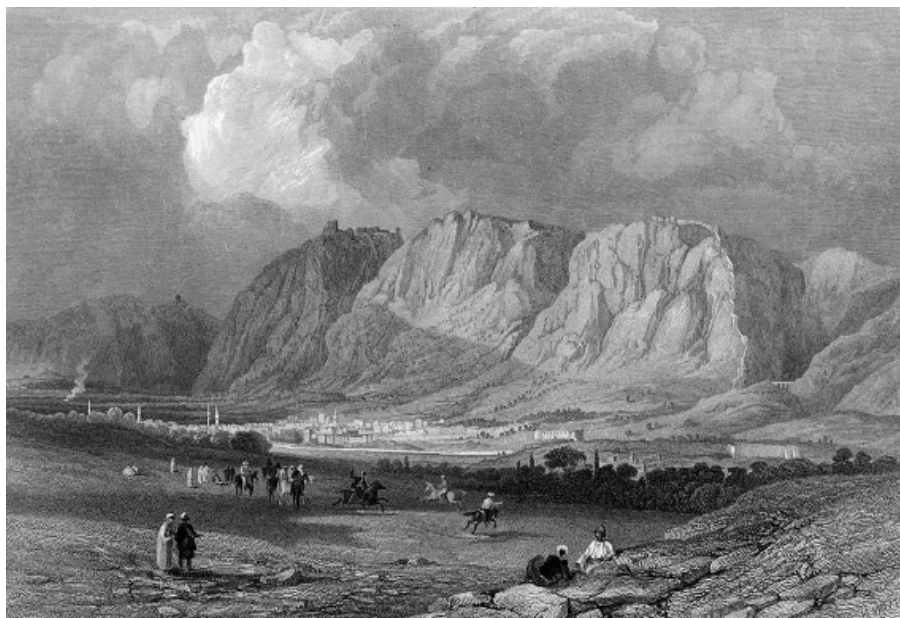
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The Translation



Ancient remains at Antioch, an ancient Greek city on the eastern side of the Orontes River, near the modern city of Antakya, Turkey — Herodian's assumed birthplace



Early nineteenth century depiction of Antioch

Roman History



Translated by Edward C. Echols, 1961

Transcribed by Roger Pearse, <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/>

Very little is known about the third century historian Herodian of Syria, sometimes referred to as “Herodian of Antioch” (c. 170 – c. 240). He was a minor Roman civil servant, who wrote a colourful history in Greek titled *History of the Empire from the Death of Marcus* (τῆς μετὰ Μάρκον βασιλείας ἱστορία) in eight books, concerning events from AD 180 to 238. Herodian was a Greek that lived for a lengthy period of time in Rome, though possibly without holding any public office. From his extant work, it appears that he was still living at an advanced age during the reign of Gordianus III, who ascended the throne in 238. Beyond this, nothing is known of his life. The ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople, Photius (Codex 99) gives an outline of the contents of Herodian’s *Roman History* and passes a flattering encomium of his style, which he describes as clear, vigorous, agreeable and preserving a happy medium between an utter disregard of art and elegance and a profuse employment of the artifices and ‘prettinesses’ that were known under the name of Atticism. Herodian appears to have used Thucydides as a model to some extent, both for style and for the general composition of his work, often introducing speeches wholly or at least in part imaginary.

His *Roman History* covers the period from the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 to the beginning of Gordian III’s reign in 238. It provides a first person account of one of the most politically diverse times of the Empire. The first book describes the reign of Commodus from 180 to 192, while the second book discusses the Year of the Five Emperors in 193. Book Three charts the reign of Septimius Severus from 193 to 211 and the fourth discusses the reign of Caracalla from 211 to 217. Book Five details the reign of Elagabalus from 218 through 222 and Book Six encompasses the reign of Severus Alexander from 222 to 235. Book Seven recounts the reign of Maximinus Thrax from 235 to 238 and the final book relates the Year of the Six Emperors in 238. It

appears that Herodian principally wrote for an eastern audience, as he often explains different Roman customs and beliefs that would have seemed foreign to Easterners.



Bust of Commodus from the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme — Commodus (161-192 AD) was Roman Emperor with his father Marcus Aurelius from 177 until his father's death in 180, and solely until 192. His reign is commonly considered to mark the end of the golden period in the history of the Roman Empire known as the Pax Romana. The first book of Herodian's 'Roman History' concerns the reign of Commodus.

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Bust of Gordian III (225–244 AD) was Roman Emperor from 238 AD to 244 AD. At the age of 13, he became the youngest sole legal Roman emperor throughout the existence of the united Roman Empire.

TO MY WIFE

MARY VIRGINIA HATHAWAY ECHOLS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I AM grateful to Dr. Linton C. Stevens, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Alabama, for helpful criticism in regard to style and clarity. I have also to thank Professor Mason Hammond of Harvard University for his encouragement. And I wish to express my appreciation to Miss Genevieve Rogers, of the University of California Press, who assisted greatly in bringing the work to its final form.

The successful completion of this work owes much to the generous and sustained support of the University Research Committee of the University of Alabama. Grants-in-aid enabled me to give full time to the work of translation during two summers, and, even more important, made it possible for me to have access to a library with facilities adequate for the specialized requirements of this project.

For the shortcomings of the work I assume full responsibility.

EDWARD C. ECHOLS

BOOK I

I

1. THE majority of writers who have devoted themselves to compiling histories and to reviving the memory of past events have had in mind the eternal glory of learning. They feared too that if they remained silent they might be numbered among the countless hordes of the obscure. Such writers are little concerned with truth in their narratives, however, but pay particular attention to phrasing and euphony, since they are confident that even if their writings have no basis in fact, they will still win a hearing, and the accuracy of their research will not be challenged.

2. Indeed, some writers, because they abhor tyrants and wish to flatter or honor rulers, countries, and individuals, have lent sparkle to trivial and unimportant events by the brilliance of their words rather than by the clear light of truth. 3. Unwilling to accept from others hearsay evidence and unsubstantiated information, I have collected, in my history, material that is still fresh in the minds of my intended readers; nor do I think that knowledge of the many important events that occurred in a brief span of time will fail to bring pleasure to future readers. 4. If we were to compare this period with all the time that has elapsed since the Augustan Age, when the Roman Republic became an aristocracy, we would not find, in that span of almost two hundred years down to the time of Marcus Aurelius, imperial successions following so closely; the varied fortunes of war, both civil and foreign; the national uprisings and destructions of cities, both in the empire and in many barbarian lands. We would not find the earthquakes, the pollutions of the air, or the incredible careers of tyrants and emperors. 5. Some of these rulers retained their power for a long time; others more briefly. There were even some who, having attained the imperial power and enjoyed the imperial honors for no more than a single day, were immediately killed. Since, in a period of sixty years, the Roman imperial power was held by more emperors than would seem possible in so short a time, many strange and wonderful events took place. 6. The emperors who were advanced in years governed themselves and their subjects commendably, because of their greater practical experience, but the younger emperors lived recklessly and introduced many innovations. As might have been expected, the disparities in age and authority inevitably resulted in variations in imperial behavior. How each of these events occurred,

I shall now relate in detail, in order of time and emperors.

II

1. THE emperor Marcus Aurelius had a number of daughters but only two sons. One of them (his name was Verissimus) died very young; the surviving son, Commodus, his father reared with great care, summoning to Rome from all over the empire men renowned for learning in their own countries. 2. He paid these scholars large fees to live in Rome and supervise his son's education. When his daughters came of age, he married them to the most distinguished of the senators, selecting his sons-in-law not from the aristocrats, with their excessive pride in their ancestry, nor from the wealthy, with their protective shield of riches; he preferred men who were modest in manner and moderate in their way of life, for he considered these virtues to be the only fit and enduring possessions of the soul.

3. He was concerned with all aspects of excellence, and in his love of ancient literature he was second to no man, Roman or Greek; this is evident from all his sayings and writings which have come down to us.¹ 4. To his subjects he revealed himself as a mild and moderate emperor; he gave audience to those who asked for it and forbade his bodyguard to drive off those who happened to meet him. Alone of the emperors, he gave proof of his learning not by mere words or knowledge of philosophical doctrines but by his blameless character and temperate way of life. His reign thus produced a very large number of intelligent men, for subjects like to imitate the example set by their ruler.

5. Many capable men have already recorded the courageous and moderate enterprises, marked by both political and military excellence, which he undertook against the barbarian nations to the North and in the East; but the events which, after the death of Marcus, I saw and heard in my lifetime — things of which I had personal experience in my imperial or civil service — these I have recorded.

III

1. WHEN Marcus was an old man, exhausted not only by age but also by labors and cares, he suffered a serious illness while visiting the Pannonians.² When the emperor suspected that there was little hope of his recovery, and realized that his son would become emperor while still very young, he was afraid that the undisciplined youth, deprived of parental advice, might neglect his excellent studies and good habits and turn to drinking and debauchery (for the minds of the young, prone to pleasures, are turned very easily from the virtues of education) when he had absolute and unrestrained power. 2. This learned man was disturbed also by the memory of those who had become sole rulers in their youth. The Sicilian despot Dionysus, in his excessive licentiousness, had sought out new pleasures and paid the highest prices for them. The arrogance and violence of Alexander's successors against their subject peoples had brought disgrace upon his empire. 3. Ptolemy, too, contrary to the laws of the Macedonians and Greeks, went so far as to marry his own sister.³ Antigonus had imitated Dionysus in every way, even wearing a crown of ivy instead of the Macedonian hat or the diadem, and carrying the thyrsus instead of a scepter. 4. Marcus was even more distressed when he recalled events of recent date. Nero had capped his crimes by murdering his mother and had made himself ridiculous in the eyes of the people. The exploits of Domitian, as well, were marked by excessive savagery. 5. When he recalled such spectacles of despotism as these, he was apprehensive and anticipated evil events. Then, too, the Germans on the border gave him much cause for anxiety. He had not yet forced all these tribes to submit; some he had won to an alliance by persuasion; others he had conquered by force of arms. There were some who, although they had broken their pact with him, had returned to the alliance temporarily because of the fear occasioned by the presence of so great an emperor. He suspected that, contemptuous of his son's youth, they would launch an assault upon him; for the barbarian is ever eager to revolt on any pretext.

IV

1. TROUBLED by these thoughts, Marcus summoned his friends and kinsmen. Placing his son beside him and raising himself up a little on his couch, he began to speak to them as follows:

2. "That you are distressed to see me in this condition is hardly surprising. It is natural for men to pity the sufferings of their fellow men, and the misfortunes that occur before their very eyes arouse even greater compassion. I think, however, that an even stronger bond of affection exists between you and me; in return for the favors I have done you, I have a reasonable right to expect your reciprocal good will. 3. And now is the proper time for me to discover that not in vain have I showered honor and esteem upon you for so long, and for you to return the favor by showing that you are not unmindful of the benefits you have received from me. Here is my son, whom you yourselves have educated, approaching the prime of youth and, as it were, in need of pilots for the stormy seas ahead. I fear that he, tossed to and fro by his lack of knowledge of what he needs to know, may be dashed to pieces on the rocks of evil practices. 4. You, therefore, together take my place as his father, looking after him and giving him wise counsel. No amount of money is large enough to compensate for a tyrant's excesses, nor is the protection of his bodyguards enough to shield the ruler who does not possess the good will of his subjects. 5. The ruler who implants in the hearts of his subjects not fear resulting from cruelty, but love occasioned by kindness, is most likely to complete his reign safely. For it is not those who submit from necessity but those who are persuaded to obedience who continue to serve and to suffer without suspicion and without pretense of flattery. And they never rebel unless they are driven to it by violence and arrogance. 6. When a man holds absolute power, it is difficult for him to control his desires. But if you give my son proper advice in such matters and constantly remind him of what he has heard here, you will make him the best of emperors for yourselves and for all, and you will be paying the greatest tribute to my memory. Only in this way can you make my memory immortal."

7. At this point Marcus suffered a severe fainting spell and sank back on his couch, exhausted by weakness and worry. All who were present pitied him, and some cried out in their grief, unable to control themselves. After

living another night and day, Marcus died,⁴ leaving to men of his own time a legacy of regret; to future ages, an eternal memorial of excellence. 8. When the news of his death was made public, the whole army in Pannonia and the common people as well were grief-stricken; indeed, no one in the Roman empire received the report without weeping. All cried out in a swelling chorus, calling him “Kind Father,” “Noble Emperor,” “Brave General,” and “Wise, Moderate Ruler,” and every man spoke the truth.

V

1. DURING the next few days Commodus' advisers kept him busy with his father's funeral rites; then they thought it advisable to bring the youth into the camp to address the troops and, by distributing money to them — the usual practice of those who succeed to the throne — to win the support of the army.

2. Accordingly, all the soldiers were ordered to proceed to the assembly field to welcome them. After performing the imperial sacrifices, Commodus, surrounded by the advisers appointed by his father (and there were many learned men among them), mounted the high platform erected for him in the middle of the camp and spoke as follows:

3. "I am fully persuaded that you share in my grief over what has occurred, and that you are no less distressed by it than I ==At no time when my father was with me did I see fit to play the despot with you. He took greater delight, I am convinced, in calling me 'fellow soldier' than in calling me 'son,' for he considered the latter a title bestowed by Nature, the former, a partnership based on excellence. While I was still an infant he often brought me to you and placed me in your arms, a pledge of the trust he had in you. 4. And for that reason I have every hope that I shall enjoy your universal good will, since I am indebted to you old soldiers for rearing me, and I may properly call you young soldiers my fellow students in deeds of arms, for my father loved us all and taught us every good thing. 5. To follow him, Fortune has given the empire not to an adopted successor but to me. The prestige of those who reigned before me was increased by the empire, which they received as an additional honor, but I alone was born for you in the imperial palace. I never knew the touch of common cloth. The purple received me as I came forth into the world, and the sun shone down on me, man and emperor, at the same moment. 6. And if you consider the matter properly, you will honor me as an emperor born to you, not presented to you. Assuredly, my father has gone up to heaven, where he is already companion and counselor of the gods. But it is our task to devote ourselves to human affairs and to the administration of earthly matters. To set these affairs in order and make them secure is for you to undertake, if with resolute courage you would finish what is left of the war and carry forward to the northern seas⁵ the boundaries of the Roman empire. 7. These exploits will indeed bring you renown, and in this way you will pay

fitting respect to the memory of our mutual father. You may be sure that he hears and sees what we do. And we may count ourselves fortunate to have such a man as a witness when we do what has to be done. Up to now, all that you have courageously accomplished is attributable to his wisdom and his generalship. But now, whatever zeal you display in further exploits under me, your new emperor, will gain for you a reputation for praiseworthy loyalty and bravery. By these dauntless exploits you will confer upon us added dignity. 8. Crushed at the beginning of a new imperial reign, the barbarian will not be so bold to act at the present, scorning our youth, and will be cautious and fearful in the future, mindful of what he has suffered.”

After he had finished his speech, Commodus won the support of the army by a generous distribution of money and returned to the imperial quarters.

VI

1. THEN, for a short time, the emperor did everything as the advisers appointed by his father suggested. They were with him every day, giving him wise counsel; they allowed him only as much leisure as they thought necessary for the sensible care of his body. But some of his court companions interfered and tried to corrupt the character of the naive emperor. All the sycophants at his table, men who gauge their pleasure by their bellies and something a little lower, kept reminding him of the gay life at Rome, describing the delightful spectacles and musical shows and cataloguing the abundance of luxuries available there. They complained about wasting their time on the banks of the Danube, pointing out that the region was not productive in summer and that the fog and cold were unending. 2. "Master," they said again and again, "when will you stop drinking this icy liquid mud? In the meantime, others will be enjoying warm streams and cool streams, mists and fine air too, all of which only Italy possesses in abundance." By merely suggesting such delights to the youth, they whetted his appetite for a taste of pleasures. 3. And so he immediately summoned his advisers and informed them that he longed to see his native land. But, ashamed to admit the real reason for his sudden interest in returning, he pretended to be fearful that one of the wealthy aristocrats in Rome would seize the empire and, after raising an army and a rampart, take control of the empire, as if from an impregnable fortress. For the Roman populace was sufficiently large to supply numerous picked young men for such an army.

4. While the youth was alleging such specious excuses, the rest, sick at heart, kept their eyes fixed on the ground in dismay. But Pompeianus, the oldest of his advisers and a relation of the emperor by marriage (his wife was Commodus' oldest sister), said to him: "Child and master too, it is entirely reasonable for you to long to see your native land; we too are gripped by hunger to see those we left at home. 5. But more important and more urgent matters here put a curb on that yearning. For the rest of your life you will have the enjoyment of things at home; and for that matter, where the emperor is, Rome is. But to leave this war unfinished is both disgraceful and dangerous. That course would increase the barbarians' boldness; they will not believe that we long to return to our home, but will rather accuse us of a cowardly retreat.

6. After you have conquered all these barbarians and extended the boundaries of the empire to the northern seas, it will be glorious for you to return home to celebrate your triumph, leading as fettered captives barbarian kings and governors. The Romans who preceded you became famous and gained renown in this way. There is no reason to fear that someone at home may seize control. The most distinguished senators are right here with you; the imperial troops are here to protect you; all the funds from the imperial depositories are here; and finally, the memory of your father has won for you the eternal loyalty and good will of your subjects.”

7. Eager to improve the situation, Pompeianus, by his exhortations, restrained the youth for a short time. Commodus, shamed by his words and unable to make a suitable reply, dismissed the group, saying that he would consider personally and at greater length what he should do. 8. Then, yielding to his companions, he no longer consulted his advisers about anything. He sent off letters and, after assigning command of the Danube to men whom he considered capable, ordering them to block the barbarians’ attacks, he announced his departure for Rome. Those left behind carried out their assignments; soon they subdued most of the barbarians by force of arms, and easily won the friendship of the rest by substantial bribes. 9. The barbarians are by nature fond of money; contemptuous of danger, they obtain the necessities of life either by pillaging and plundering or by selling peace at a huge price. Commodus was aware of this practice; since he had plenty of money, he bargained for release from care and gave them everything they demanded.

VII

1. WHEN the emperor's decision was announced, the army was in turmoil; all the soldiers wanted to leave with him, so that they might stop wasting their time in the war and enjoy the pleasures at Rome. When the news was circulated and messengers arrived to report the approach of the emperor, the Roman people were overjoyed; they had the highest hopes for the reign of the young emperor, believing that he would rule as his father had ruled. 2. Speeding with the vigor of youth, Commodus passed quickly through the cities between Pannonia and Rome. Received everywhere with imperial pomp, he appeared in person before the celebrating crowds, a pleasing sight to all. 3. As he drew near Rome, the entire senate and the people of the city cast aside all restraint. Bearing laurel branches and every kind of flower then in bloom, each man carrying as much as he could manage and eager to be first, they came out some distance from the city to welcome their young and nobly born emperor. 4. For they did indeed give him all their affection, since he was born and reared among them and was of imperial ancestry through three generations of distinguished Romans. His father's family tree included a number of distinguished senators; his mother, the empress Faustina, was the daughter of Antoninus Pius; she was the granddaughter of Hadrian on her mother's side and traced her ancestry to Trajan, her great-grandfather.

5. Such was Commodus' family background. At this time he was in the prime of youth, striking in appearance, with a well-developed body and a face that was handsome without being pretty. His commanding eyes flashed like lightning; his hair, naturally blond and curly, gleamed in the sunlight as if it were on fire; some thought that he sprinkled his hair with gold dust before appearing in public, while others saw in it something divine, saying that a heavenly light shone round his head. To add to his beauty, the first down was just beginning to appear on his cheeks. 6. This was the emperor upon whom the Romans feasted their eyes and welcomed with garlands and showers of blossoms. Entering the city,⁶ Commodus went immediately to the temple of Jupiter⁷ and the other shrines. After expressing his gratitude to the senate and to the soldiers on duty in Rome for their loyal protection, he entered the imperial palace.

VIII

1. FOR several years the emperor deferred to the advisers appointed by his father, following their advice in everything. But when he assumed absolute control of the empire, he put in command of the Praetorian Guard an Italian, Perennis, who seemed to be a capable soldier. (Indeed, it was for this reason that Commodus made him praetorian prefect.) Perennis indulged the emperor's youthful appetites, permitting him to spend his time in drinking and debauchery, and relieved him of imperial cares and responsibilities.

2. Perennis assumed full personal charge of the empire, driven by his insatiable lust for money, his contempt for what he had, and his greedy longing for what was not yet his. To begin with, he launched an attack upon Commodus' advisers and upon all the wealthy and nobly born; by casting suspicion upon these men, Perennis aroused the fears of the emperor and provided the youth with reason and opportunity to destroy them and confiscate their property.

3. For the present, however, the memory of his father and his respect for his advisers held Commodus in check. But then a disastrous stroke of ill fortune completely altered his previously mild, moderate disposition. It happened this way. The oldest of the emperor's sisters was Lucilla. She had formerly been married to Lucius Verus Caesar,⁸ whom Marcus had made his associate in governing the empire; by marrying Lucilla to Lucius, Marcus had made her marriage to his Caesar the strongest bond of mutual good will. But after Lucius died,⁹ Lucilla, who retained all the privileges of her imperial position, was married by her father to Pompeianus. 4. Commodus, too, allowed his sister to retain the imperial honors; she continued to occupy the imperial seat at the theaters, and the sacred fire was carried before her. But when Commodus married Crispina, custom demanded that the front seat at the theater be assigned to the empress. Lucilla found this difficult to endure, and felt that any honor paid to the empress was an insult to her; but since she was well aware that her husband Pompeianus was devoted to Commodus, she told him nothing about her plans to seize control of the empire. Instead, she tested the sentiments of a wealthy young nobleman, Quadratus, with whom she was rumored to be sleeping in secret. Complaining constantly about this matter of imperial precedence, she soon persuaded the young man to set in motion a

plot which brought destruction upon himself and the entire senate. 5. Quadratus, in selecting confederates among the prominent senators, prevailed upon Quintianus, a bold and reckless young senator, to conceal a dagger beneath his robe and, watching for a suitable time and place, to stab Commodus; as for the rest, he assured Quintianus that he would set matters straight by bribes. 6. But the assassin, standing in the entrance to the amphitheater (it was dark there and he hoped to escape detection), drew his dagger and shouted at Commodus that he had been sent by the senate to kill him. Quintianus wasted time making his little speech and waving his dagger; as a result, he was seized by the emperor's bodyguards before he could strike, and died for his stupidity in revealing the plot prematurely. Thus found out beforehand, Quintianus brought about his own death, and Commodus was put on his guard by this forewarning.

7. This was the initial reason for the young emperor's hatred of the senate. He took Quintianus' words to heart and, ever mindful of what his attacker had said, now considered the entire senate his collective enemy. 8. This incident also gave Perennis sufficient excuse for taking action, for he was always advising the emperor to eliminate and destroy the prominent men. By confiscating their property, Perennis easily made himself the richest man of his time. After the attempt at assassination had been thoroughly investigated by the prefect, Commodus without mercy put to death his sister, all those actually involved in the plot, and any who were under the slightest suspicion as well.

IX

1. AFTER he had removed the men whom Commodus had reason to fear, those who showed him good will for his father's sake, and those who were concerned for the emperor's safety, Perennis, now a powerful figure, began to plot for the empire. Commodus was persuaded to put the prefect's sons in command of the army of Illyricum, though they were still young men; the prefect himself amassed a huge sum of money for lavish gifts in order to incite the army to revolt. His sons quietly increased their forces, so that they might seize the empire after Perennis had disposed of Commodus.

2. This plot came to light in a curious fashion. The Romans celebrate a sacred festival in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus,¹⁰ and all the stage shows and athletic exhibitions are sent to take part in this festival in the capital. The emperor is both spectator and judge, together with the rest of the priests, who are summoned in rotation for this duty. 3. Upon his arrival for the performance of the famous actors, Commodus took his seat in the imperial chair; an orderly crowd filled the theater, quietly occupying the assigned seats. Before any action took place on the stage, however, a man dressed as a philosopher¹¹ (half-naked, carrying a staff in his hand and a leather bag on his shoulder) ran out and took his stand in the center of the stage. Silencing the audience with a sweep of his hand, he said: 4. "Commodus, this is no time to celebrate festivals and devote yourself to shows and entertainments. The sword of Perennis is at your throat. Unless you guard yourself from a danger not threatening but already upon you, you shall not escape death. Perennis himself is raising money and an army to oppose you, and his sons are winning over the army of Illyricum. Unless you act first, you shall die." 5. Whether he said this by divine inspiration, or whether, obscure and unknown before, he was making an effort to gain fame, or hoped to receive a generous reward from the emperor — whatever the reason, Commodus was thunderstruck. Everyone was suspicious of the man's words, and no one believed him. Perennis ordered the philosopher to be seized and burned for making insane and lying accusations. 6. Such was the penalty that the beggar paid for his ill-timed outspokenness. The emperor's intimate friends, however, who had long been secretly hostile to Perennis (for the prefect was harsh and unbearable in his insolence and arrogance), believed that the time had come and began to

bring charges against him. As a result, Commodus escaped the plot, and Perennis and his sons perished miserably. 7. For not much later, some soldiers visited Perennis' son¹² in secret and carried off coins bearing the prefect's portrait. And, without the knowledge of Perennis, the praetorian prefect, they took the coins directly to Commodus and revealed to him the secret details of the plot. They were richly rewarded for their service. 8. While Perennis was still ignorant of these developments and anticipated nothing of the sort, the emperor sent for him at night and had him beheaded. And he dispatched men to Perennis' son by the fastest route, so that they might reach him before he knew what had happened. These men were to take a route shorter than the one by which news was regularly carried; in this way they would be able to come to the youth before he was aware of events at Rome. Commodus wrote the youth a friendly letter, telling him that he was recalling him to greater expectations, and ordering him to come to Rome. 9. Perennis' son knew nothing of the reception awaiting him and was unaware of his father's fate. When the messengers informed him that his father had given these same orders orally but, satisfied with the emperor's letter, had not written a separate note, the youth was convinced, although he was concerned about leaving the plot unfinished. Nevertheless, relying on his father's power as if that power still existed, he left Illyricum. 10. On the way to Italy the youth was killed by the emperor's men. Such was the fate of Perennis and his son. Thereafter Commodus regularly appointed two praetorian prefects, believing that it was safer not to place too much authority in the hands of one man; he hoped that this division of authority would discourage any desire to seize the imperial power.

X

1. BUT before long another plot was organized against Commodus. It involved a former soldier named Maternus, who had committed many frightful crimes. He deserted from the army, persuading others to flee with him, and soon collected a huge mob of desperadoes. At first they attacked and plundered villages and farms, but when Maternus had amassed a sizable sum of money, he gathered an even larger band of cutthroats by offering the prospect of generous booty and a fair share of the loot. As a result, his men no longer appeared to be brigands but rather enemy troops. 2. They now attacked the largest cities and released all the prisoners, no matter what the reasons for their imprisonment. By promising these men their freedom, he persuaded them to join his band in gratitude for favors received. The bandits roamed over all Gaul and Spain, attacking the largest cities; a few of these they burned, but the rest they abandoned after sacking them. 3. When he was informed of these developments, Commodus, in a towering rage, sent threatening dispatches to the governors of the provinces involved, charging them with negligence and ordering them to raise an army to oppose the bandits. When the brigands learned that an army was being raised against them, they left the regions which they had been ravaging and slipped unnoticed, a few at a time, into Italy, by a quick but difficult route. And now Maternus was plotting for the empire, for larger stakes indeed. Since everything he had attempted had succeeded beyond his fondest hopes, he concluded that if he were to undertake something really important it was bound to succeed; having committed himself to a hazard from which it was impossible to withdraw, he would, at least, not die obscure and unknown. 4. But when he reflected that he did not have an army sufficiently powerful to resist Commodus on equal terms and in open opposition (for it was thought that the majority of the Roman people were still well disposed toward Commodus, and he also had the support of the Praetorian Guard), Maternus hoped to balance this inequality of forces by guile and cunning. This is the way he undertook to accomplish it. 5. Every year, on a set day at the beginning of spring, the Romans celebrate a festival in honor of the mother of the gods.¹³ All the valuable trappings of each deity, the imperial treasures, and marvelous objects of all kinds, both natural and man-made, are carried in

procession before this goddess. Free license for every kind of revelry is granted, and each man assumes the disguise of his choice. No office is so important or so sacrosanct that permission is refused anyone to put on its distinctive uniform and join in the revelry, concealing his true identity; consequently, it is not easy to distinguish the true from the false. 6. This seemed to Maternus an ideal time to launch his plot undetected. By donning the uniform of a praetorian soldier and outfitting his companions in the same way, he hoped to mingle with the true praetorians and, after watching part of the parade, to attack Commodus and kill him while no one was on guard. 7. But the plan was betrayed when some of those who had accompanied him into the city revealed the plot. (Jealousy led them to disclose it, since they preferred to be ruled by the emperor rather than by a bandit chief.) Before he arrived at the scene of the festivities, Maternus was seized and beheaded, and his companions suffered the punishment they deserved. After sacrificing to the goddess and making thank offerings, Commodus completed the festivities and did honor to the goddess, rejoicing at his escape. The people continued to celebrate their emperor's deliverance after the festival came to an end.

XI

1. As we have discovered by research, the Romans are devoted to this goddess for the following reason — a reason which it seems worth while to relate here, since it is unknown to some of the Greeks. They say that this statue of the goddess fell from the sky;¹⁴ the exact material of the statue is not known, nor the identity of the artists who made it; in fact, it is not certain that the statue was the work of human hands. Long ago it fell from the sky in Phrygia (the name of the region where it fell is Pessinus, which received its name from the fall of the heavenly statue); the statue was discovered there. 2. As we learn from other sources, a battle is said to have taken place there between Ilus the Phrygian and Tantalus the Lydian. Some say it was a boundary dispute; others, that it was concerned with Ganymede's kidnapping.¹⁵ The battle continued for a long time on even terms, and a large number of men fell on both sides; this disaster gave the region its name. It was there, so the story goes, that Ganymede was spirited away and disappeared from mortals' view when his brother and lover tore him limb from limb. After the youth's body vanished, his sufferings made him immortal when Zeus spirited him away to heaven. The Phrygians of old staged their revels in Pessinus, on the banks of the river Gallus, from which the eunuch priests of Cybele derive their name. 3. When Roman affairs prospered, they say that an oracle prophesied that the empire would endure and soar to greater heights if the goddess were brought from Pessinus to Rome. The Romans therefore sent an embassy to Phrygia and asked for the statue; they easily got it by reminding the Phrygians of their kinship and by recalling to them that Aeneas the Phrygian was the ancestor of the Romans. The statue was carried aboard ship, but when the vessel arrived at the mouth of the Tiber (the Romans use this as their harbor) it came to a halt, stopped by divine power. 4. For a long time the Romans tried in every way to dislodge the ship, which was held fast as if by a sand bar, but it refused to move until one of the Vestal Virgins, who was charged with breaking her oath of chastity, was led forward. The priestess, who was about to be put to death, begged the people to submit her case to the goddess from Pessinus. She unfastened the sash at her waist and attached it to the prow of the ship, praying that if she were still virgin and pure the ship would follow her. 5. The ship, secured to her sash, followed her readily. The Romans were struck with

awe both by the manifestation of the goddess and by the piety of the maiden.¹⁶ Let this suffice as an inquiry into the history of the goddess from Pessinus, but it will prove a not unwelcome digression to those unfamiliar with Roman affairs. After escaping Maternus' plot, Commodus strengthened his personal bodyguard and seldom appeared in public. He spent most of his time at his suburban estate and at the imperial estates far from Rome, having given up his judicial and administrative duties.

XII

1. ABOUT this time, plague struck all Italy. The suffering was especially severe in Rome, since the city, which received people from all over the world, was overcrowded. The city suffered great loss of both men and animals. 2. Then, on the advice of his physicians, Commodus left Rome for Laurentum.¹⁷ This region enjoyed the shade from extensive laurel groves (whence the area derives its name); it was cooler there and seemed to be a safe haven. The emperor is said to have counteracted the pollution in the air by the fragrant scent of the laurels and the refreshing shade of the trees. At the direction of their doctors, those who remained in Rome filled their nostrils and ears with fragrant oils and used perfume and incense constantly, for some said that the sweet odor, entering first, filled up the sensory passages and kept out the poison in the air; or, if any poison should enter, it would be neutralized by the stronger odors. The plague, however, continued to rage unchecked for a long time, and many men died, as well as domestic animals of all kinds.

3. Famine gripped the city at the same time. Responsible for it was a Phrygian named Cleander, one of the slaves offered for sale by the public auctioneer for the benefit of the state. As a slave in the imperial household, Cleander grew up with Commodus and eventually was raised to a position of honor and authority: the command of the bodyguard, the stewardship of the imperial bedroom, and the control of the imperial armies were all entrusted to him. Because of his wealth and wantonness, Cleander coveted the empire. 4. He bought up most of the grain supply and put it in storage; he hoped in this way to get control of the people and the army by making a generous distribution of grain at the first sign of a food shortage, anticipating that he would win the support of the people when they were suffering from a scarcity of food. He also built a huge gymnasium and public bath and turned them over to the people. In this way he tried to curry favor with the mob. 5. The Romans, however, hated the man and blamed him for all their difficulties; they especially despised him for his greed. At first they attacked him bitterly when they thronged the theaters; later, however, they went in a body to Commodus, who was passing the time on his estate near the city, and there, raising a fearful din, they demanded Cleander for execution. 6. During this tumult on the grounds of his suburban estate, Commodus was loitering in the

pleasant, secluded inner rooms, for Cleander had kept him in ignorance of what was happening. Suddenly, unlooked for by the assembled mob, the imperial cavalry appeared fully armed and, at the order of the prefect, butchered those in their path. 7. The people were unable to withstand the assault, for they were unarmed men on foot fighting against armed men on horseback. And so they fell, not only because they were attacked by the cavalry and trampled by the horses, but also because they were overwhelmed by the sheer weight of their own numbers, and many died in the pile-ups. 8. The horsemen pursued the fugitives right to the gates of Rome and slaughtered them without mercy as they attempted to force their way into the city. When those who had remained in Rome heard what had happened, they blocked the doors of their houses and went up on the roofs to throw down stones and roof tiles on the cavalry, who now suffered what they had inflicted, for no one opposed them in formal battle; most of the people were hurling missiles at them from safe positions. Finally, unable to endure the onslaught any longer, the wounded horsemen turned and fled, leaving many dead behind. 9. In the steady hail of missiles, their horses stumbled and fell on the round stones, throwing their riders. After many had been killed on both sides, the infantry in the city, who despised the cavalry, came to the aid of the mob.

XIII

1. EVEN though a civil war was raging, no one was willing to report to Commodus what was happening, for fear of Cleander. Finally the emperor's eldest sister (her name was Phadilla) rushed into the palace (as his sister, she had free and easy access to the emperor), and, loosing her hair, threw herself down and cried out in anguish: 2. "Here you are, emperor, taking your leisure, ignorant of what is happening, when you are actually in the gravest danger. And we, your own flesh and blood, are at this very moment threatened with murder. Already the Roman people and most of the army are lost to you. What we would not think of enduring at the hands of barbarians, our own people are doing to us. And those people whom you have treated with special consideration, you now find to be your enemies. 3. Cleander has armed the people and the soldiers against you. Those who hate him because they hold differing opinions, the mob, and the entire imperial cavalry, who support him, are up in arms, killing each other and choking the city with blood. The fury of both factions will fall upon us unless you immediately hand over to them for execution this scoundrelly servant of yours, who already has been the cause of so much destruction for the people and who threatens to be the cause of so much destruction for us." 4. After she had made these statements, tearing her clothes in grief, others who were present (for they became bolder at the words of the emperor's sister) urged Commodus to take action. He was terrified by this pressing danger, which did not merely threaten but was already upon him. In his panic he sent for Cleander, who knew nothing of what had been reported to the emperor, but had his suspicions. When the prefect appeared, Commodus ordered him seized and beheaded, and, impaling his head on a long spear, sent it out to the mob, to whom it was a welcome and long-desired sight. 5. In this way he terminated the danger, and both sides stopped fighting: the soldiers, because they saw that the man for whom they had been fighting had been killed and also because they feared the wrath of the emperor (for they realized that he had been deceived and that Cleander had done everything without imperial approval); the people, because their desire for vengeance was satisfied by the arrest of the man responsible for the appalling crimes. 6. They put Cleander's children to death (for he had two sons), and killed all his known friends. They dragged their bodies through the streets, subjecting them

to every indignity, and finally brought the mutilated corpses to the sewer and threw them in. Such was the fate of Cleander and his associates; it was as if Nature had undertaken to demonstrate that a small and unexpected twist of fate can raise a man from the lowest depths to the greatest heights and then plunge the man so exalted down to the depths again.

7. Although he feared a popular uprising and a new attempt upon his life, Commodus nevertheless, at the urging of his advisers, entered the city. Received there with great enthusiasm, he went to the imperial palace, escorted by the people. After undergoing such risks, the emperor trusted no one; he killed now without warning, listening to all accusations without question and paying no heed to those worthy of a hearing. He no longer had any regard for the “good life”; night and day, without interruption, licentious pleasures of the flesh made him a slave, body and soul. 8. Men of intelligence and those who had even a smattering of learning were driven from the palace as conspirators, but the emperor gave enthralled attention to the filthy skits of comedians and actors. He took lessons in driving the chariot and trained to take part in the wild-animal fights; his flatterers praised these activities as proof of his manliness, but he indulged in them more often than befitted an intelligent emperor.

XIV

1. IN THAT time of crisis a number of divine portents occurred. Stars remained visible during the day; other stars, extending to an enormous length, seemed to be hanging in the middle of the sky. Abnormal animals were born, strange in shape and deformed of limb. 2. But the worst portent of all, which aggravated the present crisis and disturbed those who employ auguries and omens to predict the future, was this. Although no massing of dark clouds and no thunderstorm preceded it, and only a slight earthquake occurred beforehand, either as a result of a lightning bolt at night or a fire which broke out after the earthquake, the temple of Peace,¹⁷ the largest and most beautiful building in the city, was totally destroyed by fire. 3. It was the richest of all the temples, and, because it was a safe place, was adorned with offerings of gold and silver; every man deposited his possessions there. But this fire, in a single night, made paupers of many rich men. All Rome joined in mourning the public loss, and each man lamented his own personal loss.

4. After consuming the temple and the entire sacred precinct, the fire swept on to destroy a large part of the city, including its most beautiful buildings. When the temple of Vesta went up in flames, the image of Pallas Athena was exposed to public view — that statue which the Romans worship and keep hidden, the one brought from Troy, as the story goes.¹⁸ Now, for the first time since its journey from Troy to Italy, the statue was seen by men of our time. 5. For the Vestal Virgins snatched up the image and carried it along the Sacred Way to the imperial palace. Many other beautiful sections of the city were destroyed in this fire, which continued to burn for days, spreading in all directions. It was not finally extinguished until falling showers put an end to its raging. 6. For this reason the disaster was held to be of divine origin; in that critical period, men believed that the fire was started and stopped by the will and power of the gods. Some conjectured from these events that the destruction of the temple of Peace was a prophecy of war. And subsequent events, as we shall relate in the books to follow, confirmed this prophecy by actual events.

7. With so many disasters befalling the city in rapid succession, the Roman people no longer looked with favor upon Commodus; they attributed their misfortunes to his illegal murders and the other mistakes he had made in his

lifetime. He no longer concealed his activities, nor did he have any desire to keep them secret. What they objected to his doing in private he now had the effrontery to do in public. He fell into a state of drunken madness. 8. First he discarded his family name and issued orders that he was to be called not Commodus, son of Marcus, but Hercules, son of Zeus. Abandoning the Roman and imperial mode of dress, he donned the lion skin, and carried the club of Hercules. He wore purple robes embroidered with gold, making himself an object of ridicule by combining in one set of garments the frailty of a woman and the might of a superman. 9. This was the way he looked in his public appearances. He assigned new names to the months of the year; abolishing the old ones, he called the months after his own list of names and titles, most of which actually referred to Hercules as the manliest of men.¹⁹ He erected statues of himself throughout the city, but opposite the senate house he set up a special statue representing the emperor as an archer poised to shoot, for he wished even his statues to inspire fear of him.

XV

1. THE senate removed this statue of Commodus after his death and replaced it with a statue of Freedom. Now the emperor, casting aside all restraint, took part in the public shows, promising to kill with his own hands wild animals of all kinds and to fight in gladiatorial combat against the bravest of the youths. When this news became known, people hastened to Rome from all over Italy and from the neighboring provinces to see what they had neither seen nor even heard of before. Special mention was made of the skill of his hands and the fact that he never missed when hurling javelins or shooting arrows. 2. His instructors were the most skillful of the Parthian bowmen and the most accurate of the Moroccan javelin men, but he surpassed them all in marksmanship. When the days for the show arrived, the amphitheater was completely filled. A terrace encircling the arena had been constructed for Commodus, enabling him to avoid risking his life by fighting the animals at close quarters; rather, by hurling his javelins down from a safe place, he offered a display of skill rather than of courage. 3. Deer, roebuck, and horned animals of all kinds, except bulls, he struck down, running with them in pursuit, anticipating their dashes, and killing them with deadly blows. Lions, leopards, and other animals of the nobler sort he killed from above, running around on his terrace. And on no occasion did anyone see a second javelin used, nor any wound except the death wound. 4. For at the very moment the animal started up, it received the blow on its forehead or in its heart, and it bore no other wound, nor did the javelin pierce any other part of its body: the beast was wounded and killed in the same instant. Animals were collected for him from all over the world. Then we saw in the flesh animals that we had previously marveled at in paintings. 5. From India and Ethiopia, from lands to the north and to the south, any animals hitherto unknown he displayed to the Romans and then dispatched them. On one occasion he shot arrows with crescent-shaped heads at Moroccan ostriches, birds that move with great speed, both because of their swiftness afoot and the sail-like nature of their wings. He cut off their heads at the very top of the neck; so, after their heads had been severed by the edge of the arrow, they continued to run around as if they had not been injured. 6. Once when a leopard, with a lightning dash, seized a condemned criminal, he thwarted the leopard with his javelin as it

was about to close its jaws; he killed the beast and rescued the man, the point of the javelin anticipating the points of the leopard's teeth. Again, when a hundred lions appeared in one group as if from beneath the earth, he killed the entire hundred with exactly one hundred javelins, and all the bodies lay stretched out in a straight line for some distance; they could thus be counted with no difficulty, and no one saw a single extra javelin.

7. As far as these activities are concerned, however, even if his conduct was hardly becoming for an emperor, he did win the approval of the mob for his courage and his marksmanship. But when he came into the amphitheater naked, took up arms, and fought as a gladiator, the people saw a disgraceful spectacle, a nobly born emperor of the Romans, whose fathers and forebears had won many victories, not taking the field against barbarians or opponents worthy of the Romans, but disgracing his high position by degrading and disgusting exhibitions. 8. In his gladiatorial combats, he defeated his opponents with ease, and he did no more than wound them, since they all submitted to him, but only because they knew he was the emperor, not because he was truly a gladiator. At last he became so demented that he was unwilling to live in the imperial palace, but wished to change his residence to the gladiatorial barracks. He gave orders that he was no longer to be called Hercules, but by the name of a famous gladiator then dead. 9. He removed the head of a huge Colossus²⁰ which the Romans worship and which bears the likeness of the Sun, replacing it with his own head, and inscribed on the base not the usual imperial and family titles; instead of "Germanicus" he wrote: "Conqueror of a Thousand Gladiators."

XVI

1. BUT the time had finally come for Commodus to cease his mad antics and for the Roman empire to be rid of this tyrant. This occurred on the first day of the new year,²¹ when the Romans celebrate the festival which they trace back to the most ancient of the Italic native gods. They believe that Saturn, ousted from his realm by Jupiter, came down to earth and was the guest of Janus. Fearful of his son's power, he escaped when Janus hid him. 2. This episode gave the region of Latium its name, which is derived from the Greek word *lathein*, "to escape notice." For this reason the Italians continue to celebrate the Saturnalia down to the present time, to commemorate the sheltering of the god, and they observe at the beginning of the year the festival of the Italic god Janus. The statues of Janus have two faces because the year begins and ends with him. On the day of this festival the Romans go out of their way to greet each other and exchange gifts. 3. On this day, too, they dine together gaily on the delicacies of land and sea. This is also the day on which the consuls who give their names to the year first don the purple robes of office for their one-year term. When all were occupied in the celebration, Commodus had it in mind to appear not from the imperial palace, in the customary fashion, but from the gladiatorial barracks, clad in armor instead of in the splendid imperial purple, and accompanied by the rest of the gladiators.

4. He announced his intentions to Marcia, whom, of all his mistresses, he held in highest esteem; he kept nothing from this woman, as if she were his legal wife, even allowing her the imperial honors except for the sacred fire. When she learned of his plan, so unreasonable and unbecoming an emperor, she threw herself at his feet, entreating him, with tears, not to bring disgrace upon the Roman empire and not to endanger his life by entrusting it to gladiators and desperate men. After much pleading, unable to persuade the emperor to abandon his plan, she left him, still weeping. Commodus then summoned Laetus, the praetorian prefect, and Eclectus, his bedroom steward, and ordered them to make arrangements for him to spend the night in the gladiatorial barracks, telling them that he would leave for the festival sacrifices from there, and show himself to the Romans under arms. And these men, too, pleaded with the emperor not to do anything unworthy of his imperial position.

XVII

1. COMMODUS, enraged, dismissed them and retired to his bedroom for a nap (for this was his custom in the middle of the day). First he took a wax tablet — one made from a thin strip of basswood, which grows under the bark of the linden tree — and wrote down the names of those who were to be put to death that night. 2. Marcia's name was at the top of the list, followed by Laetus and Eclectus and a large number of the foremost senators. Commodus wanted all the elder statesmen and the advisers appointed for him by his father, those who still survived, to be put to death, for he was ashamed to have these revered men witness his disgraceful actions. He planned to confiscate the property of the wealthy and distribute it to the soldiers, so that they would protect him, and to the gladiators, so that they would entertain him.

3. After composing his list, Commodus placed the tablet on his couch, thinking that no one would come into his bedroom. But there was in the palace a very young little boy, one of those who went about bare of clothes but adorned with gold and costly gems. The Roman voluptuaries always took delight in these lads. Commodus was very fond of this child and often slept with him; his name, Philocommodus, clearly indicates the emperor's affection for him. 4. Philocommodus was playing idly about the palace. After Commodus had gone out to his usual baths and drinking bouts, the lad wandered into the emperor's bedroom, as he usually did; picking up the tablet for a plaything, he left the bedroom. By a stroke of fate, he met Marcia. After hugging and kissing him (for she too was fond of the child), she took the tablet from him, afraid that in his heedless play he might accidentally erase something important. When she recognized the emperor's handwriting, she was eager to read the tablet. 5. Discovering that it was a death list and that she was scheduled to die first, followed by Laetus and Eclectus and many others marked for murder, she cried out in grief and then said to herself: "So, Commodus, this is my reward for my love and devotion, after I have put up with your arrogance and your madness for so many years. But, you drunken sot, you shall not outwit a woman deadly sober!" 6. She then summoned Eclectus; he was in the habit of visiting her anyway, since he was the bedroom steward, and it was rumored that she was sleeping with him. She handed him the tablet, saying: "See what a party we are to enjoy tonight!" Eclectus read it

and was dumfounded (but he was an Egyptian, bold by nature and quick-tempered, a man of action). Sealing the tablet, he sent it off to Laetus by one of his trusted slaves. 7. After reading the tablet, Laetus hurried to Marcia as if to discuss the emperor's orders with her, especially about his proposed stay with the gladiators. And while they pretended to be arguing about this matter, they concluded that they must act first or suffer the consequences, agreeing that it was no time for indecision or delay. 8. They decided to poison Commodus, and Marcia assured them that she could administer a potion with the greatest ease. For it was her custom to mix the wine and give the emperor his first cup, so that he might have a pleasant drink from the hand of his beloved. When Commodus returned from his bath, she poured the poison into the cup, mixed it with a pungent wine, and gave it to him to drink. Since it was his practice to take a cup of friendship after his many baths and jousts with animals, he drained it without noticing anything unusual. 9. Immediately he became drowsy and stupefied and fell asleep, believing that it was the natural result of his exertions. Eclectus and Marcia ordered all the rest to return to their homes, and made everything quiet for him. Commodus had acted like this on other occasions when overcome by wine. Since he bathed often and drank often, he had no set time for sleeping; in addition, he indulged in all kinds of pleasures, to which he was a willing slave at any hour. 10. For a short time he lay quiet, but, when the poison spread through his stomach and bowels, he became nauseated and began to vomit violently, either because his excessive eating and drinking were expelling the poison, or because he had taken beforehand an antidote for poison, as emperors regularly did before eating or drinking. 11. After much vomiting had occurred, the conspirators, afraid that Commodus would get rid of the poison, recover, and kill them, promised lavish rewards to a powerful young nobleman, Narcissus, if he would strangle the emperor. Narcissus rushed in where the emperor lay overcome by the poisoned wine, seized him by the throat, and finished him off. 12. Such was the fate Commodus suffered, after ruling for thirteen years from the date of his father's death. He was the most nobly born of all the emperors who preceded him and was the handsomest man of his time, both in beauty of features and in physical development. If it were fitting to discuss his manly qualities, he was inferior to no man in skill and in marksmanship, if only he had not disgraced these excellent traits by shameful practices.

ENDNOTES.

- ¹ The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, available in many editions and translations.
- ² Regularly “Paeonians” in the Greek authors.
- ³ Berenice I was actually the stepsister of Ptolemy I (ca. 367-282 B.C.). She became his legal wife in accord with the customary Egyptian practice of marriage between brother and sister in the royal family.
- ⁴ March 17, 180.
- ⁵ I.e., to the North and Baltic seas.
- ⁶ October, 180.
- ⁷ The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill.
- ⁸ By the late second century, the title Caesar conferred by the reigning emperor carried with it a claim to the succession. I have used “Caesar” regularly in preference to a less exact “heir.”
- ⁹ Married to Lucilla in 164, Verus died in 169.
- ¹⁰ The ludi Capitolini, oldest of the Roman festivals, celebrated on October 15. Plutarch Rom. 25.
- ¹¹ One of the ubiquitous Cynic beggar philosophers.
- ¹² The confusion concerning Perennis’ sons is Herodian’s: he had two sons, both of whom were presumably involved in the total plot, though Herodian follows the fate of only one.
- ¹³ The rites of the spring festival in honor of Cybele, goddess of fertility, began on March 15.
- ¹⁴ These heaven-sent statues derive from the Palladium, a sacred image of Athena sent down by Zeus to the founders of Troy.
- ¹⁵ Ovid Met. 10.155 ff.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Livy 29.10; Ovid Fasti 4.305 ff.; Seneca Frag. 80; Suetonius Tib. 2.
- ¹⁷ This temple, in the Forum of Peace, was begun by Vespasian in 71 to commemorate the

capture of Jerusalem.

¹⁸ According to legend, the true Palladium was sent down from heaven by Zeus to Dardanus, founder of Troy, or to his descendant Ilus. Brought to Italy by Aeneas, also according to legend, it was placed in the temple of Vesta to protect the city of Rome.

¹⁹ Cf. Dio 73-15.3. Also A. Lampridius *Vita Commod.* 11.8.

²⁰ Originally a colossal statue of Nero, for whose head Vespasian substituted a head of the Sun. Suetonius, *Vespasian* 18.

²¹ Actually the night of December 31, 192.

BOOK II.

I

1. AFTER the conspirators had killed Commodus, as has been described in the first book of our history, they were anxious to keep the deed secret. And so, to prevent the praetorians on guard in the imperial palace from discovering what they had done, they wrapped the emperor's body in bed linen and tied it securely. They gave the bundle to two loyal slaves and sent it out of the palace as if it were no more than laundry, somewhat bulkier than usual. 2. The slaves carried their burden past the guards; some of them were asleep, overcome by wine, others still awake, but dozing off leaning on their spears. The praetorians made no attempt to discover the contents of the bundle carried from the emperor's bedroom, since it was not their concern to look into such things. After the emperor's body had been carried out through the palace gates undetected, it was placed in a wagon and taken to the outskirts of the city.

3. Then Laetus and Eclectus conferred with Marcia about the best course to follow. They decided that an announcement should be made to the effect that the emperor had died suddenly of apoplexy. They were sure that this report would be accepted without question by those who heard it, since his endless and excessive orgies had prepared them for such an outcome. But before doing anything else, the conspirators thought it best to choose a sensible elder statesman as the successor to the throne, both to save themselves and to bring to all enjoyment of a respite from a tyrant so harsh and undisciplined. Discussing the matter among themselves, they found no man so well qualified for the post as a native-born Italian named Pertinax. 4. This Pertinax was famous for his accomplishments, both civil and military; he had won many victories over the Germans and the Eastern barbarians and was the only survivor of the revered advisers appointed for Commodus by his father. Commodus had not had him put to death — this most distinguished of Marcus' companions and generals — either out of respect for his noble qualities or indifference to him as a pauper. And yet his poverty had contributed in no small measure to the universal praise Pertinax enjoyed; for, despite responsibilities which far outweighed those of his colleagues, he was less wealthy than any of them.

5. That night, while all were sleeping, Laetus and Eclectus, accompanied by a few fellow conspirators, came to Pertinax. Standing at the locked gates of his house, they aroused the porter on guard there. When the man awoke and saw the soldiers standing before the gates with Laetus, whom he knew to be the praetorian prefect, he was alarmed and went inside to report to his master. 6. Pertinax directed his visitors to enter, remarking that the fate he had been expecting was at last about to overtake him. Yet even in this extremity, they say, he remained so serene that he did not get up, but received them lying in bed. Even though he believed that Laetus had come with Eclectus to kill him, he spoke to them calmly, with no sign of pallor. 7. "For a long time now," he said, "I have been waiting for my life to end in this fashion, and I was surprised that Commodus was so slow to act against me, the sole survivor of the advisers his father appointed for him. Why do you delay? You will be carrying out your orders, and I will be relieved from degrading hope and constant fear." 8. To this

Laetus replied: "Please stop saying things unworthy of you and your past conduct. Our visit does not concern your death but our safety and the safety of the Roman empire. The tyrant is dead, victim of a fate he richly deserved. What he planned to do to us, we have done to him. 9. We have come to place the empire in your hands, aware that you are not only the most distinguished senator, because of your moderate life, and have won reverence for your greatness and the dignity of your years, but you also enjoy the love and esteem of the people. All these reasons lead us to believe that what we are doing will please the people and save our own lives." 10. Pertinax said in reply: "Why do you mock an old man ? Why do you judge me such a coward that you wish first to taunt and then to kill me?" At this point Eclectus spoke up: "If you do not believe what we say, read this tablet (you know Commodus' handwriting — you see it regularly). From this you will see the danger we have escaped, and you will know that there is no treachery but only truth in what we tell you." After he had read the tablet, Pertinax believed these old friends of his. Now fully understanding everything that had occurred, he placed himself at their disposal.

1. THEY decided that as the first step Pertinax should go to the praetorian camp to learn the attitude of the soldiers of the guard. Laetus undertook to secure the support of the praetorians, since they owed him, as their commanding officer, a measure of respect. 2. Accompanied by all those present, they set out for the praetorian camp. The night had almost passed, and the festival was about to begin; so everything had to be done before daybreak. A number of trusted men were sent out to spread the news that Commodus was dead and that Pertinax was on his way to the praetorian camp to take command of the empire. 3. When these events became known, the people milled about in a frenzy of joy, like men possessed, and everyone took delight in telling the news to his neighbors, especially if they happened to be men of wealth and position, for Commodus was particularly dangerous to such men. Rushing to the temples and altars, the people united in giving thanks to the gods, shouting all sorts of things: "The tyrant is dead!" "The gladiator is slain!" and other blasphemies more scurrilous. 4. All the insults which had hitherto been left unsaid through fear were now voiced openly, with freedom and safety restored. Most of the people ran swiftly to the praetorian camp, because they feared that the praetorians would be reluctant to accept Pertinax as emperor. 5. Indeed, they suspected that in the future these soldiers would show little moderation; they were conditioned to blind obedience to a tyrant and were masters in the use of violence. All the people therefore went out to the camp to force the praetorians to submit. They were in the camp when Laetus and Eiectus arrived, bringing Pertinax with them. Laetus then ordered the praetorians to assemble and addressed them as follows:

6. "Commodus, your emperor, is dead of apoplexy. In a case of this kind, the blame can be put on no one else. The emperor was responsible for his own death. He paid no attention when we urged him time and again to adopt a safer and saner course. You know the way he lived his life. Now he lies dead, choked by his own gluttony. The death he was destined for has overtaken him at last. As you are aware, the cause of death is not one and the same for all men. The most diverse causes bring us to life's inevitable outcome. 7. In place of Commodus we bring to you, and the whole Roman people bring to you, a man respected for his years, temperate in his way of life, and renowned for his courageous exploits. You old soldiers have taken part in his military campaigns, and the rest of you always held him in high honor and esteem during his years of service as prefect of the city. 8. Now Fortune is giving you an emperor who is also a kindly father to you. His reign will please not only you praetorian soldiers on duty here in Rome but also the soldiers stationed on the banks of the far-off rivers and the borders of the Roman empire, men who are familiar with his exploits from their own recollections of them. No longer will we pacify the barbarians with money. They will obey us because they fear us, mindful of what they suffered at this man's hands when he campaigned against them."

9. After this speech of Laetus, the people restrained themselves no longer. While the praetorians were still hesitating, undecided, the people proclaimed Pertinax emperor, calling him father and shouting his praises to all. At this the soldiers, not because they were equally

enthusiastic but because they were compelled by the great number of people present (they were surrounded by the mob and were themselves few in number and unarmed, as was customary during the festival), at last added their voices to the others and proclaimed Pertinax emperor. 10. After they had sworn the usual oaths in his name and had performed the sacrifices, all the people, together with the praetorians, took up laurel branches and escorted Pertinax to the imperial palace just before daylight.

III

1. AFTER he was established in the imperial palace, to which he had been escorted by the praetorians and the people by night, as has been related above, Pertinax was beset by serious doubts; indeed, although in all matters he gave the appearance of being calm and courageous, in the present situation he was very apprehensive. The emperor was little concerned about his own safety (he had many times scorned much greater dangers), but he was worried about this abrupt change from the autocracy of Commodus and about the noble ancestry of certain of the senators. He suspected that these senators, after having been ruled by the most nobly born of all the emperors, would not be willing to let the reins of government fall into the hands of a man who came to the high office from humble and undistinguished antecedents. 2. Even if his life deserved admiration for its restraint, and even if his military exploits were famous, in nobility of birth he was much inferior to the aristocracy. When daylight came, he went to the senate house, but he did not allow the sacred fire to be carried before him nor did he permit any of the imperial tokens to be raised until he had determined how the senate felt about the situation. 3. But as soon as he appeared, all the senators with one voice shouted his praises, calling him emperor and Augustus. At first he declined the envy-provoking title of emperor and, pleading his advanced years, begged to be permitted to decline the honor, pointing out that there were many men of noble birth by whom the empire might more fittingly be ruled. At this, Glabrionus took him by the hand and led him forward, bidding him take his seat upon the imperial throne. 4. This Glabrionus was the most nobly born of all the Roman aristocrats (for he traced his ancestry to Aeneas, son of Venus and Anchises, and he had served two terms as consul. "I myself," Glabrionus said, "whom you consider the most eligible of all, yield the throne to you, and I together with all the rest happily concur in awarding you the supreme power." Then, with all of them pleading with him and actually forcing him to accept the position, Pertinax mounted the imperial throne slowly and reluctantly and addressed the senate as follows:

5. "I am persuaded that your great readiness to do me honor, the extraordinary enthusiasm with which you acclaim me, and your selection of me as emperor in preference to those among you of such noble birth, has in it not the slightest intent to flatter, but is proof and pledge of your good will toward me. And this might make another ready and eager to accept without hesitation what has been entrusted to him, and he might reasonably entertain a hope of managing the empire with no difficulty among subjects so kindly disposed toward him. 6. But these favors which I am receiving at your hands, so great and so flattering, although I am aware of the honor they do me, cause me no little apprehension and inner conflict. For, when the initial favors are so great, it is always difficult to do equal favors in return. Now when anyone who receives small favors does greater favors in return, the fact that this is an easy matter is never taken into consideration; it is thought to be merely evidence of his gratitude. But when the initial favor is virtually unsurpassable, if the recipient does not return one equally large, the fact that this is a difficult matter is never taken into consideration; it is thought to be merely evidence of his ingratitude and lack of appreciation. 7. I see, therefore, that no ordinary task awaits me in proving myself worthy of such an honor as you have

bestowed upon me. But the honor of the throne lies not in the throne itself, but in the acts which he who holds it must perform if he is not to disgrace his high office. The more men hate an unpleasant past, the more hopefully they look forward to a pleasant future. Injuries are remembered forever (the memory of pain is difficult to erase), but benefits and the memory of benefits disappear when the enjoyment of them is gone.

8. Freedom is never so pleasant as slavery is unpleasant, and no one ever considers himself fortunate to possess what is his free from danger; he thinks that he is simply enjoying his own possessions. But the man who is deprived of his property never forgets the man responsible for his loss. And if any change takes place for the common good, no one thinks that he has derived from it any personal benefit, since, when the common good prospers, it is of little concern to the whole group as individuals. With respect to his own affairs, no one believes that anything is of value to him unless he happens to obtain something he personally desires. 9. But those who have grown accustomed to reveling in the extravagant excesses of a tyranny not only object to any change toward a more moderate and more economical way of life occasioned by a shortage of money, not terming it sensible economy or planned and judicious management, but they reject it as a mean and wretched way to live, oblivious to the fact that had it not been for the loot taken by pillage and plunder, they could never have enjoyed their luxurious way of life. On the other hand, to give to every man all things according to his worth and for logical reasons, without committing any injustices, and not to supply him with an abundance of money gained from illegal sources teaches prudent conservation of things supplied in quantity. 10. And so you, who are skilled in these matters, must cooperate with me and consider the management of the empire as a joint enterprise, and you must entertain high hopes of living under an aristocracy, not under a tyranny, and you must confirm this for all our subjects.”

11. By this speech, Pertinax encouraged the senators and received the plaudits of them all. After awarding him every honor and every token of respect, they escorted the new emperor to the temple of Jupiter and the rest of the shrines; when he had completed the sacrifices for his reign, he entered the imperial palace.

IV

1. WHEN Pertinax' speech to the senate and his letters to the people were made public, all the Romans gave thanks, hoping that he would be for them not so much an emperor as a mild and pious ruler and father. He ordered the praetorians to curb their arrogant treatment of the people; he forbade them to carry axes or strike anyone they chanced to meet. He tried to manage everything with decency and discipline, and in his judicial duties he was mild and moderate. 2. By his consistent and deliberate imitation of Marcus' reign, he delighted the older people, and won the good will of the others without difficulty, released as they were from savage and oppressive tyranny to lead a well-ordered life, free from care. When the mildness of his rule became known everywhere, all nations subject to Roman rule or friendly to the Romans, and all the armies in the field as well, came to regard his reign as that of a god. 3. And indeed, the barbarians who were formerly restless and rebellious, mindful of his brilliant achievements in his previous campaigns, feared him and willingly submitted to him. They put their trust in his reputation for never purposely doing an injustice and always treating every man according to his deserts; improper conduct and savage violence were completely foreign to his nature. Embassies from all countries came to him, and everyone delighted in the rule of the Romans under Pertinax.

4. All, both publicly and privately, were pleased by the order and the moderation of his reign. But what pleased all the rest only galled the soldiers of the imperial bodyguard stationed in Rome. Now forbidden to loot and act with insolence, the praetorians were directed to return to an orderly and disciplined way of life. Since they considered the mild and moderate rule of Pertinax an insult and disgrace to them, as well as a diminution of their unlimited power, they refused to tolerate his well-ordered reign any longer. 5. At the beginning, they had obeyed his orders reluctantly and mutinously. But after he had been emperor for less than two months, during which he had put into effect in a short time many moderate and practical measures, and his subjects were just beginning to entertain high hopes for the future, a wretched turn of fortune upset the situation and ruined everything, preventing a number of excellent projects useful to his subjects from being carried to completion.

6. To begin with, Pertinax assigned all the land in Italy and the rest of the provinces not under cultivation to anyone willing to care for it and farm it, to be his own private property; he gave to each man as much land as he wished and was able to manage, even if the land were imperial property. To these farmers he granted exemption from all taxes for ten years and freedom from government duties as well. 7. He refused to allow his name to be stamped on imperial property, stating that these effects were not the emperor's personal property but the common and public possessions of the Roman empire. Finally, he removed the tolls previously levied during the tyranny as an easy method of raising revenue, the fees collected at the banks of rivers, the harbors of cities, and the crossroads, restoring to all these their ancient freedom.

8. It is obvious that he would have done even more to benefit his subjects, as his general

policy makes plain, for he banished informers from the city and ordered them to be persecuted elsewhere; he took precautions to prevent anyone from being threatened by informers or being embroiled in their false charges. Then the senate particularly, but all other men too, seemed to be living in a blessed state of security. 9. Pertinax was so modest and unassuming that he did not bring his own son, then a young man, into the imperial palace. The youth remained in his father's house and continued to attend his regular school and gymnasium; in his education, as in all his activities, he was an ordinary Roman citizen, and displayed none of the imperial pomp and arrogance.

1. IN A WAY of life so prosperous and well ordered, only the praetorians complained of their lot. Longing for a return to the violence and looting of the preceding tyranny and to their extravagant and dissolute pursuits, they plotted to remove Pertinax on the ground that he was a burden and a nuisance to them, and to choose an emperor who would restore to them their unbridled and uncontrolled power. 2. And so, with no warning, the praetorians rushed headlong from their camp one day at noon, when they were off duty. Wild with unreasoning anger, they burst into the palace with spears raised and swords drawn. 3. The imperial attendants on duty in the palace were astounded at this unbelievable and unexpected assault. Since they were only a handful of unarmed men against a horde of armed soldiers, the attendants deserted their assigned posts and fled into the palace grounds or the nearby passageways. But a few who were devoted to Pertinax informed him of the attack and advised him to flee and put his hope of safety in the people. 4. The emperor, however, did not follow the advice of those who suggested this advantageous course of action in the present emergency; he considered this solution undignified and servile, unworthy of an emperor and unworthy of his previous way of life and his achievements. He therefore declined to flee or to hide; preferring to face the issue squarely, he came out to talk to the praetorians, hoping to win them over and put an end to their insane anger. 5. And so he left the room and approached the praetorians, in an effort to discover the reason for their anger, and tried to persuade them not to act like madmen. Remaining cool and calm in this crisis and displaying the dignity of an emperor, he showed no evidence of fear or cowardice or servility.

6. "For me," he said, "to be murdered by you is neither important nor grievous to an old man who has received so many honors in the course of a long life. It is inevitable that every man must die someday. But for you who are supposed to be the emperor's guardians and defenders to be his murderers, and for you to stain your hands with the blood of an emperor and, what is worse, that of a fellow Roman, be sure that this is not only an act of pollution at the present but also represents a danger for you in the future. I know in my heart that I have wronged you in no way. 7. If you are still grieved at the death of Commodus, remember that it is hardly surprising that death caught up with him. He was mortal. But if you think his death was the result of treachery, the blame does not lie with me. For you know that I am free of all suspicion on that score, and I know no more about what happened then than you do. So, if you suspect anything, bring charges against someone else. 8. But even though Commodus is dead, you will not lack anything which can be supplied you fairly and deservedly, so long as it can be done without recourse to violence and confiscation of property."

So persuasive were his words that he had now convinced some of them; indeed, quite a few of them began to withdraw, respecting the age of their revered emperor. But while he was still talking, the bolder praetorians attacked and killed him.² 9. After they had committed this savage crime, alarmed by what they had done and wishing to anticipate the fury of the people, who would, they knew, be enraged by the murder, the praetorians rushed back to the camp. Shutting all the gates and blocking the entrances, they placed sentries in the towers and

remained inside the walls to defend themselves if the mob should attack the camp. Such was the fate of Pertinax, whose life and policies have been described above.

VI

1. WHEN the assassination of the emperor was reported to the people, they ran about like madmen in their grief and rage. In the grip of unreasoning fury, the mob searched for the emperor's assassins, but were unable to find them and take their revenge. 2. The senators were particularly distressed by what had happened. They considered the loss of their benevolent father and revered protector a public disaster, and once more there arose the fear of a tyranny, the praetorians' special delight.

3. But after a day or two had passed, with every man fearing for his life, the people grew calm. Men of position went out to their estates which were farthest from the city, to avoid the danger of being present at the selection of the new emperor. 4. When the praetorians saw that the people were quiet and that no one dared to avenge the murder of the emperor, they remained isolated inside the camp. Then, bringing forward to the walls the men with the loudest voices, they made proclamation that the empire was for sale, promising to hand it over to the man who offered the highest price, and promising to conduct the purchaser safely to the imperial palace under the protection of their arms. 5. When they made this proclamation, the more august and respected senators, those who were nobly born and still wealthy, the scattered survivors of Commodus' tyranny, did not go to the wall; they had no desire to use their wealth basely and shamefully to buy the empire. 6. But the praetorians' proposition was reported to a man named Julianus while he was giving a dinner in the late afternoon amid much drinking and carousing. This Julianus had already served a term as consul and was thought to be a very wealthy man; he was one of the Romans censured for an intemperate way of life. 7. Then his wife and daughter and a mob of parasites persuaded him to leave his dining couch and hurry to the wall of the camp to find out what was going on. All the way to the camp they urged him to seize the prostrate empire; he had plenty of money and could outbid anyone who opposed him. 8. And so, when they came to the wall, Julianus shouted up a promise to give the praetorians everything they wanted, assuring them that he had plenty of money, that his strongboxes were crammed with gold and silver. At the same moment the urban prefect Sulpicianus, a man of consular rank (he was the father of Pertinax' wife), came to bargain for the empire. 9. But the praetorians refused to accept this man, afraid of his kinship with Pertinax, and fearing too that this might be a trick to avenge the emperor's murder. Lowering a ladder, they brought Julianus up to the top of the wall, for they were unwilling to open the gates until they knew how much he would pay for the empire. 10. When he came up, Julianus promised to revive the memory of Commodus, to restore his honors, and to re-erect his statues which the senate had pulled down; he further promised to restore to the praetorians all the powers they had possessed under that emperor and to give each soldier more gold than he asked for or expected to receive. 11. Convinced by his promises and delighted with their expectations, the guard proclaimed Julianus emperor, and, in view of his family and his ancestry, thought it appropriate that he assume the name of Commodus. Then, raising their standards, to which pictures of Julianus had been attached, they prepared to escort the emperor to the imperial palace. 12. After he had performed the usual imperial sacrifices in the camp, Julianus was led out under the protection of a contingent of the guard

larger than normal. Because he had purchased the empire shamefully, disgracefully, and fraudulently, using force and opposing the wishes of the people, the new emperor rightly feared that the people would be hostile toward him. 13. Therefore, under full arms and armor, the praetorians formed a phalanx so that, if necessary, they could fight. They placed their chosen emperor in the center of the formation, holding their spears and shields over their heads to protect the procession from any shower of stones hurled down from the houses. In this fashion they succeeded in conducting Julianus to the palace, as none of the people dared oppose them. No one, however, shouted the congratulations usually heard when emperors were accompanied by a formal escort; on the contrary, the people stood at a distance, shouting curses and reviling Julianus bitterly for using his wealth to purchase the empire.

14. It was on this occasion that the character of the praetorians was corrupted for the first time; they acquired their insatiable and disgraceful lust for money and their contempt for the sanctity of the emperor. The fact that there was no one to take action against these men who had savagely murdered their emperor, and the fact that there was no one to prevent the shameful auction and sale of the Roman empire, were the original causes of the praetorians' disgraceful and mutinous revolt at this time and also for later revolts. Their lust for gold and their contempt for their emperors increased, as did assassinations also.

1. WHEN he entered into the office of emperor, Julianus immediately devoted himself to drinking and debauchery. He regarded his duties to the state as of no consequence and occupied his time in luxurious living and profligate practices. It was quickly discovered, however, that he had lied to the praetorians and deceived them, as he was unable to fulfill his promises. 2. The truth is that he did not have as much money in his personal possession as he had pretended to have, and no money was available in the public treasures; these had been completely exhausted by Commodus' extravagances and his lavish and endless disbursements. The praetorians, cheated of their expectations, were enraged by this insulting breach of faith; and the people, when they were aware of the praetorians' attitude, held Julianus in contempt. When the emperor appeared in public, they cursed him bitterly and taunted him for his continuous and disgraceful debauches. 3. At the Circus Maximus, where the crowds were largest, the audience shouted insults at Julianus and called Niger defender of the empire and protector of the sacred office of emperor, begging him to come to their rescue as soon as possible, for they were subjected to unbearable indignities.

4. This Niger had previously served a term as consul; at the time of the events mentioned above, he was governor of Syria, then the largest and most powerful of the Roman provinces. The entire Phoenician territory and all the land as far as the Euphrates River were under Niger's command. 5. The governor, then just past middle age, had won renown for his many brilliant exploits. He was reported to be a fair and capable man and was said to pattern his life after that of Pertinax; the Romans, consequently, had great confidence in Niger. They called for him in all the public assemblies and insulted Julianus to his face by cheering the absent Niger and offering him the empire with loud shouts.

6. When the attitude of the Roman people and their actions were reported to him, Niger was naturally acquiescent and believed that affairs would turn out as he wished, with no difficulty. The fact that Julianus had been deserted by the praetorians because he failed to give them the money he had promised and the fact that he was despised by the people for the shameful way in which he had bought the empire encouraged Niger to be sanguine about his chances of becoming emperor. 7. As the first step, he summoned a few commanders and tribunes and prominent soldiers to his quarters; there he discussed the situation with them and won their support. He revealed in detail what he had heard from Rome, with the intent that, when this news was made public, it would become common knowledge to the soldiers and to the rest of the peoples of the East. 8. He hoped to win the support of all of them without difficulty when they understood that he was not attempting to seize the empire by plotting but rather that he was going to the assistance of the people at Rome, who were begging for him to come. All the Eastern peoples flocked to his support and implored him to take charge of affairs. 9. For the Syrian race is by nature unstable and sympathetic to any proposed change in the established order of things. In addition, the Syrians felt some affection for Niger because he ruled them mildly in all respects and staged a vast number of shows for them. They are by nature a people fond of spectacles, and the citizens of Antioch, a large and prosperous city, celebrate

festivals virtually every day of the year in the city and in the surrounding area. 10. And so, by constantly staging shows, about which they are wildly enthusiastic, and by allowing them free license to celebrate the holidays and make merry, Niger won their esteem.

VIII

1. AWARE of their high regard for him, Niger summoned the soldiers from all stations on an appointed day; after the people also had assembled, he mounted the platform erected for the purpose and addressed them as follows:

2. “The mildness of my disposition and my temperate approach in the important enterprises which I have undertaken are well known to you from of old. Never would I have come before you to discuss these matters if I were motivated solely by personal aims, by unreasonable hopes, or by the desire to realize even greater achievements. But the Romans are calling me and with unceasing cries beg me to extend to them the savior’s hand and not allow an empire so illustrious, one made famous by our ancestors from the earliest times, to be brought to disgraceful ruin. 3. Just as it is rash and hasty to undertake such great projects without good cause and reason, so too is it cowardly and treasonable to hesitate when one is summoned and begged to take action. This has led me to come before you to find out what your attitude is and what you think should be done — in short, to use you as my advisers and associates in the present situation. If the issue should prosper, it will work to our mutual advantage. 4. No selfish and self-deluding hopes summon me. The Roman people call me, the Roman people, to whom the gods have given their empire and their mastery over all men. The empire too cries out to me, unsettled as it is and not yet firmly fixed in the hands of any one man. This being the situation, the safety of this course will be obvious, both from the attitude of those who are calling me and from the fact that there is no one to oppose me or stand in my way. 5. My informants in Rome say that the praetorians, who sold the empire to Julianus, are untrustworthy bodyguards because he did not pay them the money he promised. Come now, reveal to me what your attitude is.”

6. When he had finished speaking, the entire army and all the people there immediately hailed him as emperor and called him Augustus. They robed him in the imperial purple and provided the remaining tokens of imperial rank from whatever was available. They carried the sacred fire before their emperor and, after escorting him to the temples in Antioch, established him in his own residence, treating it no longer as a private home but as the imperial palace, for they decorated the exterior of the house with the imperial insignia.

7. Niger was exceedingly pleased by these developments, and believed that control of imperial affairs was firmly fixed in his hands by the attitude of the Roman people and by the enthusiasm of the Eastern peoples. When the situation became generally known, all the people on the continent of Asia lying opposite Europe came to him,³ and every man hastened to submit to him of his own free will; embassies from all those peoples were sent to Niger at Antioch as if he were the recognized Roman emperor. 8. The rulers and kings beyond the Tigris and Euphrates rivers sent congratulations and promised assistance if it should be needed. In return, Niger sent these rulers lavish gifts and thanked them for their support and their offers, but he assured them that he did not lack for allies. He told them that the empire was his beyond any doubt and that he intended to rule without bloodshed.

9. Elated by these hopes, Niger now grew negligent in attending to matters at hand. Spending his time in luxurious living, he reveled with the people of Antioch, devoting himself to shows and spectacles, and postponed his departure for Rome when he should have hurried to the city at top speed. 10. It was imperative that he visit the cities in Illyricum at the earliest possible moment and win their support before someone else did. He did not, however, release in Illyricum any report of what had happened, hoping that the army there, when it learned of these developments, would be in agreement with the entreaties of the Roman people and the attitude of the Eastern armies.

IX

1. WHILE Niger was dreaming these dreams and relying upon uncertain and unfounded hopes, what had occurred in Syria was reported to the Pannonians and the people in Illyricum, as well as to the entire military force in that area — that is, to the troops assigned to duty on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine to check barbarian incursions in those regions and defend the Roman empire. 2. The governor of all the Pannonians (for they were at that time under one command) was a Libyan named Severus, a born administrator and a man of tremendous energy. Accustomed to a rugged life, he was physically able to endure heavy labor; mentally, he was quick to understand and quick to act once he understood. 3. When he learned from reports that the Roman empire was dangling in the sky like a meteor for Niger and Julianus to seize, Severus, charging the former with negligence and the latter with cowardice, decided to intervene in these affairs. He had had dreams which led him to expect something like this, and his dreams were supported by oracular responses and all the signs that appear as prophecies of things to come. All these, whether they are true or false, are invariably believed when they foretell something which later actually occurs. 4. Severus himself recorded many portents in his autobiography, and had them inscribed on his public statues also. But the last and most significant of his dreams, the one which made it clear to him that he would get all he hoped for, must not be omitted. 5. At the time Pertinax was reported to have assumed control of the empire, Severus, after making the sacrifices and swearing the oath of allegiance to the new emperor, went back to his house at dusk and fell asleep. He dreamed that he saw a large, noble stallion adorned with the imperial trappings carrying Pertinax down the middle of the Sacred Way at Rome. 6. But when the horse arrived at the entrance of the Forum, where, in the old days of the Republic, the popular assemblies had been held, in his dream the stallion unseated Pertinax and threw him to the ground. While Severus stood there motionless, the horse slipped under him, taking him up on his back, and bore him safely along. Then, halting in the middle of the Forum, the stallion raised Severus aloft, so that he was seen and cheered by all. And in our time a huge bronze statue depicting this dream still stood on that spot. 7. His resolve thus strengthened, with high hopes that he was being called to the throne by divine summons, Severus made trial of the attitude of the soldiers. As the first step, he met in his quarters with a few commanders and tribunes and prominent soldiers and discussed with them the Roman empire, how it lay completely helpless because there was no man of the nobility and no man with enough ability to take control of it. 8. He spoke with contempt of the praetorians at Rome as disloyal and false to their oath in spilling the blood of their emperor and fellow Roman, and told them that he had to go to Rome to avenge the murder of Pertinax, for he was aware that all the soldiers in Illyricum remembered the governorship of the man. 9. When Marcus was emperor, Pertinax had won with them many victories over the Germans; after he had been appointed general and governor of the province of Illyricum, he had displayed great courage in fighting the enemy. But at the same time he revealed his benevolence and good will toward those he ruled by his moderation and his sensible exercise of authority. For these reasons they revered his memory and were enraged at those who had treated him so savagely. 10. Seizing this as his excuse, Severus without difficulty persuaded them to do what he wished; he pretended that he was not

personally seeking the empire and did not desire power for himself, but rather that he wished to avenge the murder of so great an emperor as Pertinax. 11. Although the men of those regions have huge and powerful bodies and are skillful and murderous in battle, they are dull of wit and slow to realize that they are being deceived. Hence they believed Severus when he said that he was enraged and wished to avenge the murder of Pertinax; and, putting themselves in his hands, they made him emperor and turned the control of the empire over to him. 12. Since he now knew the attitude of the Pannonians, he reported these events to the neighboring provinces and to the rulers of all the northern nations under Roman control; he convinced them by lavish promises and the expectation of great rewards, and easily won their support. 13. He was surely the most accomplished of all men in pretending to pledge his good will, but he never kept his sworn word if it proved necessary for him to break it; he lied whenever it was advantageous to him, and his tongue said many things which his heart did not mean.

1. SEVERUS sent letters to all the soldiers in Illyricum and to their officers and won their support. After assembling the troops from all stations, he assumed as his names both Severus and Pertinax, hoping that this would endear him not only to the people in Illyricum but also to the Romans because of their memories of that emperor. He then called the soldiers together on the assembly ground and, mounting a platform erected for him, addressed them as follows:

2. "The faith and reverence which you have for the gods, by whom you swear, and the respect which you have for your emperors, whom you esteem, you have made abundantly clear by your rage at the acts of the praetorians in Rome, who are more suited for parades than for battles. And now, because you ask it, although I never before entertained such a hope (you know my loyalty to the emperors), it is my duty to undertake and successively resolve these matters which have your approval. 3. I must not allow the Roman empire to lie helpless, that empire which, to the end of Marcus' reign, was administered with reverence and appeared to be august and awesome. Under Commodus, however, the empire underwent a change, and yet, even if it did suffer somewhat at his hands because of his youth, all was forgiven him because of his noble birth and the memory of his father. And the truth is that there was more reason to pity than to despise him for his errors, in that we attributed most of what happened not to him personally but to the parasites who swarmed around him and to his advisers and accomplices in his irregular acts. 4. But when the empire came into the hands of that revered elder statesman Pertinax, the memory of whose courage and service to the state is still firmly fixed in our hearts, the praetorians not only did not protect their emperor, but went so far as to murder that illustrious man. And now some fellow has disgracefully purchased the empire and its vast expanse of land and sea; as you have heard, he is hated by the people and no longer trusted by the disillusioned praetorians. 5. Even if they loved him and intended to support him, you outnumber them and are superior in courage. You have trained under actual combat conditions in your continuous skirmishes with the barbarians, and you are accustomed to endure all kinds of labor. Ignoring heat and cold, you cross frozen rivers on the ice; you do not drink water from wells, but water you have dug yourself. You have also trained by fighting with animals, and, all in all, you have won so distinguished a reputation for bravery that no one could stand against you. 6. Toil is the true test of the soldier, not easy living, and those luxury-loving sots would not face your battle cry, much less your battle line. But if any one of you is concerned about affairs in Syria, he may judge how feeble the effort is there and how slight the hope of success by the fact that these men have not dared to venture beyond their own borders and were not bold enough to plan for a journey to Rome. There they remain, content, believing that this temporary taste of living in luxury represents the total profit to them of this firmly established empire. 7. The truth is that the Syrians are suited only to games and childish banter. This is especially true of those who live in Antioch, who are reported to be highly enthusiastic supporters of Niger. But the rest of the provinces and cities have up to now found no one worthy of the imperial throne, and, because no man has appeared who will rule with courage and use sound administrative practices, it is evident that they are only pretending to support that fellow. 8. But if they should learn that the army of

Illyricum has already made its choice, and if they should hear our name, which is not unknown or without honor among them, because of our term as governor of Syria, know well, I say, that they will not find fault with me for delay or cowardice, nor will they elect to stand and face your bravery and your battle prowess, for they are greatly inferior to you in size of body, in endurance of hardship, and in close-quarter combat.

9. Let us therefore occupy Rome before they do it; that city is the seat of the empire. By establishing our headquarters in Rome, we shall manage the rest easily, putting our trust in divine prophecies and our reliance in your strength and your arms.”

After Severus had finished speaking, the soldiers shouted his praises, calling him Augustus and Pertinax, and displaying the utmost zeal and enthusiasm for him.

XI

1. WITHOUT delay and waste of time, Severus ordered them to get ready only as much gear as each could conveniently carry, and announced his decision to depart for Rome. He distributed money to the troops and issued supplies for the journey. With prodigious effort, he sped on his way, stopping nowhere and allowing no time for rest except for the brief periods necessary to enable the soldiers to recover from the rigorous march. 2. He shared personally in their hardships, sleeping in an ordinary army tent and eating and drinking whatever was available to all; on no occasion did he make use of imperial luxuries or comforts. As a result, he enjoyed even greater popularity among the troops; respecting him not only for sharing their hardships but also for overcoming all difficulties, they carried out his orders with enthusiasm.

3. After crossing Pannonia, Severus came to the mountains of Italy; outstripping the news of his approach, he appeared in person to the people there before they had heard that he was emperor or that he was on his way to Rome. The cities of Italy regarded the approach of this formidable army with apprehension. The men of Italy, long unused to arms and war, were devoted to farming and peaceful pursuits. 4. As long as Roman affairs were governed by Republican principles and the senate selected the generals who took charge of military affairs, all the Italians were under arms, and controlled the lands and the seas, waging wars with Greeks and barbarians. There was no place on earth, no place under heaven, to which the Romans did not extend the borders of their empire. 5. From the time when Augustus assumed control of the government, however, the princeps freed the Italians from the necessity of working and of bearing arms; establishing forts and camps for the defense of the empire, he stationed mercenaries in these to serve as a defensive bulwark on the frontiers. The empire was further protected by great barriers of rivers and mountains and impassable deserts. 6. When the people of Italy learned that Severus was approaching with a huge army, they were understandably dismayed by the unexpectedness of this development. Not daring to oppose him or try to stop him, they took up laurel branches and went out to meet him, welcoming him with open gates. Delaying only to secure good omens and say a few words to the people, Severus hurried on to Rome.

7. When these developments were reported to Julianus, he was in despair because of what he had heard about the size and the power of the army of Illyricum, because of his lack of faith in the Roman people, who hated him, and because of his lack of confidence in the praetorians, whom he had swindled. Still, he collected his own money and that of his friends, appropriated what was left in the public and temple treasuries, and undertook to distribute this sum among the praetorians in an effort to purchase their good will. 8. But in spite of the fact that they received large amounts of money, the praetorians were in no way grateful to the emperor; they felt that he was not giving them a bonus but only paying them what he owed them.

Although his friends advised him to lead out the army and seize the passes of the Alps, Julianus did nothing. The Alps are very tall mountains — there are none like them in our part

of the world; they surround Italy like a wall and are her first line of defense. This is yet another piece of good fortune which Nature has provided the Italians, an impregnable barrier across their entire northern frontier, for the Alps extend unbroken from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic Sea. 9. But Julianus, as I have said, did not dare to venture forth from Rome. He did, however, send a message to the praetorians, begging them to take up arms, practice their drills, and dig trenches to defend the city. In the city he made what preparations he could for the battle with Severus. All the elephants used by the Romans in parades were trained to carry men and towers on their backs. It was hoped that the elephants would terrify the troops from Illyricum and stampede the enemy cavalry when these huge beasts, which the horses had never seen before, appeared on the field. The whole city was training in arms and preparing for battle.

XII

1. WHILE Julianus' troops were delaying and preparing for battle, word came that Severus was approaching. Dividing most of his army into small bands, Severus ordered them to slip into the city unnoticed. Spreading out along all the roads into Rome, many by day, but even more by night, entered the city unobserved, in civilian disguise, with their weapons concealed. 2. The enemy was thus already in the city while Julianus was hesitating, unaware of what was happening. When the people learned of these developments, they were in complete confusion; fearing the army of Severus, they pretended to support his cause, charging Julianus with cowardice and Niger with hesitation and sloth. But when they heard that Severus was in Rome, the people were thunderstruck. 3. Julianus, dumb and witless, did not know how to handle the situation. Ordering the senate to convene, he sent a letter to Severus in which he proposed peace and, proclaiming him emperor, made him his colleague in governing the empire. The senate voted its approval of these proposals; but when it was obvious that Julianus was terror-stricken and in despair, all the senators immediately abandoned him for Severus. 4. After two or three days had passed, the senators, aware that Severus was in Rome, contemptuous of Julianus, entered the senate house at the order of the consuls, the officials who took charge at Rome when the affairs of the empire were in confusion. 5. After convening, the senate consulted about what should be done in the present emergency. Meanwhile, Julianus was still in the imperial palace bewailing the disaster that had befallen him and pleading to be allowed to resign as emperor and turn the entire power over to Severus. 6. When the senate learned that Julianus was cowering in fear and that the Praetorian Guard had deserted him in terror of Severus, that body voted to take the empire from Julianus and proclaim Severus sole emperor. They therefore sent to Severus an embassy made up of the chief officials and the most distinguished senators to hand over to him all the imperial honors. 7. A tribune was sent to kill Julianus, that cowardly and wretched old man who had in this way purchased with his own money his miserable death.

XIII

1. DESERTED by all, Julianus was found weeping disgracefully and was killed. When he learned of the senate's action and the death of Julianus, Severus, encouraged to hope for greater success, used a trick to seize and hold prisoner the Praetorian Guard, the murderers of Pertinax. He quietly sent private letters to the tribunes and centurions, promising them rich rewards if they would persuade the praetorians in Rome to submit and obey the emperor's orders. 2. He also sent an open letter to the praetorian camp, directing the soldiers to leave their weapons behind in the camp and come forth unarmed, as was the custom when they escorted the emperor to the sacrifices or to the celebration of a festival. He further ordered them to swear the oath of allegiance in his name and to present themselves with good expectations of continuing to serve as the emperor's bodyguard. 3. Trusting these orders and persuaded by their tribunes, the praetorians left their arms behind and appeared from the camp in holiday uniform, carrying laurel branches. Arriving at Severus' camp, they sent word that they were at the assembly ground where the emperor had ordered them to muster for a welcoming address. 4. The praetorians moved toward the emperor as he was mounting the speaking platform; then, at a given signal, they were all seized while cheering him in unison. Prior orders had been issued to Severus' soldiers to surround the praetorians, now their enemy, at the moment when they were standing with their eyes fixed in expectant attention upon the emperor; they were not, however, to wound or strike any member of the guard. Severus ordered his troops to hold the praetorians in a tight ring of steel, believing that they would not resist, since they were only a few unarmed men, fearful of wounds, confronted by an armed host. 5. When he had them netted like fish in his circle of weapons, like prisoners of war, the enraged emperor shouted in a loud voice:

"You see by what has happened that we are superior to you in intelligence, in size of army, and in number of supporters. Surely you were easily trapped, captured without a struggle. It is in my power to do with you what I wish when I wish. Helpless and prostrate, you lie before us now, victims of our might. 6. But if one looks for a punishment equal to the crimes you have committed, it is impossible to find a suitable one. You murdered your revered and benevolent old emperor, the man whom it was your sworn duty to protect. The empire of the Roman people, eternally respected, which our forefathers obtained by their valiant courage or inherited because of their noble birth, this empire you shamefully and disgracefully sold for silver as if it were your personal property. 7. But you were unable to defend the man whom you yourselves had chosen as emperor. No, you betrayed him like the cowards you are. For these monstrous acts and crimes you deserve a thousand deaths, if one wished to do to you what you have earned. You see clearly what it is right you should suffer. But I will be merciful. I will not butcher you.

8. My hands shall not do what your hands did. But I say that it is in no way fit or proper for you to continue to serve as the emperor's bodyguard, you who have violated your oath and stained your hands with the blood of your emperor and fellow Roman, betraying the trust placed in you and the security offered by your protection. Still, compassion leads me to spare

your lives and your persons. But I order the soldiers who have you surrounded to cashier you, to strip off any military uniform or equipment you are wearing, and drive you off naked. 9. And I order you to get yourselves as far from the city of Rome as is humanly possible, and I promise you and I swear it on solemn oath and I proclaim it publicly that if any one of you is found within a hundred miles of Rome, he shall pay for it with his head.”

10. After he had issued these orders, the soldiers from Illyricum rushed forward and stripped from the praetorians their short ceremonial swords inlaid with gold and silver; next, they ripped off belts, uniforms, and any military insignia they were wearing, and sent them off naked. 11. The praetorians had to submit to this treatment, since they were betrayed and taken by a trick. Indeed, what else could they do — a few naked men against so many fully armed soldiers? They left then, lamenting their fate, and, although they accepted with gratitude the safe-conduct granted them, they bitterly regretted that they had left the camp without arms and had been trapped in this humiliating and high-handed fashion.

12. The circumstances of the situation led Severus to use another stratagem. Fearing that, after they had been cashiered from the service, the praetorians might rush back to the camp and snatch up their arms, the emperor sent ahead, by other streets and ways, men picked for their demonstrated courage; these men were to reach the camp ahead of the praetorians, seize the arms there, and shut out the guards if they came to the camp.

Such was the punishment suffered by the murderers of Pertinax.

1. THEN Severus entered Rome with all the rest of his army under arms: his presence in the city brought fear and panic to the Romans because of his achievements, so daring and favored by fortune. The people and the senate, carrying laurel branches, received him, the foremost of men and emperors, who had accomplished great deeds without bloodshed or difficulty. 2. Everything about the man was extraordinary, but especially outstanding were his shrewd judgment, his endurance of toils, and his spirit of bold optimism in everything he did. Then, after the people had welcomed him with cheers and the senate had saluted him at the city gates, Severus went into the temple of Jupiter and offered sacrifices; after sacrificing in the rest of the shrines in accord with imperial practice, he entered the palace. 3. On the following day he went to the senate and addressed all the senators in a speech that was very mild in tone and full of promises of good things for the future. Greeting them collectively and individually, he told them that he had come to avenge the murder of Pertinax and assured them that his reign would mark the reintroduction of senatorial rule. No man would be put to death or have his property confiscated without a trial; he would not tolerate informers; he would bring unlimited prosperity to his subjects; he intended to imitate Marcus' reign in every way; and he would assume not only the name but also the manner and approach of Pertinax. 4. By this speech he won a good opinion for himself among most of the senators, and they believed his promises. But some of the older senators knew the true character of the man, and said privately that he was indeed a man of great cunning, who knew how to manage things shrewdly; they further said that he was very skillful at deceit and at feigning anything and everything; and, moreover, he always did what was of benefit and profit to his own interests. The truth of these observations was later demonstrated by what the man actually did.

5. After spending a short time in Rome, during which he made generous gifts to the people, staged shows, and rewarded his soldiers lavishly, he chose for service in the imperial bodyguard, to replace the praetorians he had dismissed, the best-qualified soldiers from his army. He then set out for the East. 6. Since Niger was still delaying and wasting time in luxurious living in Antioch, Severus wished to surprise him before he was prepared. He therefore ordered his soldiers to be ready to march, and collected recruits everywhere, calling up the young men from the cities of Italy and enrolling them in the army. All the units of the army he had left behind in Illyricum were directed to march into Thrace and join him there. 7. He fitted out a naval unit; manning with heavily armed troops all the triremes in Italy, he sent these off too. He got ready a large and powerful force with incredible speed, aware that he would need a large army to operate against Niger and the entire continent lying opposite Europe.

1. SEVERUS made preparations for the war with great care. A thorough and cautious man, he had his doubts about the army in Britain, which was large and very powerful, manned by excellent soldiers. Britain was then under the command of Albinus, a man of the senatorial order who had been reared in luxury on money inherited from his ancestors. 2. Severus, wishing to gain the friendship of this man, deceived him by a trick; he feared that Albinus, having strong stimuli to encourage him to seize the throne, and made bold by his ancestry and wealth, a powerful army, and his popularity among the Romans, might seize the empire and occupy Rome while Severus was busy with affairs in the East. 3. And so he deceived the man by pretending to do him honor. Albinus, conceited and somewhat naive in his judgment, really believed the many things which Severus swore on oath in his letters. Severus appointed him Caesar, to anticipate his hope and desire for a share of the imperial power. 4. He wrote Albinus the friendliest of letters, deceitful, of course, in which he begged the man to devote his attention to the welfare of the empire. He wrote him that the situation required a man of the nobility in the prime of life; he himself was old and afflicted with gout, and his sons were still very young. Believing Severus, Albinus gratefully accepted the honor, delighted to be getting what he wanted without fighting and without risk. 5. After making these same proposals to the senate, to increase their faith in him, Severus ordered coins to be struck bearing his likeness, and he increased the favor he had won by erecting statues of himself and assuming the rest of the imperial honors. When he had, by his cunning, arranged matters securely with respect to Albinus and consequently had nothing to fear from Britain, the emperor, accompanied by the entire army of Illyricum, set out against Niger, convinced that he had arranged to his own advantage everything affecting his reign.

6. Where he halted on his march, what he said in each city, the portents that seemed to appear by divine foresight, the countries and conflicts, the number of men on each side who fell in battle, all these have been recorded fully enough by numerous historians and poets who have made the life of Severus the subject of their entire work. But it is my intent to write a chronological account of the exploits of many emperors over a period of seventy years, exploits about which I have knowledge from personal experience. Therefore I shall record the most significant and distinguished of Severus' achievements in the order in which they occurred, not selecting the favorable ones in order to flatter him, as did the writers of his own day; but, on the other hand, I shall omit nothing worth telling or worth remembering.

ENDNOTES.

¹ The plague and the frontier wars during Marcus Aurelius' reign had seriously reduced the number of farmers in the empire.

² March 28, 193.

³ The Propontis marked a natural dividing line between West and East. Niger, after consolidating his gains in the East, failed to extend his control of the empire by appearing personally in the West.

BOOK III.

I

1. THE death of Pertinax, the killing of Julianus, the entrance of Severus into Rome, and his expedition against Niger have all been described in the preceding book. When Niger learned that Severus had occupied Rome, had been proclaimed emperor by the senate, and was leading the entire army of Illyricum against him, supported by the rest of the infantry and a naval unit as well, he was greatly disturbed by these unexpected developments. He sent orders to the governors of the Eastern provinces to keep a close guard on all the passes and harbors. 2. He also sent word to the king of the Parthians, to the king of the Armenians, and to the king of the Atrienians, asking for aid. The Armenian king replied that he would not form an alliance with anyone, but was ready to defend his own lands if Severus should attack him now. The Parthian king, on the other hand, said that he would order his governors to collect troops — the customary practice whenever it was necessary to raise an army, as they have no standing army and do not hire mercenaries. 3. Barsemius, king of the Atrienians, sent a contingent of native archers to aid Niger. 4. The rest of his army Niger collected from the troops stationed in those areas. Most of the citizens of Antioch, especially the young men, who, in their instability, were enthusiastic supporters of Niger, offered themselves for military service, acting more in haste than in wisdom. Niger ordered that the narrow passes and cliffs of the Taurus Mountains should be defended by strong walls and fortifications, believing that an impassable mountain range would be a powerful protection for the highways of the East. The Taurus Mountains, which lie between Cappadocia and Cilicia, mark the dividing line between the East and the West. 5. Niger also sent an army to occupy Byzantium in Thrace, at that time a large and prosperous city rich in men and money. Located at the narrowest part of the Propontic Gulf, Byzantium grew immensely wealthy from its marine revenues, both tolls and fish; the city owned much fertile land, too, and realized a very handsome profit from all these sources. 6. Niger wished to have this city under his control because it was very strong, but especially because he hoped to be able to prevent any crossing from Europe and Asia by way of the Propontic Gulf. Byzantium was surrounded by a huge, strong wall of millstones cut to rectangular shape and fitted so skillfully that it was impossible to determine where the courses were

joined; the entire wall appeared to be a single block of stone. 7. Even now the surviving ruins of this wall are enough to make the viewer marvel both at the technical skill of the original builders and the might of those who finally destroyed it.

Niger was thus acting, as he believed, with the greatest possible foresight to guarantee the utmost security.

II

1. SEVERUS, in the meantime, pressed on with his army at top speed, halting for neither rest nor refreshment. Having learned that Byzantium, which he knew was defended by the strongest of city walls, had been occupied by Niger, Severus ordered his army to march to Cyzicus. 2. The governor of Asia at that time was the general Aemilianus, to whom Niger had entrusted the military preparations in that province. When he learned that the army of Severus was approaching, Aemilianus marched toward Cyzicus at the head of his entire army, which included both the troops he had enrolled himself and those sent to him by Niger. When the two armies met, savage battles were fought in those regions; the army of Severus conquered, and the soldiers of Niger, put to flight, were routed and slaughtered. Thus the hopes of the East were shattered, while the hopes of the Illyrians soared.

3. There are those who say that Niger's cause, immediately betrayed by Aemilianus, was doomed from the start, and they cite two reasons for that general's action. Some say that the governor plotted against Niger because he was jealous and angry that his successor as governor of Syria was about to become his superior as emperor and tyrant. Others, however, say that he was forced to betray Niger by his own children, who urgently begged him to do so in order to insure their own safety; for Severus, finding Aemilianus' children at Rome, had seized them and was holding them under guard. Nor was he the first to make use of this extremely foresighted stratagem. 4. It was Commodus' practice to keep in custody the children of the governors of the provinces in order to have pledges of their loyalty and good will. Severus, familiar with this practice, when he was made emperor and Julianus was still alive, grew anxious about his children. Sending for them in secret, he had them brought to him from Rome to prevent their falling into the hands of someone else. 5. When he came to Rome, Severus gathered up the children of the governors and those who occupied positions of importance in the East and all Asia and held them in custody; these children he kept so that the governors might be led to betray Niger in fear for the safety of their children, or, if they continued to favor his cause, envisaging the agony they would suffer if their children were killed, they might do something to protect them.

6. After the defeat at Cyzicus, the troops of Niger scattered far and wide;

some fled into the mountains of Armenia, others into Galatia and Asia, hoping to reach the Taurus Mountains before the soldiers of Severus and take refuge behind the fortifications there. Meanwhile the army of Severus pressed on, passing through Cyzicus and advancing into neighboring Bithynia.

7. When the report of Severus' victory was made public, dissension immediately arose in the cities of all those provinces, not so much because of affection or good will toward the warring emperors but from mutual jealousy, envy, and hatred, together with indignation over the slaughter of their fellow citizens. 8. This is an ancient failing of the Greeks; the constant organizing of factions against each other and their eagerness to bring about the downfall of those who seem superior to them have ruined Greece. Their ancient quarrels and internal feuds had made them easy prey to the Macedonians and slaves to the Romans, and this curse of jealousy and envy has been handed down to the flourishing Greek cities of our own day. 9. Immediately after these events in Cyzicus, the Nicomedians in Bithynia announced their support of Severus; they sent envoys to him, welcomed his army, and promised to supply all his needs. The Niceans, on the other hand, because they hated the Nicomedians, welcomed the army of Niger, both the fugitives who came to them and the troops sent by Niger to defend Bithynia. 10. Then the soldiers on each side rushed forth from the two cities as if from regular army camps and crashed together; after a savage struggle, the supporters of Severus won a decisive victory. The adherents of Niger who survived the battle fled from those regions and poured into the Taurus Mountains, where they blocked the passes and held the fortifications under guard. But Niger, leaving a force which he considered adequate for the defense of these barricades, hurried off to Antioch to collect troops and money.

III

1. PASSING through Bithynia and Galatia, the army of Severus swept into Cappadocia; there it halted and put the defense works under siege. This was no small undertaking, however: the narrow rough road made an approach very difficult; and Niger's soldiers, fighting back bravely, stood upon the battlements and hurled stones down on the attackers. 2. Thus a few defenders easily held off a great number of attackers, for the narrow approach was protected on one side by a lofty mountain and on the other by a steep cliff which served as the channel of a waterfall formed by mountain streams. All these natural defenses had been utilized by Niger to block Severus' approach from any direction.

3. While these things were happening in Cappadocia, where mutual jealousy and enmity were general, the Laodiceans in Syria revolted from Niger because they hated the people of Antioch, and the people of Tyre in Phoenicia revolted because they hated the people of Berytus. When they learned that Niger was in headlong flight, the people of these two cities decided to risk stripping him of his honors and publicly proclaimed their support of Severus. 4. Niger learned of this action while he was in Antioch, and although up to this time he had been quite mild, he was now justifiably angered by their insolent defection and sent against them his Moroccan javelin men and some of the archers too, ordering them to kill everyone they met, loot the two cities, and burn them to the ground. 5. The Moroccans are the most brutal and savage men in the world and are wholly indifferent to death or danger. Taking the Laodiceans by surprise, they destroyed the city and slaughtered the inhabitants. Then they hurried on to Tyre and, after much looting and killing, burned the whole city.

6. While these events were taking place in Syria and Niger was collecting an army, the troops of Severus pitched camp and besieged the fortifications in the Taurus Mountains. The soldiers were disheartened and discouraged, however; the defenses, protected by a mountain and a cliff, were strong and difficult to approach. 7. But when the army of Severus was about to abandon the siege and their opponents believed that their position was impregnable, rain suddenly fell in torrents during the night, and much snow along with it. (The winters are severe in Cappadocia and especially so in the Taurus

Mountains.) A large and violent stream of water now poured down on the fortifications, which blocked the regular stream bed and checked the torrent; hence the current became deep and strong. Then Nature prevailed over man's handiwork, and the wall was unable to hold back the stream. The wall did briefly withstand the pressure of the water on its joints, but finally the foundations, which had been constructed hastily and without the usual care, were undermined by the torrent and the wall collapsed. The whole fortification was exposed, and the stream, leveling the area, breached the defense works. 8. When those on guard at the barricade saw what had happened, they feared that they would be surrounded and trapped by the rushing flood; abandoning their posts, they fled, since there was no longer anything to keep the enemy out. Delighted by this turn of events, the troops of Severus rejoiced, believing that they were under the guidance of divine providence; when they saw the guards fleeing in all directions they crossed the Taurus Mountains without difficulty or opposition and marched into Cilicia.

IV

1. WHEN he learned what had happened, Niger collected a huge army, but one unused to battle and toil, and marched out in haste. A large number of men, especially the youths of Antioch, presented themselves for service in the campaign, risking their lives for him. The enthusiasm of his army naturally encouraged Niger, but his soldiers were much inferior to the Illyrians in skill and courage. 2. Both armies marched out to a flat, sweeping plain near a bay called Issus; there a ridge of hills forms a natural theater on this plain, and a broad beach slopes down to the sea, as if Nature had constructed a stadium for a battle. 3. It was there, they say, that Darius fought his last and greatest battle with Alexander and was defeated and captured when the West defeated the East.¹ Even today a memorial and a monument of the victory remain: a city on the ridge, called Alexandria, and a bronze statue from which the region gets its name.

4. The armies of Severus and Niger not only met at that historic spot but the outcome of the battle was the same. The armies pitched camp opposite each other toward evening, and spent a sleepless night, anxious and afraid. With each of the generals urging his men on, the armies advanced to the attack at sunrise, fighting with savage fury, as if this were destined to be the final and decisive battle and Fortune would there choose one of them as emperor. 5. After the battle had continued for a long time with terrible slaughter, and the rivers which flowed through the plain were pouring more blood than water into the sea, the rout of the forces of the East began. Driving Niger's battered troops before them, the Illyrians forced some of the fugitives into the sea; pursuing the rest as they rushed to the ridges, they slaughtered the fugitives, as well as a large number of men from the nearby towns and farms who had gathered to watch the battle from a safe vantage point.

6. Mounting a good horse, Niger fled with a few companions to Antioch. There he found the survivors of the rout, weeping and wailing, mourning the loss of sons and brothers. Niger now fled from Antioch in despair. Discovered hiding in the outskirts of the city, he was beheaded by the pursuing horsemen [A.D. 194].

7. Such was the fate Niger suffered, and he paid the penalty he deserved for his negligence and indecision. In other respects, however, they say that he was

in no way despicable either as emperor or as man. Having eliminated Niger, Severus now put to death without mercy all the man's friends, whether they had supported him by choice or by necessity. When he learned that some of Niger's soldiers had managed to escape across the Tigris River and that, fearing the emperor, they were joining forces with the barbarians there, he induced a few to return, by granting them full pardon, but the majority of the fugitives remained in that alien land.

8. Thereafter, the battle tactics of the barbarians in those regions were much more effective against the close-quarter fighting of the Romans. Formerly, the barbarians did not use swords and spears in battle; they fought only as mounted archers. And instead of wearing full body armor, they rode in light, loose-fitting uniforms. Their method of fighting was to flee on horseback and shoot their arrows behind them. 9. But since the Roman fugitives were all soldiers, and there were technicians among those who elected to settle permanently across the Tigris River, the barbarians learned from them both the use and the manufacture of arms.

V

1. AFTER settling Eastern affairs in what he thought was the most advantageous way, Severus wished to take the field immediately against the Atrenian king and invade Parthia also, charging both of these kings with friendship for Niger. He put off these projects until later, however, wishing to seize the Roman empire first and make it secure for himself and his sons. 2. Even though Niger had been eliminated, Severus considered Albinus still a menace. He now heard that this man, delighted with the title of Caesar, was acting more and more like an emperor; he was informed also that a great many men, particularly the most distinguished senators, were writing public and private letters to the Caesar, trying to persuade him to come to Rome while Severus was absent and occupied elsewhere. The fact is that the aristocracy much preferred Albinus as emperor because he belonged to a noble family and was reputed to have a mild nature. 3. When he learned of these developments, Severus declined to initiate open hostility against Albinus and start a war with him since he lacked a reasonable excuse for such action. He thought it best to try to eliminate his Caesar by tricking him without warning. 4. He therefore sent his most trusted imperial messengers to Britain with secret orders to hand Albinus the dispatches openly if they were admitted to his presence. They were then to ask him to meet them privately to receive secret instructions; when Albinus agreed to this and his bodyguards were not present, the messengers were to attack him without warning and cut him down. 5. Severus provided them with deadly poisons so that, if the opportunity presented itself, they might persuade one of his cooks or cupbearers to administer a dose in secret. 6. Albinus' advisers, however, were suspicious of the emperor's messengers, and warned him to be on his guard against this cunning schemer. Severus' actions against Niger's governors had seriously damaged his reputation; after forcing them through their children to betray Niger, as has been related above, and after making good use of their assistance, he put them to death with their children after he had got from them everything he wanted. His actions on this occasion clearly revealed Severus' despicable character. 7. The efforts of Severus now led Albinus to increase the size of his bodyguard. None of the emperor's men was admitted into the Caesar's presence until he had first been stripped and searched for concealed

weapons. 8. Now when the messengers from Severus arrived, they handed over the dispatches to Albinus openly and asked him to retire with them to receive secret orders. But Albinus, suspicious, had the men seized, and, putting them to torture privately, discovered the entire plot; after killing the messengers, he prepared to resist his revealed enemy.

VI

1. WHEN he was informed of what had occurred, Severus took effective and energetic action; by nature quick to anger, he no longer concealed his hostility toward Albinus. Calling together the entire army, he spoke to them as follows:

“Let no one charge us with capricious inconsistency in our actions against Albinus, and let no one think that I am disloyal to this alleged friend or lacking in feeling toward him. 2. We gave this man everything, even a share of the established empire, a thing which a man would hardly do for his own brother. Indeed, I bestowed upon him that which you entrusted to me alone. Surely Albinus has shown little gratitude for the many benefits I have lavished upon him. 3. Now he is collecting an army to take up arms against us, scornful of your valor and indifferent to his pledge of good faith to me, wishing in his insatiable greed to seize at the risk of disaster that which he has already received in part without war and without bloodshed, showing no respect for the gods by whom he has often sworn, and counting as worthless the labors you performed on our joint behalf with such courage and devotion to duty. 4. In what you accomplished, he also had a share, and he would have had an even greater share of the honor you gained for us both if he had only kept his word. For, just as it is unfair to initiate wrong actions, so also it is cowardly to make no defense against unjust treatment. Now when we took the field against Niger, we had reasons for our hostility, not entirely logical, perhaps, but inevitable. We did not hate him because he had seized the empire after it was already ours, but rather each one of us, motivated by an equal desire for glory, sought the empire for himself alone, when it was still in dispute and lay prostrate before all. 5. But Albinus has violated his pledges and broken his oaths, and although he received from me that which a man normally gives only to his son, he has chosen to be hostile rather than friendly and belligerent instead of peaceful. And just as we were generous to him previously and showered fame and honor upon him, so let us now punish him with our arms for his treachery and cowardice. 6. His army, small and island-bred, will not stand against your might. For you, who by your valor and readiness to act on your own behalf have been victorious in many battles and have gained control of the entire East, how can you fail to emerge victorious with the greatest of ease when you have so large a number of allies and when virtually the entire

army is here. Whereas they, by contrast, are few in number and lack a brave and competent general to lead them. 7. Who does not know Albinus' effeminate nature? Who does not know that his way of life has prepared him more for the chorus than for the battlefield? Let us therefore go forth against him with confidence, relying on our customary zeal and valor, with the gods as our allies, gods against whom he has acted impiously in breaking his oaths, and let us be mindful of the victories we have won, victories which that man ridicules."

8. When Severus had finished speaking, the entire army called Albinus enemy and shouted their approval of Severus, promising him their wholehearted support; as a result, he was inspired even more and encouraged to anticipate greater things. After making generous gifts to the soldiers, Severus publicly announced his expedition against Albinus. 9. He also sent troops to continue the siege of Byzantium, which was still under blockade because the soldiers of Niger had fled there. At a later date Byzantium was captured as a result of famine, and the entire city was razed. Stripped of its theaters and baths and, indeed, of all adornments, the city, now only a village, was given to the Perinthians to be subject to them; in the same way Antioch was given to the Laodiceans. Severus made available a huge sum of money for rebuilding the cities destroyed by Niger's soldiers. 10. The emperor himself set out on the march, scorning heat and cold alike, and gave the army no respite for holidays or rest. Often when he was journeying through very high and very cold mountains, the emperor strode along bareheaded through rain and snow, setting an example of courage and constancy for his soldiers, who endured hardships not only from fear and from training but also in imitation of their emperor. Severus sent a general ahead with a unit of soldiers to seize the passes of the Alps and guard the approaches to Italy.

VII

1. WHEN it was reported that Severus was not merely threatening to come but would soon appear in person, Albinus was in a state of complete confusion amid the negligence and revelry. Crossing over to the mainland of Gaul opposite Britain, he established his headquarters there. He then sent messages to the governors of the provinces ordering them to provide food and money for his army. Some obeyed and sent supplies, to their own destruction, since they suffered for it later; those who did not obey him saved themselves, more by luck than good judgment. The outcome of the affair and the fortunes of war determined the wisdom of each decision. 2. When the army of Severus came to Gaul, a few minor skirmishes occurred here and there, but the final battle was fought near the large and prosperous city of Lugdunum [Lyon]. Albinus shut himself up in that city, remaining behind when he sent the army out to do battle. A major engagement developed, and for a long time each side's chances of victory were equal, for in courage and ruthlessness the soldiers from Britain were in no way inferior to the soldiers from Illyria. When these two magnificent armies were locked in combat, it was no easy matter to put either one to flight. 3. As some contemporary historians recorded — saying it not to curry favor but in the interests of accuracy — the division of the army stationed opposite the sector where Severus and his command were fighting proved far superior; the emperor slipped from his horse and fled, managing to escape by throwing off the imperial cloak. But while the soldiers from Britain were pursuing the Illyrians, chanting paeans of praise as if they were already victorious, they say that Laetus, one of Severus' generals, appeared with the troops under his command fresh and not yet committed in the battle. 4. The historians accuse Laetus of watching the progress of the battle and deliberately waiting, holding his troops out of the fighting and appearing only after he was informed that Severus had been beaten. The aftermath of the affair substantiates the charge that Laetus coveted the empire himself. Later, when Severus had set everything straight and was living an orderly life, he gave generous rewards to the rest of his commanders, but Laetus alone he put to death, as seems reasonable under the circumstances, considering the general's past performances. 5. All this happened at a much later date, however. On this occasion, when Laetus appeared with fresh

troops, as has been related above, Severus' soldiers, taking heart, wrapped the emperor in the imperial cloak again and mounted him on his horse. 6. But Albinus' soldiers, thinking that the victory was theirs, now found themselves in disorder when this powerful and as yet uncommitted army suddenly attacked; after a brief resistance they broke and ran. When the rout became general, Severus' soldiers pursued and slaughtered the fugitives until they drove them into Lugdunum. Each contemporary historian has recorded to suit his own purpose the actual number of those killed and captured on each side. 7. The emperor's troops captured Lugdunum and burned it. When they caught Albinus they cut off his head and sent it to Severus [A.D. 197]. The emperor thus won two magnificent victories, one in the East and one in the West. No battles and no victories can be compared to those of Severus, and no army to the size of his army; there are no comparable uprisings among nations, or total number of campaigns, or length and speed of marches.

8. Momentous indeed were the battles of Caesar against Pompey, when Roman fought Roman; equally momentous were the battles fought by Augustus against Antony and the sons of Pompey, and the struggles of Sulla and Marius at an earlier date, in the Roman civil and foreign wars. But here is one man who overthrew three emperors after they were already ruling, and got the upper hand over the praetorians by a trick: he succeeded in killing Julianus, the man in the imperial palace; Niger, who had previously governed the people of the East and was saluted as emperor by the Roman people; and Albinus, who had already been awarded the honor and authority of Caesar. He prevailed over them all by his courage. It is not possible to name another like Severus.

Such was the fate suffered by Albinus, who was stripped of the honor which destroyed him after a brief time.

VIII

1. THEN the angry emperor took vengeance upon Albinus' friends at Rome. He sent the man's head to the city and ordered that it be displayed. When he reported his victory in dispatches, he added a note stating that he had sent Albinus' head to be put on public view so that the people might know the extent of his anger against them. 2. After settling affairs in Britain, he divided this region into two provinces, each under its own governor.² When he had also arranged matters in Gaul in what he considered the most advantageous way, he put all the friends of Albinus to death and confiscated their property, indifferent to whether they had supported the man by choice or by necessity. He then took his entire army to Rome in order to inspire the utmost terror there. 3. When he had completed the journey at his usual rapid pace, he entered Rome, raging at Albinus' surviving friends. The citizens, carrying laurel branches, welcomed him with all honor and praise; the senate also came out to greet him, most of them standing before him in abject dread, convinced that he would not spare their lives. Since his malevolence, a natural character trait, was deadly even when he had little provocation, now that he seemed to have every reason to treat them harshly, the members of the senate were terror-stricken.

4. After visiting the temple of Jupiter and offering sacrifices in the rest of the shrines, Severus entered the imperial palace. In honor of all his victories he made generous gifts to the people; distributing large sums of money to the soldiers, he granted them many privileges which they had not previously enjoyed. 5. He was the first emperor to increase their food rations, to allow them to wear gold finger rings, and to permit them to live with their wives; these were indulgences hitherto considered harmful to military discipline and the proper conduct of war. Severus was also the first emperor to make a change in the harsh and healthy diet of the soldiers and to undermine their resolution in the face of severe hardships; moreover, he weakened their strict discipline and respect for their superiors by teaching them to covet money and by introducing them to luxurious living.

6. Having arranged these matters in the way he thought best, Severus went into the senate house and, mounting the imperial throne, launched a bitter attack upon the friends of Albinus, producing secret letters of theirs which he

had found among the man's private correspondence. He blamed some for the extravagant gifts they had sent to Albinus, and brought other charges against the rest, complaining about the friendship of the men of the East for Niger and the support of the men of the West for Albinus. 7. Then, without warning, he put to death all the eminent senators of that day, together with those men in the provinces who were noted for ancestry or wealth, pretending that he was avenging himself upon his enemies, when the truth was that he was driven by an insatiable lust for money; no other emperor was ever so greedy for gold. 8. Although in his steadfastness of purpose, his endurance of toil, and his management of military affairs he was inferior to none of the respected emperors, still his love of money acquired unjustly and from murder done without provocation became an obsession with the man. His subjects submitted from fear rather than affection. 9. He did try, however, to do what would please the people; he staged costly spectacles of every kind, killing on numerous occasions hundreds of animals of every species collected from all parts of the empire and from foreign lands as well, in connection with which he distributed lavish gifts. He held triumphal games for which he summoned dramatic actors and skilled athletes from every quarter. 10. In his reign we saw every kind of show exhibited in all the theaters simultaneously, as well as night-long revels celebrated in imitation of the Mysteries.³ The people of that day called them the Secular Games when they learned that they would be held only once every hundred years. Heralds were sent throughout Rome and Italy bidding all to come and see what they had never seen before and would never see again. It was thus made clear that the amount of time which elapsed between one celebration of the Secular Games and the next far exceeded the total span of any man's life.⁴

IX

1. SEVERUS now remained in Rome for a long time, during which his sons were partners with him in governing the empire. He was then seized with a desire to win glory for victories not only over fellow countrymen and Roman armies but also barbarians; using as an excuse for his action the friendship shown to Niger by Barsemius, king of the Atrienians, he led his army off to the East. 2. When he arrived there his intention was to invade Armenia also. But the king of the Armenians forestalled him by sending money, gifts, and hostages to support his plea for peace and by promising pacts and good will. After affairs in Armenia had thus turned out to his satisfaction, Severus marched against the Atrienian kingdom. At this time Abgarus, the Osroenian king, fled to Severus and gave him his children as a guaranty of his support; he also brought a great number of archers to fight in the Roman army.

3. After passing through the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and the country of the Adiabenes, Severus hurried on into Arabia Felix, the country which produces the fragrant plants we use in our perfumes and incense. When he had destroyed many towns and villages there and had plundered the countryside, he came into the territory of the Atrienians, where he encamped and laid siege to the city of Hatra. 4. This city, located on top of a lofty mountain, was surrounded by a high, strong wall manned by many bowmen. After making camp, Severus' soldiers pressed the siege with all the power at their command, endeavoring to capture the city. Engines of every type were brought up to the wall, and all the known tactics were tried. 5. The Atrienians fought back bravely; pouring down a steady stream of stones and arrows, they did considerable damage to the army of Severus. Making clay pots, they filled them with winged insects, little poisonous flying creatures. When these were hurled down on the besiegers, the insects fell into the Romans' eyes and on all the unprotected parts of their bodies; digging in before they were noticed, they bit and stung the soldiers. 6. The Romans found the air at Hatra intolerable, stifling from the hot sun; they fell sick and died, and more casualties resulted from disease than from enemy action.

7. When the army, for the reasons mentioned above, had abandoned all hope and the siege was at a stalemate, with the Romans losing instead of gaining ground, Severus led his troops away unsuccessful, fearing that he

would lose his entire army.⁵ The soldiers were unhappy that the siege had not turned out as successfully as they wished; 8. accustomed to victory in all their battles, they believed that failure to win was actually defeat. But Fortune, by furthering his affairs at this time, provided Severus a measure of consolation; he did not return home without some success, and the truth is that he accomplished more than he had expected. 9. The army, sailing in a large number of ships, was not borne to its intended destination on Roman-held shores, but after the current had carried the fleet a great distance, the legions disembarked on Parthian beaches at a spot within a few days' march of the road leading to Ctesiphon, where the royal palace of the Parthians was located. There the king was spending his time peacefully, thinking that the battles between Severus and the Atrienians were no concern of his. 10. But the troops of the emperor, brought by the current to these shores against their will, landed and plundered the region, driving off for food all the cattle they found and burning all the villages as they passed. After proceeding a short distance, they stood at the gates of Ctesiphon, the capital city of the great king Artabanus. 11. The Romans fell upon the unsuspecting barbarians, killing all who opposed them. Taking captive the women and children, they looted the entire city. After the king fled with a few horsemen, the Romans plundered the treasuries, seized the ornaments and jewels, and marched off.

12. Thus, more by luck than good judgment, Severus won the glory of a Parthian victory. And since these affairs turned out more successfully than he had any reason to hope, he sent dispatches to the senate and the people, extolling his exploits, and he had paintings of his battles and victories put on public display. The senate voted him the titles formed from the names of the conquered nations, as well as all the rest of the usual honors.

X

1. WHEN he had settled affairs in the East, Severus returned to Rome, bringing with him his sons, who were then about eighteen years of age. On the journey he handled provincial problems as each situation demanded, and paid a visit to the troops in Moesia and Pannonia. His trip completed, he was welcomed as “Conqueror” by the Roman people with extravagant praise and adoration. 2. He then staged wild-animal shows for the people and celebrated, with merrymaking, holidays, festivals, and spectacles. After distributing lavish gifts and observing the customary festivities associated with a triumph, Severus remained in Rome for a number of years, presiding regularly in the courts, attending to civil matters, seeing to his sons’ education, and keeping the youths under control. 3. But the lads (for they were already young men) were corrupted by the luxury and vice in Rome and by their boundless enthusiasm for shows, dancing, and chariot-driving. The two brothers were contentious from the beginning; as children they had been rivals over quail fights and cockfights, and had had the usual childish quarrels. 4. Now their passion for shows and concerts made them constant competitors. Their followers and companions kept them at odds by fawning upon them and urging them to compete in enjoying youthful pleasures. When he was informed of this, Severus tried to reconcile his sons and keep them in hand.

5. Before his admission to the imperial ruling company, the elder son had the name Bassianus, but when he had the good fortune to receive the honor of a share in the imperial power, Severus called the youth Antoninus,⁶ wishing him to bear the name of Marcus. He also gave him a wife in the hope that marriage would mature him somewhat; the girl was the daughter of Plautianus, the praetorian prefect. 6. As a youth this Plautianus had been a poor man (some say he was banished after being convicted of treason and many other crimes), but he was a fellow countryman of the emperor (Severus was also from Libya) and, as some say, he was related to the emperor; there are those too who charge him with being something worse, saying that when he was in the prime of youth he was the emperor’s beloved. Consequently, Severus raised the man from a position of small and negligible honor to a post of great authority; by giving him the property of condemned men, he made Plautianus enormously wealthy. The emperor in fact shared the rule with no

one except this man. 7. Taking advantage of his authority, Plautianus left no act of violence undone and thus became more feared than any of the prefects before him. Severus united the two families by the marriage of his son to the daughter of Plautianus.

8. But Antoninus took no pleasure at all in this union, since he had married by compulsion, not by choice. He was exceedingly hostile to the girl, and to her father too, and refused to sleep or even eat with his wife; the truth is that he loathed her and daily promised to kill her and her father as soon as he became sole ruler of the empire. She reported these threats to her father and aroused his fury by stories of her husband's rancor.

XI

1. OBSERVING that Severus was now old and constantly racked by disease, while Antoninus was a rash and reckless youth, Plautianus, in fear of these threats, elected to act first rather than to delay and suffer at his son-in-law's hands.

2. Moreover, a number of things encouraged him to aspire to control of the empire: more money than anyone had ever seen before, his own personal army,⁶ honors from the emperor, and his public attire. He wore the toga with the purple border and held rank equal to that of men who had twice served as consul; also he wore a sword. The prefect was the only official whose appearance suggested his importance. 3. He was an object of dread when he appeared in public; not only did no one approach him, but even those who came upon him by chance turned aside to avoid him. The guards who preceded him did not allow anyone to stand near or to stare at him; all were ordered to step aside and keep their eyes fixed on the ground.

Severus was far from pleased when these matters were brought to his attention; he now became stern and harsh with Plautianus and tried to curb his excessive ostentation by depriving him of some of his authority. 4. Plautianus refused to tolerate this reduction of power; bold enough to plot for the empire, he devised the following plan. In the Praetorian Guard was a tribune named Saturninus. This officer was devoted to the prefect; in fact, all his officers were devoted to Plautianus, but he had won the favor of the tribune by treating him with greater affection. Believing that Saturninus was the most trustworthy of the praetorian officers and the only one capable of using discretion and of carrying out secret orders, Plautianus summoned the man to him one evening after the rest had gone to bed. 5. "Now you have an opportunity," he said, "to bring to a proper climax the good will and devotion you have always shown me, and I equally have an opportunity to repay you as you deserve and do you a comparable favor in return. The choice is yours either to become what you now see me to be and to secure this office of authority by succeeding me, or to die here and now, paying the penalty for disobedience. 6. Do not by any means be overawed by the enormity of the deed I propose, and do not be disturbed by the title of emperor. You are the only one who can go into the room where the emperor and his son are

sleeping, since you are in charge of the regular rounds of the night unit of the guard. Whatever you intend to do, you will do secretly and without interference; do not wait for me to issue the orders before you obey them. 7. Go immediately to the imperial palace and, pretending to be carrying secret orders from me, go in and kill them. Show your courage by dispatching with ease an old man and a mere boy. And for sharing the risk and the danger, you will also share the highest honors when the deed is successfully done.”

8. The tribune was astounded and perplexed by this proposal, but he was a man accustomed to keeping his wits about him (he was a Syrian, and the men from the East are rather more cunning in their thinking); observing the fury which gripped his commanding officer and well aware of his power, he did not oppose him, not wishing to be killed over these matters. Pretending therefore to be hearing things long prayed for and warmly welcomed, the tribune prostrated himself before Plautianus as if he were already emperor and begged him for a written memorandum ordering the murder. 9. If a man were condemned to death without a trial, the tyrants customarily put the order in writing so that the sentence might not be carried out solely on verbal authority. Blinded by his ambition, Plautianus gave the tribune a directive in writing and sent him off to commit the murders. He further ordered Saturninus, after killing the emperor and his son, to summon him, before the deed became known, that he might be in the palace before anyone realized that he was seizing the empire.

XII

1. AGREEING to those proposals, the tribune made his customary rounds through the entire imperial palace without interference. But knowing that it would be impossible for him to kill two emperors, especially since they were housed in different parts of the palace, Saturninus stood outside the bedroom of Severus and, summoning the imperial household guards, demanded to be taken to the emperor so that he might give him information involving his safety. The guards reported the matter to Severus and were ordered to bring the tribune before him. 2. The tribune approached the emperor and said: "I have come to you, Master, as the man who sent me well knows, to be your assassin and murderer, but I hope and pray that I will be instead your benefactor and savior. Plautianus, scheming to seize the empire, ordered me to murder you and your son, and he issued this order not in words alone but in writing. This memorandum is my witness. I undertook the assignment because I was afraid that if I refused it he would entrust the task to someone else, and I have come here to disclose these matters to you so that his intrigues may not remain undetected." 3. But even though Saturninus made these charges with much weeping, Severus was not immediately convinced. On the contrary, since he had great affection for the prefect, he suspected that the affair was a trick of some sort to deceive him; he believed that his son, in his hatred of the prefect and his daughter, had contrived a slanderous and fatal plot against the man. 4. The emperor therefore sent for his son and reprimanded him for having devised such a scheme against a man kindly disposed toward the emperor and his intimate friend as well. At first Antoninus swore on his honor that he knew nothing about what the tribune was saying; but when the man insisted and produced the memorandum, the young emperor encouraged him, urging him to prove the truth of his charges. Realizing his danger and fearing the emperor's affection for Plautianus, the tribune now knew that if the plot remained confused and unproved, he could expect a death that would not be accidental. 5. "Master," he said, "do you wish stronger proof or clearer evidence of some sort? Then allow me to go to the front of the palace and reveal to one of the men loyal to me that the murder is done. Trusting me, Plautianus will come here in the belief that he is occupying the deserted palace. When he arrives, it will be your task to discover the truth. Order

complete silence about the palace so that the plan may not be upset by being previously discovered.”

6. After making this proposal, the tribune ordered one of his most trusted men to carry a message to the prefect telling him to come to the palace as quickly as possible. The messenger was to say that both emperors were dead, and it was imperative that the prefect be inside the palace before the news was reported to the people. Then, with the Palatine Hill in his hands and the succession already settled, all the Romans, willingly or unwillingly, would offer allegiance not to an emperor to be chosen but to one already established.

7. Believing this message, and with high hopes, Plautianus, though it was late at night, put on a breastplate beneath his robe for protection, mounted a chariot, and drove to the palace at top speed, accompanied by a few friends who were with him when the messenger came and who thought that he had received an emergency summons from the emperors. 8. Plautianus entered the palace unchallenged, since the guards were unaware of what was taking place. The tribune came forward to meet the prefect and set a trap for him: saluting Plautianus as emperor and taking him by the hand in the customary fashion under the circumstances, Saturninus led him into the bedroom where he said the bodies of the emperors had been thrown. 9. Severus had already alerted some of the younger bodyguards to seize the prefect as he entered the room. Then Plautianus, who had expected a far different reception, was caught and held fast. When he saw both emperors standing before him, he was terror-stricken, and pleaded with them, trying to defend himself and swearing that it was all a mistake, a plot, a conspiracy against him.

10. When Severus reproached him with the many favors he had done him and the many honors he had awarded him, and Plautianus in his turn reminded the emperor of his previous loyalty and good will, Severus was beginning to believe the prefect until his robe fell open and revealed the breastplate beneath it. When he saw the armor, Antoninus, who was bold and quick to act and naturally hated the man, spoke up:

“How would you explain these two facts? 11. First, that you came unordered to your emperors at night, and second, that you came here wearing that breastplate ? Who goes to a feast or a revel in full armor?” After saying this, Antoninus ordered the tribune and the other praetorians present to draw their swords and kill this proven enemy. 12. Obeying without delay the young

emperor's orders, they killed Plautianus and threw his body into the street, so that the affair might be clear to all and he would be vilified by those who despised him.

Such was the fate of Plautianus, who, maddened by his greed to have everything, was betrayed in the end by a faithless subordinate.

XIII

1. AFTER this time, Severus appointed two praetorian prefects. The emperor passed most of the remainder of his life on the imperial estates near the city and along the coast of Campania, presiding in the courts and attending to imperial affairs. He wished to keep his sons away from the luxury at Rome and wanted them to have the benefits of a wholesome life, especially when he observed that they were taking far more interest in shows than was proper for those of imperial rank. 2. Because of their enthusiasm for these pastimes and the rivalry which kept them at odds and openly hostile, the brothers were in a constant state of turmoil, strife, and enmity. Antoninus became especially intolerable after he had removed Plautianus. Respect for his father and fear of him kept the youth from taking drastic action, but he plotted death in every form for his wife, Plautianus' daughter. 3. Severus, however, sent the girl and her brother to Sicily, providing them with sufficient funds to live in comfort there. In doing this he was following the example of Augustus, who treated Antony's children in this way even though Antony was his enemy. Severus tried constantly to reconcile his sons and persuade them to live in peace and harmony. He kept reminding them of tales and plays of old, telling them time and again of the misfortunes suffered by royal brothers as a result of dissension. 4. He showed them the treasuries and temples, overflowing with riches; he made it clear that they would never have to scheme abroad for money and power; resources at home were so plentiful that they could pay the soldiers with lavish generosity. The garrison at Rome had been quadrupled,⁷ and the army encamped before the city was so powerful that there remained no foreign army strong enough to rival it in number of troops, in physical prowess, or in the amount of money available for pay.

5. He told them, however, that all these were of no advantage to them as long as they remained hostile to each other and friction continued between them. By saying such things at every opportunity, now pleading, now rebuking, Severus tried to keep his sons under control and bring them into agreement. But the youths paid absolutely no attention to him; they rebelled and spent their time in pursuits even more reprehensible. 6. Since they were vigorous youths and their imperial authority gave them an insatiable appetite for pleasures, each had his own group of loyal followers; these not only

gratified the youths' desires and their enthusiasm for disgraceful practices, but they also constantly found new vices to bring pleasure to their favorite and chagrin to his brother. But Severus punished these parasites whenever he caught them performing such services.

XIV

1. IN THE midst of the emperor's distress at the kind of life his sons were leading and their disgraceful obsession with shows, the governor of Britain informed Severus by dispatches that the barbarians there were in revolt and overrunning the country, looting and destroying virtually everything on the island. He told Severus that he needed either a stronger army for the defense of the province or the presence of the emperor himself. 2. Severus was delighted with this news: glory-loving by nature, he wished to win victories over the Britons to add to the victories and titles of honor he had won in the East and the West. But he wished even more to take his sons away from Rome so that they might settle down in the soldier's life under military discipline, far from the luxuries and pleasures in Rome. And so, although he was now well advanced in years and crippled with arthritis, Severus announced his expedition to Britain, and in his heart he was more enthusiastic than any youth. 3. During the greater part of the journey he was carried in a litter, but he never remained very long in one place and never stopped to rest. He arrived with his sons at the coast sooner than anyone anticipated, outstripping the news of his approach. He crossed the channel and landed in Britain; levying soldiers from all these areas, he raised a powerful army and made preparations for the campaign.

4. Disconcerted by the emperor's sudden arrival, and realizing that this huge army had been assembled to make war upon them, the Britons sent envoys to Severus to discuss terms of peace, anxious to make amends for their previous errors. 5. Seeking to prolong the war so as to avoid a quick return to Rome, and still wishing to gain a victory over the Britons and the title of honor too, Severus dismissed the envoys, refusing their offers, and continued his preparations for the war. He especially saw to it that dikes were provided in the marshy regions so that the soldiers might advance safely by running on these earth causeways and fight on a firm, solid footing. 6. Most of the regions of Britain are marshy, since they are flooded continually by the tides of the ocean; the barbarians are accustomed to swimming or wading through these waist-deep marsh pools; since they go about naked, they are unconcerned about muddying their bodies. 7. Strangers to clothing, the Britons wear ornaments of iron at their waists and throats; considering iron a

symbol of wealth, they value this metal as other barbarians value gold. They tattoo their bodies with colored designs and drawings of all kinds of animals; for this reason they do not wear clothes, which would conceal the decorations on their bodies. 8. Extremely savage and warlike, they are armed only with a spear and a narrow shield, plus a sword that hangs suspended by a belt from their otherwise naked bodies. They do not use breastplates or helmets, considering them encumbrances in crossing the marshes. For all these reasons, Severus prepared whatever he thought would be of advantage to the Roman army and whatever would harass the barbarians and hamper their attacks.

9. When it seemed to him that all was in readiness for the campaign, Severus left the younger of his two sons, Geta, in the section of the province under Roman control; he instructed him to administer justice and attend to imperial affairs, leaving with him as advisers his more elderly friends. Then, accompanied by Antoninus, the emperor marched out against the barbarians. 10. After the troops had crossed the rivers and the earthworks which marked the boundary of the Roman empire in this region,⁸ frequent battles and skirmishes occurred, and in these the Romans were victorious. But it was easy for the Britons to slip away; putting their knowledge of the surrounding area to good use, they disappeared in the woods and marshes. The Romans' unfamiliarity with the terrain prolonged the war.

XV

1. NOW a more serious illness attacked the aged emperor and forced him to remain in his quarters; he undertook, however, to send his son out to direct the campaign. Antoninus, however, paid little attention to the war, but rather attempted to gain control of the army. Trying to persuade the soldiers to look to him alone for orders, he courted sole rule in every possible way, including slanderous attacks upon his brother. 2. Considering his father, who had been ill for a long time and slow to die, a burdensome nuisance, he tried to persuade the physicians to harm the old man in their treatments so that he would be rid of him more quickly. After a short time, however, Severus died, succumbing chiefly to grief, after having achieved greater glory in military affairs than any of the emperors who had preceded him. 3. No emperor before Severus won such outstanding victories either in civil wars against political rivals or in foreign wars against barbarians. Thus Severus died after ruling for eighteen years, and was succeeded by his young sons, to whom he left an invincible army and more money than any emperor had ever left to his successors.

4. After his father's death, Antoninus seized control and immediately began to murder everyone in the court; he killed the physicians who had refused to obey his orders to hasten the old man's death and also murdered those men who had reared his brother and himself because they persisted in urging him to live at peace with Geta. He did not spare any of the men who had attended his father or were held in esteem by him. 5. He undertook secretly to bribe the troop commanders by gifts and lavish promises, to induce them to persuade the army to accept him as sole emperor, and he tried every trick he knew against his brother. He failed to win the backing of the soldiers, however, for they remembered Severus and knew that the youths had been one and the same to him, and had been reared as equals from childhood; consequently they gave each brother the same support and loyalty. 6. When the soldiers refused to uphold him, Antoninus signed a treaty with the barbarians, offering them peace and accepting their pledges of good faith. And now he abandoned this alien land and returned to his brother and mother. When the boys were together again, their mother tried to reconcile them, as did also men of repute and the friends of Severus who were their advisers. 7.

Since all these opposed his wishes, Antoninus, from necessity, not from choice, agreed to live with Geta in peace and friendship, but this was pretended, not sincere. Thus, with both of them managing imperial affairs with equal authority, the two youths prepared to sail from Britain and take their father's remains to Rome. After burning his body and putting the ashes, together with perfumes, into an alabaster urn, they accompanied this urn to Rome and placed it in the sacred mausoleum of the emperors.⁹ 8. They now crossed the channel with the army and landed as conquerors on the opposite shore of Gaul.

How Severus came to the end of his life and how his sons succeeded him in the imperial power, I have described in this book.

ENDNOTES.

- ¹ Herodian is in error on all points here. Issus was neither the last nor the most decisive battle in the Persian campaign, and Darius was never captured alive by Alexander.
- ² The army of Britain — three legions — was too large to be entrusted safely to the command of one governor. It was Severus' general policy to allow no governor of a province more than two legions.
- ³ The Eleusinian Mysteries are the most famous of these orgiastic rites celebrated in secret in honor of Demeter and Dionysus.
- ⁴ The saeculum, the longest span of human life, was fixed for the games of Severus in 204 as one hundred ten years.
- ⁵ Hatra also successfully withstood a siege by Trajan. Cf. Dio 75.31.1-4.
- ⁶ The Praetorian Guard.
- ⁷ Almost surely an exaggeration. Severus did not increase the number of praetorian cohorts and added only one urban cohort.
- ⁸ The turf wall from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde built by Antoninus Pius in 142.
- ⁹ The tomb of Hadrian beside the Tiber River.

BOOK IV.

I

1. THE activities of Severus during his eighteen years as emperor I have recounted in the preceding book. His sons, who were now young men, quarreled continually on the return journey to Rome with their mother. They did not use the same lodgings or even dine together, since they were extremely suspicious of all they ate and drank; each feared that the other would secretly get prior access to the kitchens and bribe the servants to use poison. 2. This fear led the youths to complete the journey with even greater haste; for they believed that they would be safer in Rome where, by dividing the palace between them, each could manage his own affairs as he pleased in the most spacious dwelling in the entire city.

3. When they arrived in Rome, the people welcomed them with laurel branches and the senate, too, came out to greet them. The two youths headed the procession, wearing the imperial purple; the consuls for that year followed, carrying the urn which held the ashes of Severus. Then those who had come out to greet the young emperors passed by the urn and paid their respects to the emperor. 4. The procession escorted the urn to the mausoleum where the remains of Marcus and his imperial predecessors are to be seen. After performing the rites prescribed for new emperors, the youths entered the imperial palace. 5. Each brother now took up residence in his half of the palace. Barricading the inner doors, they used in common only the public outer doors. Antoninus and Geta stationed their own private guards and were never seen together except briefly during their infrequent public appearances. But before doing anything else, the emperors performed the funeral rites for their father.

1. IT IS the Roman custom to elevate to divine status those emperors who at their death leave sons or designated successors; they call this honor deification. To begin with, public mourning, a combination of festive feeling and religious ceremony, is observed throughout the entire city. 2. After a costly funeral, the body of the emperor is interred in the customary fashion. But then a wax image is fashioned in the exact likeness of the corpse and placed on a large, high couch of ivory draped with coverings embroidered with gold. This wax figure lies on the couch like a sick man, pale and wan.

3. During most of the day people sit on each side of the couch; on the left is the entire senate, clad in black; on the right are all the women who, because of their husbands' or their fathers' positions, are entitled to honor and respect. None of these women wear gold ornaments or necklaces; each affects the plain white garments associated with mourning. 4. The various ceremonies mentioned above continue for seven days. Every day the physicians come and visit the couch; after pretending to examine the sick man, they announce daily that his condition is growing steadily worse. When it appears that he is dead, the noblest of the Equestrians and picked young senators lift the couch and carry it along the Sacred Way to the Old Forum,¹ where the Roman magistrates give up their authority. 5. Tiers of seats are erected on each side of the couch: on one side sits a chorus of children from the noblest and most distinguished families; on the other, a chorus of women who seem to deserve respect. In honor of the dead man each choral group sings hymns and paeans arranged in solemn and mournful measures. 6. The couch is then carried out of the city to the Campus Martius, where, in the widest part of the plain, a square building has been constructed entirely of huge wooden beams in the shape of a house. 7. The whole interior of this building is filled with firewood; and on the outside it is decorated with gold-embroidered hangings, ivory figures, colored paintings. Upon this structure rests a smaller second story, similar in shape and decoration, with open windows and doors. And there is a third and a fourth story, each smaller than the one beneath it; finally, the smallest story of all tops this structure. 8. The building may be compared in shape to the lighthouses along the coast which by the light of their fires bring to safety ships in distress at night. The common name for such a lighthouse is Pharos.² They bring the couch to this structure and carry it up to the second story; then they add every kind of perfume and incense the earth provides, together with all the fruits, herbs, and juices that are gathered for their fragrance. 9. Every province, every city, every man of fame and distinction is happy to furnish these last gifts in the emperor's honor. After a huge pile of aromatic material is collected, and the structure is completely filled, a cavalry exhibition is staged around the building; the entire Equestrian cavalry circles around it, following a fixed rotating pattern in the Pyrrhic choruses and maneuvers.³ 10. Chariots, too, are driven around the building in similar formations by drivers in purple robes; these chariots carry statues whose faces are those of Romans who fought or ruled in distinguished fashion. When these rites have been completed, the emperor's successor puts a torch to the structure, after which the people set it on fire on all sides. The flames easily and quickly consume the enormous pile

of fire-wood and fragrant stuffs. 11. From the topmost and smallest story, as if from a battlement, an eagle flies forth, soaring with the flames into the sky; the Romans believe that this eagle carries the soul of the emperor from the earth up to heaven. Thereafter the emperor is worshiped with the rest of the gods.

III

1. AFTER completing this ceremony of deification for their father, the youths returned to the palace. Open hostility followed, as they nurtured their hatred and hatched their plots. Each did everything in his power to eliminate his brother and secure the empire for himself alone. 2. The honored and respected men of the city held divided opinions. Each of the youths privately solicited their support in secret letters, trying to win them by lavish promises. The majority favored Geta, who showed some evidence of a reasonable disposition, since he conducted himself mildly and moderately toward those who visited him, and devoted his time to the more serious pursuits. 3. He studied with men respected for their learning and exercised frequently at the wrestling schools and the various gymnasia. Because he was kind and courteous to his associates and had an excellent reputation and good name, he won the friendship and good will of most of the Romans. 4. By contrast, Antoninus was harsh and savage in everything he did, scorning the pursuits mentioned above, and pretending a devotion to the military and martial life. Since he did everything in anger and used threats instead of persuasion, his friends were bound to him by fear, not by affection.

As the brothers were now completely at odds in even the most trivial matters, their mother undertook to effect a reconciliation. 5. And at that time they concluded that it was best to divide the empire, to avoid remaining in Rome and continuing their intrigues. Summoning the advisers appointed by their father, with their mother present too, they decided to partition the empire: Antoninus to have all Europe, and Geta all the lands lying opposite Europe, the region known as Asia. 6. For, they said, the two continents were separated by the Propontic Gulf as if by divine foresight. It was agreed that Antoninus establish his headquarters at Byzantium, with Geta's at Chalcedon in Bithynia; the two stations, on opposite sides of the straits, would guard each empire and prevent any crossings at that point. They decided too that it was best that the European senators remain in Rome, and those from the Asiatic regions accompany Geta. 7. For his capital city, Geta said that either Antioch or Alexandria would be suitable, since, in his opinion, neither city was much inferior in size to Rome. Of the Southern provinces, the lands of the Moroccans, the Numidians, and the adjacent Libyans were given to Antoninus, and the regions east of these peoples were allotted to Geta. 8. While they were engaged in cleaving the empire, all the rest kept their eyes fixed on the ground, but Julia cried out: "Earth and sea, my children, you have found a way to divide, and, as you say, the Propontic Gulf separates the continents. But your mother, how would you parcel her? How am I, unhappy, wretched — how am I to be torn and ripped asunder for the pair of you? Kill me first, and after you have claimed your share, let each one perform the funeral rites for his portion. Thus would I, too, together with earth and sea, be partitioned between you." 9. After saying this, amid tears and lamentations, Julia stretched out her hands and, clasping them both in her arms, tried to reconcile them. And with all pitying her, the meeting adjourned and the project was abandoned. Each youth returned to his half of the imperial palace.

IV

1. BUT the hatred and dissension between them continued to grow. If it became necessary to appoint a governor or a magistrate, each wished to select a friend for the post. If they sat as judges, they handed down dissenting opinions, often to the ruin of those on trial; for rivalry counted more than justice to these two. Even at the shows the brothers took opposite sides. 2. They tried every sort of intrigue; each, for example, attempted to persuade the other's cooks and cupbearers to administer some deadly poison. It was not easy for either one to succeed in these attempts, however: both were exceedingly careful and took many precautions. Finally, unable to endure the situation any longer and maddened by the desire for sole power, Antoninus decided to act and advance his cause by sword or slaughter or die in a manner befitting his birth. 3. Since his plotting was unsuccessful, he thought he must try some desperate and dangerous scheme; [so he killed his brother in the arms of their mother, and by this act really killed them both],⁴ his mother dying of grief and his brother from treachery.

Mortally wounded, Geta died, drenching his mother's breast with his blood. Having succeeded in the murder, Antoninus ran from the room and rushed throughout the palace, shouting that he had escaped grave danger and had barely managed to save his life. 4. He ordered the soldiers who guard the imperial palace to protect him and escort him to the praetorian camp, where he could be safely guarded, saying that if he remained in the imperial palace he would be murdered. Unaware of what had happened inside, the soldiers believed him and ran with him as he dashed ahead at full speed. Consternation seized the people when they saw the emperor speeding on foot through the middle of the city in the early evening. 5. Rushing into the camp and into the temple where the standards and decorations of the guard were worshiped, Antoninus threw himself on the ground; in the chapel, he gave thanks and offered sacrifices for his safety. When this was reported to the praetorians, some of whom were in the baths, while others were already asleep, they hurriedly assembled in amazement. 6. When he appeared before them, Antoninus did not immediately reveal what had happened; instead, shouting that he had escaped the deadly plots of an enemy and rival, he identified his assailant as his brother. He cried out that he had with difficulty emerged victorious, after a severe struggle with his enemies; but when he and his brother had put everything at stake, Fortune had chosen him as sole emperor. His motive in thus distorting the facts was his desire to have them hear from him what had happened rather than from someone else. 7. In gratitude for his deliverance and in return for the sole rule, he promised each soldier 2,500 denarii and increased their ration allowance by one-half. He ordered the praetorians to go immediately and take the money from the temple depositories and the treasuries. In a single day he recklessly distributed all the money which Severus had collected and hoarded from the calamities of others over a period of eighteen years. 8. When they heard about this vast amount of money, although they were aware of what had actually occurred, the murder having been made common knowledge by fugitives from the palace, the praetorians at once proclaimed Antoninus emperor and called Geta enemy.

1. THE emperor spent that night in the temple in the praetorian camp; then, growing bold because he had won over the soldiers by gifts, he came from the senate house accompanied by the entire guard, which was more heavily armed than was customary for the imperial escort. After he had gone in and offered sacrifices, Antoninus mounted the imperial throne and addressed the senators as follows: 2. “I am not unaware that every murder of a kinsman, immediately the deed is known, is despised, and that the name ‘kinsman-killer’ arouses harsh censure as soon as it falls upon the ear. Pity follows for the victims, hatred for the victors. In such cases it appears that the victim is abused, the victor abusing.

3. But if one were to consider the deed with sober judgment and not with sympathy for the fallen, and if he were to evaluate the victor’s motive and intent, he would find that sometimes it is both reasonable and necessary for the man about to suffer an injury to defend himself and not stand passively and submit. Censure for cowardice follows when a man succumbs to disaster, but the winner gains, together with his safety, a reputation for courage. 4. As to the rest, all the plots he laid against me, using deadly poisons and every kind of treachery, these you can discover by the use of torture. For this reason I issued orders for Geta’s servants to be present here so that you may learn the truth. Several have already been examined, and the results of the examination are available. In his final act of treachery, Geta burst in upon me while I was with my mother, accompanied by swordsmen whom he had obtained for this attempt upon my life. 5. But I grasped the situation with great shrewdness and presence of mind and defended myself against an enemy who no longer displayed the attitude or feelings of a brother. Now to defend oneself against plots is not merely proper; it is a standard practice. Indeed, Romulus, the founder of this city, refused to allow his brother to ridicule what he had done. 6. And I pass over without comment Germanicus, brother of Tiberius; Britannicus, Nero’s brother; and Titus, brother of Domitian. Even Marcus himself, who professed to love philosophy and excellence, would not tolerate the arrogance of Lucius, his brother-in-law, and by a plot removed him from the scene. So I too, when poisons were prepared for me and a sword hung over me, defended myself against my enemy, for this is the name which describes his actions. 7. First of all, you must give thanks to the gods for having preserved at least one of your emperors for you; then you must lay aside your differences of opinion in thought and in attitude and lead your lives in security, looking to one emperor alone. Jupiter, as he is himself sole ruler of the gods, thus gives to one ruler sole charge of mankind.” After making these statements at the top of his voice, in a towering rage, he glared balefully at his brother’s friends and returned to the palace, leaving most of the senators pale and trembling.

VI

1. GETA'S friends and associates were immediately butchered, together with those who lived in his half of the imperial palace. All his attendants were put to death too; not a single one was spared because of his age, not even the infants. Their bodies, after first being dragged about and subjected to every form of indignity, were placed in carts and taken out of the city; there they were piled up and burned or simply thrown in the ditch. 2. No one who had the slightest acquaintance with Geta was spared: athletes, charioteers, and singers and dancers of every type were killed. Everything that Geta kept around him to delight eye and ear was destroyed. Senators distinguished because of ancestry or wealth were put to death as friends of Geta upon the slightest unsupported charge of an unidentified accuser. 3. He killed Commodus' sister, then an old woman, who as the daughter of Marcus had been treated with honor by all the emperors. Antoninus offered as his reason for murdering her the fact that she had wept with his mother over the death of Geta. His wife, the daughter of Plautianus, who was then in Sicily; his first cousin Severus, the son of Pertinax; the son of Lucilla, Commodus' sister; in fact, anyone who belonged to the imperial family and any senator of distinguished ancestry, all were cut down to the last one. 4. Then, sending his assassins to the provinces, he put to death the governors and procurators friendly to Geta. Each night saw the murder of men in every walk of life. He burned Vestal Virgins alive because they were unchaste. Finally, the emperor did something that had never been done before; while he was watching a chariot race, the crowd insulted the charioteer he favored. Believing this to be a personal attack, Antoninus ordered the Praetorian Guard to attack the crowd and lead off and kill those shouting insults at his driver. 5. The praetorians, given authority to use force and to rob, but no longer able to identify those who had shouted so recklessly (it was impossible to find them in so large a mob, since no one admitted his guilt), took out those they managed to catch and either killed them or, after taking whatever they had as ransom, spared their lives, but reluctantly.

VII

1. AFTER committing such crimes as these, hounded by his conscience and finding life in Rome intolerable, the emperor decided to leave the city to see to matters in the garrison camps and visit the provinces. 2. Leaving Italy, he journeyed to the banks of the Danube, where he concerned himself with the northern part of his empire; at the same time he exercised by driving in chariot races and by fighting at close quarters with wild animals of every kind. Only occasionally did he sit as judge, although he was quick to grasp the essentials of a case in court and quick to pass judgment on the basis of the arguments presented. 3. He grew especially fond of the Germans in those regions; after gaining their friendship, he entered into alliances with them, and selected for his personal bodyguard the strongest and most handsome young men. He frequently put off the Roman cloak and donned German dress, appearing in the short, silver-embroidered cloaks which they customarily wear, augmented by a yellow wig with the locks arranged in the German style. 4. Delighted with the emperor's antics, the barbarians became very fond of him, as did the Roman soldiers also, particularly because of his lavish gifts of money but also because he always played the soldier's part. If a ditch had to be dug anywhere, the emperor was the first man to dig; if it were necessary to bridge a stream or pile up a high rampart, it was the same; in every task involving labor of hand or body, the emperor was first man to the job. 5. He set a frugal table and even went so far as to use wooden dishes at his meals. He ate the bread that was available; grinding with his own hands his personal ration of grain, he made a loaf, baked it in the ashes, and ate it. 6. Scorning luxuries, he used whatever was cheapest and issued to the poorest soldier. He pretended to be delighted when they called him fellow soldier instead of emperor. For the most part he marched with the troops, carrying his own arms and rarely using a chariot or a horse. 7. Occasionally he even placed the standards of the legions on his shoulders and bore them along; these standards, tall and decorated with many gold ornaments, were a heavy burden for even the strongest soldiers. For these actions Antoninus won the affection of the soldiers by his military prowess and gained their admiration by his feats of strength. And it is certainly true that the performance of such strenuous tasks by a man of small stature was worthy of admiration.

VIII

1. Antoninus, after attending to matters in the garrison camps along the Danube River, went down into Thrace at the Macedonian border, and immediately he became Alexander the Great. To revive the memory of the Macedonian in every possible way, he ordered statues and paintings of his hero to be put on public display in all cities. He filled the Capitol, the rest of the temples, indeed, all Rome, with statues and paintings designed to suggest that he was a second Alexander. 2. At times we saw ridiculous portraits, statues with one body which had on each side of a single head the faces of Alexander and the emperor. Antoninus himself went about in Macedonian dress, affecting especially the broad sun hat and short boots. He enrolled picked youths in a unit which he labeled his Macedonian phalanx; its officers bore the names of Alexander's generals. 3. He also summoned picked young men from Sparta and formed a unit which he called his Laconian and Pitane battalion.

After doing this, he arranged matters in the cities in that region to his satisfaction and then proceeded to Pergamum in Asia Minor, to try the healing treatments of Aesculapius. When he arrived in that city he made what use he wished of the dream treatments⁵ and continued on to Troy. 4. He visited all the ruins of that city, coming last to the tomb of Achilles; he adorned this tomb lavishly with garlands of flowers, and immediately he became Achilles. Casting about for a Patroclus, he found one ready to hand in Festus, his favorite freedman, keeper of the emperor's daily record book. This Festus died at Troy; some say he was poisoned so that he could be buried as Patroclus, but others say he died of disease. 5. Antoninus ordered a huge pyre of logs to be erected and the body of Festus placed in the center. After sacrificing animals of all kinds, the emperor set fire to the funeral pile; then, taking a bowl and pouring a libation, he offered prayers to the winds. Since he was almost entirely bald, he made himself ridiculous when he wished to place his curls upon the blaze; he did, however, shear off what little hair he had.⁶ Among generals, Antoninus admired the Roman Sulla and the Carthaginian Hannibal, and set up statues and paintings of these two.

6. The emperor then left Troy and traveled through the rest of Asia, Bithynia, and the remaining provinces. After tending to affairs in these regions, he came to Antioch. Given a warm welcome there, he remained for some time. While in the city he sent letters to Alexandria, pretending to be eager to visit the city founded by Alexander and to pay his respects to the god whom the Alexandrians worship above all other deities.⁷ 7. He pretended that the two compelling reasons for his proposed visit were the worship of the god and the memory of his hero Alexander. He therefore ordered a number of hecatombs of cattle to be prepared, together with offerings of every kind. When these matters were reported to the people of Alexandria, who are by nature carefree and very easily aroused on the slightest provocation, they were overjoyed to learn of the emperor's enthusiastic interest and his great affection for them. 8. They prepared a superlative reception for the emperor. Everywhere bands were performing on all kinds of musical instruments and playing a variety of melodies. Billows of perfume and the smoke of incense spread sweet aromas throughout the city. The

emperor was honored with torchlight parades and showers of floral bouquets. 9. When he entered the city, accompanied by his entire army, Antoninus went first into the temple,⁸ where he sacrificed many hecatombs of cattle and heaped the altars with frankincense. Leaving the temple for the tomb of Alexander, he removed there his purple robe, his finger rings set with precious gems, together with his belts and anything else of value on his person, and placed them upon the tomb.

IX

1. WHEN they saw what the emperor was doing, the people rejoiced and celebrated, making merry the whole night long, but they did not know his secret intent. In all his actions Antoninus was playing the hypocrite; his true plan was to destroy most of them. The source of the enmity he was concealing was this. 2. While he was still living in Rome, both during his brother's lifetime and after his murder, it was reported to him that the Alexandrians were making endless jokes about him. The people of that city are by nature fond of jesting at the expense of those in high places. However witty these clever remarks may seem to those who make them, they are very painful to those who are ridiculed. 3. Particularly galling are quips that reveal one's shortcomings. Thus they made many jokes at the emperor's expense about his murdering his brother, calling his aged mother Jocasta,⁹ and mocking him because, in his insignificance, he imitated the bravest and greatest of heroes, Alexander and Achilles. But although they thought they were merely joking about these matters, in reality they were causing the naturally savage and quick-tempered Antoninus to plot their destruction.

4. The emperor therefore joined the Alexandrians in celebrating and merrymaking. When he observed that the city was overflowing with people who had come in from the surrounding area, he issued a public proclamation directing all the young men to assemble in a broad plain, saying that he wished to organize a phalanx in honor of Alexander similar to his Macedonian and Spartan battalions, this unit to bear the name of the hero. 5. He ordered the youths to form in rows so that he might approach each one and determine whether his age, size of body, and state of health qualified him for military service. Believing him to be sincere, all the youths, quite reasonably hopeful because of the honor he had previously paid the city, assembled with their parents and brothers, who had come to celebrate the youths' expectations. 6. Antoninus now approached them as they were drawn up in groups and passed among them, touching each youth and saying a word of praise to this one and that one until his entire army had surrounded them. The youths did not notice or suspect anything. After he had visited them all, he judged that they were now trapped in the net of steel formed by his soldiers' weapons, and left the field, accompanied by his personal bodyguard. At a given signal the soldiers fell upon the encircled youths, attacking them and any others present. They cut them down, these armed soldiers fighting against unarmed, surrounded boys, butchering them in every conceivable fashion. 7. Some did the killing while others outside the ring dug huge trenches; they dragged those who had fallen to these trenches and threw them in, filling the ditch with bodies. Piling on earth, they quickly raised a huge burial mound. Many were thrown in half-alive, and others were forced in unwounded. 8. A number of soldiers perished there too; for all who were thrust into the trench alive, if they had the strength, clung to their killers and pulled them in with them. So great was the slaughter that the wide mouths of the Nile and the entire shore around the city were stained red by the streams of blood flowing through the plain. After these monstrous deeds, Antoninus left Alexandria and returned to Antioch.

1. NOT long after this, Antoninus, desirous of gaining the title “Parthicus” and of being able to report to the Romans that he had conquered all the Eastern barbarians, even though there was peace everywhere, devised the following plan. He wrote a letter to the king of Parthia (his name was Artabanus) and sent to him an embassy laden with gifts of expensive materials and fine workmanship. 2. He wrote to the king that he wished to marry his daughter; that it was not fitting that he, emperor and son of an emperor, be the son-in-law of a lowly private citizen. His wish was to marry a princess, the daughter of a great king. He pointed out that the Roman and the Parthian empires were the largest in the world; if they were united by marriage, one empire without a rival would result when they were no longer divided by a river. 3. The rest of the barbarian nations now not subject to their authority could easily be reduced, as they were governed by tribes and confederacies. Furthermore, the Roman infantry were invincible in close-quarter combat with spears, and the Parthians had a large force of highly skilled horse-archers. 4. The two forces, he said, complemented each other; by waging war together, they could easily unite the entire inhabited world under a single crown. Since the Parthians produced spices and excellent textiles and the Romans metals and manufactured articles, these products would no longer be scarce and smuggled by merchants; rather, when there was one world under one supreme authority, both peoples would enjoy these goods and share them in common.

5. At first the Parthian king did not approve of the proposals in Antoninus’s letters, saying that it was not proper for a barbarian to marry a Roman. What accord could there be when they did not understand each other’s language and differed so radically in diet and dress? Surely, the king said, there are many distinguished Romans, one of whose daughters he could marry, just as for him there were the Arsacids;¹⁰ it was not fitting that either race be bastardized.

XI

1. THE Parthian's initial replies were of this type, and he declined Antoninus's offer of an alliance. But when the emperor persisted and with many gifts and oaths swore to his enthusiasm for the marriage and his good will toward the Parthians, Artabanus was won over; addressing Antoninus as his future son-in-law, he promised him his daughter in marriage. When the news was made public, the barbarians prepared for the reception of the emperor of the Romans and rejoiced in the hope of permanent peace. 2. Having crossed the rivers unopposed, Antoninus entered the barbarians' land as if it were already his. Sacrifices were offered to him everywhere; the altars were decked with wreaths, and perfumes and every kind of incense were scattered in his path. Antoninus pretended to be delighted by the barbarians' attentions and continued his advance. He had now completed the greater part of his journey and was approaching the palace of Artabanus. The king did not wait to receive the emperor but came out to meet him in the plain before the city, welcoming his son-in-law, the bridegroom of his daughter. 3. All the Parthians, crowned with the traditional flowers and wearing robes embroidered in gold and various colors, celebrated the occasion, dancing wildly to the music of flutes and the throbbing of drums. They take delight in such orgiastic dancing, especially when they are drunk. 4. Abandoning their horses and laying aside their quivers and bows, the whole populace came together to drink and pour libations. A huge mob of barbarians gathered and stood about casually, wherever they happened to be, eager to see the bridegroom and expecting nothing out of the ordinary. 5. Then the signal was given, and Antoninus ordered his army to attack and massacre the spectators. Astounded by this onslaught, the barbarians turned and fled, wounded and bleeding. Artabanus himself, snatched up and placed on a horse by some of his personal bodyguards, barely escaped with a few companions. 6. The rest of the Parthians, lacking their indispensable horses, were cut down (for they had sent the horses out to graze and were standing about). They were unable to escape by running, either; their long, loose robes, hanging to their feet, tripped them up. 7. Naturally they did not have their quivers and bows with them; what need for weapons at a wedding? After slaughtering a great number of the enemy and taking much booty and many prisoners, Antoninus marched away from the city unopposed. En route he burned the towns and villages and permitted his soldiers to carry off as much as they could of anything they wanted.

8. Such was the nature of the disaster which the barbarians suffered when they were not anticipating anything of the kind. After harassing most of the Parthian empire, Antoninus, since his troops were weary by now of looting and killing, went off to Mesopotamia. From there he sent word to the senate and the Roman people that the entire East was subdued and that all the kingdoms in that region had submitted to him. 9. The senators were not unaware of what had actually happened (for it is impossible to conceal an emperor's acts); nevertheless, fear and the desire to flatter led them to vote the emperor all the triumphal honors. Thereafter, Antoninus spent some time in Mesopotamia, where he devoted himself to chariot-driving and to fighting all kinds of wild animals.

1. Antoninus had two generals in his army: Adventus, an old man, who had some skill in military matters but was a layman in other fields and unacquainted with civil administration; and Macrinus, experienced in public affairs and especially well trained in law. Antoninus often ridiculed Macrinus publicly, calling him a brave, self-styled warrior, and carrying his sarcasm to the point of shameful abuse. 2. When the emperor learned that Macrinus was overfond of food and scorned the coarse, rough fare which Antoninus the soldier enjoyed, he accused the general of cowardice and effeminacy, and continually threatened to murder him. Unable to endure these insults any longer, the angry Macrinus grew dangerous.

3. This is the way the affair turned out; it was, at long last, time for Antoninus's life to come to an end. The emperor, always excessively curious, wished not only to know everything about the affairs of men but also to meddle in divine matters. Since he suspected everyone of plotting against him, he consulted all the oracles and summoned prophets, astrologers, and entrail-examiners from all over the world; no one who practiced the magic art of prophecy escaped him. 4. But when he began to suspect that these men were not prophesying truthfully but were flattering him, Antoninus wrote a letter to Materianus, to whom he had entrusted control of affairs at Rome. This Materianus he considered the most trustworthy of his friends, the only one with whom he shared the imperial secrets. He ordered Materianus to locate all the most highly skilled prophets and to make use of their magic arts to discover whether anyone was plotting to seize the empire. 5. Materianus obeyed the emperor's orders to the letter, and whether because the spirits actually revealed these things to him or because he was eager to remove Macrinus, he sent Antoninus a dispatch informing him that Macrinus was conspiring to seize control of the empire and must be eliminated.

6. Sealing this letter, he gave it routinely with the other dispatches to the couriers, who did not, of course, know what they were carrying. Completing the journey with their usual speed, the messengers approached Antoninus after he had already donned his racing uniform and was about to climb into the waiting chariot, and gave him the whole bundle of dispatches, including the letter concerning Macrinus. 7. Antoninus, about to drive off, and intent upon the coming race, ordered Macrinus, who was standing nearby alone, to examine the dispatches and, if they contained anything urgent, to inform him. If, however, there was nothing pressing in them, he was to handle them himself in the usual manner, in his capacity as praetorian prefect. The emperor frequently ordered Macrinus to do this. 8. After giving these directions, Antoninus turned to his race. Macrinus withdrew and opened the dispatches in private; when he found the one containing his own death sentence, he saw clearly the danger which threatened him. Knowing the emperor's nature, and realizing that the death sentence contained in the letter would give the emperor legitimate cause for putting him to death, Macrinus removed this letter from the pile and reported that the rest were of the routine sort.

XIII

1. THE prefect, fearing that Materianus might send this information to the emperor a second time, decided to act now rather than wait and suffer the consequences. This is what he did. In Antoninus's bodyguard was a centurion named Martialis, who was always in the emperor's escort. A few days earlier, Antoninus had executed the centurion's brother on an unproved charge. Moreover, the emperor continually insulted the man, calling him cowardly, effeminate, and Macrinus' darling. 2. Learning that Martialis was exceedingly grieved by his brother's death and could no longer endure the emperor's insults, Macrinus summoned the centurion (in whom he had confidence because the man had served him before, and had received many favors from him). The prefect persuaded Martialis to be on the watch for a suitable opportunity to carry out a plot against the emperor. Won over by Macrinus' promises, Martialis, since he hated the emperor and was eager to avenge his brother, gladly promised to do the deed when the proper occasion arose.

3. Not long after they made this agreement, it happened that Antoninus, who was spending the time at Carrhae in Mesopotamia, conceived a desire to leave the imperial quarters and visit the Temple of the Moon, for Selene is the goddess whom the natives particularly adore. The temple was located some distance from Carrhae, and the journey was a long one. Therefore, to avoid involving the entire army, Antoninus made the trip with a few horsemen, intending to sacrifice to the goddess and then return to the city. 4. At the halfway point he stopped to relieve himself; ordering his escort to ride off, he went apart with a single attendant. All the horsemen turned aside and withdrew for some distance, respecting the emperor's modesty. 5. But when Martialis, who was looking for just such an opportunity, saw Antoninus alone, he ran toward him as if the emperor had summoned him by a gesture to question him or receive some information. Standing over Antoninus after he had uncovered himself, Martialis stabbed the emperor from behind with a dagger he had concealed in his hand. The blow under the shoulder was fatal, and Antoninus died, unsuspecting and undefended.¹¹ 6. When the emperor fell, Martialis leaped upon his horse and fled. Those favorites of Antoninus, the German cavalry who served as his bodyguard, were closer to the scene than the rest, and hence were the first to realize what had happened. These horsemen set out in pursuit of Martialis and cut him down.

7. When the rest of the army learned what had occurred, they hurried to the spot, and Macrinus was the first to arrive; standing over the body, he pretended to wail and lament for the emperor. The whole army was grieved and distressed by the affair; they felt they had lost a fellow soldier, a comrade-in-arms, rather than their emperor. And yet they never suspected that it was a plot of Macrinus; they believed that Martialis had done it because of his personal hatred for the emperor. 8. Then the soldiers retired, each to his own tent. After burning the body on a pyre and placing the ashes in an urn, Macrinus sent it for burial to the emperor's mother in Antioch. As a result of these similar disasters which befell her two sons, Julia died, either by her own hand or by the emperor's order. Such was the fate suffered by Antoninus and his mother Julia, who lived in the manner I have described above. Antoninus had served

as emperor without his father and brother for eleven years.

1. AFTER Antoninus's death, the bewildered soldiers were at a loss as to what to do. For two days they were without an emperor while they looked for someone to fill the office. And now it was reported that Artabanus was approaching with a huge army, seeking a legitimate revenge for the Parthians whom Antoninus had murdered under a truce and in time of peace. 2. The army first chose Adventus as their emperor because he was a military man and a praetorian prefect of considerable ability; he declined the honor, however, pleading his advanced age. They then decided upon Macrinus, influenced by their tribunes, who were close friends of the general and were suspected of having been involved in the plot against Antoninus. Later, after Macrinus' death, these tribunes were punished, as we shall relate in the pages to follow. 3. Macrinus thus received the office of emperor not so much because of the soldiers' affection and loyalty as from necessity and the urgency of the impending crisis.

While these events were taking place, Artabanus was marching toward the Romans with a huge army, including a strong cavalry contingent and a powerful unit of archers and those mail-clad soldiers who hurl spears from camels. 4. When the approach of Artabanus was reported, Macrinus called the soldiers together and addressed them as follows: "That all of you regret the passing of such an emperor, or, more accurately, fellow soldier, is hardly surprising. But to endure misfortunes and disasters with equanimity is the part of intelligent men. 5. Truly the memory of Antoninus is locked in our hearts, and to those who come after us will be handed down this memory, which will bring him everlasting fame for his great and noble deeds, his love and affection for you, and his labors and comradeship with you. But now it is time for us, since we have paid the last of the prescribed honors to the memory of the dead and have performed his funeral rites, to look to the present emergency. 6. You see the barbarian with his whole Eastern horde already upon us, and Artabanus seems to have good reason for his enmity. We provoked him by breaking the treaty, and in a time of complete peace we started a war. Now the whole Roman empire depends upon our courage and loyalty. This is no quarrel about boundaries or river beds; everything is at stake in this dispute in which we face a mighty king fighting for his children and kinsmen who, he believes, have been murdered in violation of solemn oaths. 7. Therefore let us take up our arms and our battle stations in the customary Roman good order. In the fighting, the undisciplined mob of barbarians, assembled only for temporary duty, may prove its own worst enemy. Our battle tactics and our stern discipline, together with our combat experience, will insure our safety and their destruction. Therefore, with hopes high, contest the issue as it is fitting and traditional for Romans to do. 8. Thus will you repel the barbarians, and by winning a great and glorious reputation you will make it clear to the Romans and to all men — and you will likewise confirm that previous victory — that you did not deceive the barbarians by fraudulently and treacherously breaking your treaty with them, but that you conquered and won by force of arms."

After this speech the soldiers, recognizing the necessity of the matter, took up battle stations and remained under arms.

1. ARTABANUS appeared at sunrise with his vast army. When they had saluted the sun, as was their custom, the barbarians, with a deafening cheer, charged the Roman line, firing their arrows and whipping on their horses. The Romans had arranged their divisions carefully to insure a stable front; the cavalry and the Moroccan javelin men were stationed on the wings, and the open spaces were filled with light-armed and mobile troops that could move rapidly from one place to another. And so the Romans received the charge of the Parthians and joined battle. 2. The barbarians inflicted many wounds upon the Romans from above, and did considerable damage by the showers of arrows and the long spears of the mail-clad camel riders. But when the fighting came to close quarters, the Romans easily defeated the barbarians; for when the swarms of Parthian cavalry and hordes of camel riders were mauling them, the Romans pretended to retreat and then they threw down caltrops and other keen-pointed iron devices. Covered by the sand, these were invisible to the horsemen and the camel riders and were fatal to the animals. 3. The horses, and particularly the tender-footed camels, stepped on these devices and, falling, threw their riders. As long as they are mounted on horses and camels, the barbarians in those regions fight bravely, but if they dismount or are thrown, they are very easily captured; they cannot stand up to hand-to-hand fighting. And, if they find it necessary to flee or pursue, the long robes which hang loosely about their feet trip them up.

4. On the first and second days the two armies fought from morning until evening, and when night put an end to the fighting, each side withdrew to its own camp, claiming the victory. On the third day they came again to the same field to do battle; then the barbarians, who were far superior in numbers, tried to surround and trap the Romans. The Romans, however, no longer arranged their divisions to obtain depth; instead, they broadened their front and blocked every attempt at encirclement. 5. So great was the number of slaughtered men and animals that the entire plain was covered with the dead; bodies were piled up in huge mounds, and the camels especially fell in heaps. As a result, the soldiers were hampered in their attacks; they could not see each other for the high and impassable wall of bodies between them. Prevented by this barrier from making contact, each side withdrew to its own camp.

6. Macrinus knew that Artabanus was making so strong a stand and battling so fiercely only because he thought that he was fighting Antoninus; the barbarian always tires of battle quickly and loses heart unless he is immediately victorious. 7. But on this occasion the Parthians resolutely stood their ground and renewed the struggle after they had carried off their dead and buried them, for they were unaware that the cause of their hatred was dead. Macrinus therefore sent an embassy to the Parthian king with a letter telling him that the emperor who had wronged him by breaking his treaties and violating his oaths was dead and had paid a richly deserved penalty for his crimes. Now the Romans, to whom the empire really belonged, had entrusted to Macrinus the management of their realm. 8. He told Artabanus that he did not approve of Antoninus's actions and promised to restore all the money he had lost. Macrinus offered friendship to Artabanus instead of hostility and assured

him that he would confirm peace between them by oaths and treaties. When he learned this and was informed by envoys of Antoninus's death, Artabanus believed that the treaty breaker had suffered a suitable punishment; as his own army was riddled with wounds, the king signed a treaty of peace with Macrinus, content to recover the captives and stolen money without further bloodshed. 9. The Parthian then returned to his own country, and Macrinus led his army out of Mesopotamia and hurried on to Antioch.

ENDNOTES.

¹ “Old” Forum, in contrast to the several imperial Fora.

² After the famous third-century B.C. Pharos at Alexandria.

³ The Pyrrhic dance, with an origin in Greek myth, originated as a dance preparatory for war. Introduced into Rome by Julius Caesar, it was frequently performed thereafter.

⁴ A lacuna here: Dio (78.2.3) says that Antoninus bribed several centurions to kill Geta in his mother’s arms.

⁵ The healing ritual known as incubation, or temple sleep. After the preliminary ritual, the patient lay down to sleep in an open colonnade. During the night, Aesculapius appeared in a dream, gave treatment — even occasionally performed an operation — and the patient left the next morning, cured.

⁶ Cf. Iliad 23.168-185.

⁷ Serapis (Sarapis) was the chief god in the Egyptian cult of deities under the empire; as Serapis Polieus he was the chief god of Alexandria.

⁸ The magnificent Serapeum.

⁹ The mother and wife of Oedipus.

¹⁰ The royal dynasty of Parthia.

¹¹ April 8, 217.

BOOK V.

I

1. ANTONINUS' life and death have been described in the preceding book. While at Antioch, Macrinus wrote a letter to the senate and the Roman people in which he said the following: 2. "You are familiar with the course of my life from its very beginning. You know my inclination toward uprightness of character, and are aware of the moderation with which I previously managed affairs, when my power and authority were little inferior to that of the emperor himself. For that reason, and since the emperor sees fit to put his trust in the praetorian prefects, I do not think it necessary for me to address you at great length. You know that I did not approve of the emperor's actions. Indeed, I frequently risked my life on your behalf when he listened to random charges and attacked you without mercy. 3. He criticized me harshly too, often publicly complaining about my moderation and my restraint in dealing with those under my authority, and ridiculing me for my easygoing ways and mild manner. He delighted in flatterers and men who encouraged him to cruelty and gave him good reason for his savagery by arousing his anger with slanderous charges. These people he considered his loyal friends. I, on the other hand, have from the beginning been mild, moderate, and agreeable. 4. We brought the war against the Parthians to a conclusion, a critical struggle involving the safety of the whole Roman empire. In our courageous opposition to the Parthians we proved in no way inferior to them, and in signing a treaty of peace we made a loyal friend instead of a dangerous enemy of a great king, who had marched against us at the head of a formidable army. Under my rule all men shall live in peace, and senatorial rule shall replace the autocracy. 5. But let no one think me unworthy of my post, and let no one believe that Fortune blundered in raising me to this position, even though I am of the Equestrian order.¹ For what advantage is there in nobility of birth unless it be combined with a beneficent and kindly nature? The gifts of Fortune fall upon the undeserving also, but it is the excellence of his own soul which brings every man his measure of personal glory. Nobility of birth, wealth, and the like are presumed to bring happiness, but, since they are bestowed by someone else, they deserve no praise. 6. Virtue and kindness, on the other hand, besides commanding admiration, win a full measure of praise for anyone who succeeds by his own efforts. What, may I ask, did the noble birth

of Commodus profit you ? Or the fact that Antoninus inherited the throne from his father? Indeed, having received the empire as legal heirs, the two youths abused their high office and conducted themselves insolently, as if the empire were their own personal possession by right of inheritance. But those who receive the empire from your hands are eternally in your debt for the favor, and they undertake to repay those who have done them previous good services. 7. The noble ancestry of the highborn emperors leads them to commit insolent acts out of contempt for their subjects, whom they regard as far below them. By contrast, those who come to the throne as a result of temperate behavior treat the post with respect, since they secured it by toil; they continue to show to those who were formerly their superiors the same deference and esteem they were accustomed to show. 8. I intend to have you senators as my associates and assistants in managing the empire, and I intend to do nothing without your approval. You shall live in freedom and security, enjoying the privileges of which you were deprived by your nobly born emperors and which Marcus, of old, and Pertinax, recently, undertook to restore to you; the latter also are emperors who came to the throne from private circumstances. Surely it is better for a man to provide his descendants with the glorious beginnings of a family line than, having inherited ancestral glory, to disgrace it by outrageous behavior.”

II

1. AFTER they heard this message, the cheering senate voted Macrinus all the imperial honors. The fact is, however, that they rejoiced not so much at Macrinus' succession as at their own deliverance from Antoninus. Every man, but especially those who had any claim to merit or distinction, felt that he had escaped a sword suspended over his head. 2. All informers and all slaves who had betrayed their masters were crucified; the city of Rome and virtually the entire Roman empire were purged of these scoundrels. Some were killed, others exiled; any who managed to escape, prudently laid low. As a result, men lived in complete security and in a semblance of freedom during the single year in which Macrinus was emperor. 3. But he made a great mistake in not immediately disbanding the armies, sending the soldiers back to their regular stations, and hurrying off to a Rome eager to welcome him, where the people were shouting for him on every occasion. Instead, he loitered at Antioch, cultivating his beard. He moved with greater deliberation than was necessary, and to those who approached him he made replies that were very slow, difficult to understand, and often inaudible because of the softness of his voice. 4. In doing all this he was imitating Marcus, but he failed to follow that emperor's example in other respects; he indulged in endless luxuries and devoted his time to dancing shows, recitals of every kind of music, and exhibitions of pantomime, while neglecting the administration of the empire. He appeared in public resplendent in brooches and wearing a stomacher lavishly adorned with gold and precious gems, extravagances of which the Roman soldiers did not approve because such ornaments seemed more appropriate to barbarians and women. 5. The soldiers were not at all pleased by what they saw; they disapproved of his way of life as too dissolute for a military man. When they contrasted it with their recollection of Antoninus's daily routine, which, being soldierly and austere, was the exact opposite, they had only contempt for Macrinus' extravagant behavior. 6. Other circumstances increased their irritation; still living in tents and sometimes short of supplies in a foreign land, even though a state of peace seemed to exist, they longed to return to their regular stations. When they saw Macrinus' luxury and laxity, they rebelled and spoke bitterly about him, praying for even a flimsy excuse to rid themselves of this annoyance.

III

1. THEREFORE it was inevitable that Macrinus, after ruling for a single year, should lose the empire and his life when Fortune provided the soldiers with a trivial and inadequate excuse for accomplishing their desire. 2. Julia, wife of Severus and mother of Antoninus, had a sister, Maesa, a Phoenician named after the city of Emesa in that country. During her sister's imperial career, the many years that Severus and Antoninus were emperors, this woman lived in the imperial palace. After the assassination of Antoninus and Julia's death, Macrinus ordered Maesa to return to her own estates in Phoenicia, allowing her to live there in full possession of her property. Since Maesa had lived for a long time under imperial protection, she had amassed a huge personal fortune. Thus the old woman now went off to live on her estates. Maesa had two daughters. 3. The elder was called Soaemias; the younger, Mamaea. Each of the girls had an only son: Soaemias' son was named Bassianus; Mamaea's, Alexianus. These boys, who were reared by their mothers and their grandmother, were at that time about fourteen and ten, respectively. 4. They were priests of the sun god, whom their countrymen worship under the Phoenician name Elagabalus.² A huge temple was erected to this god, lavishly decorated with gold, silver, and costly gems. Not only is this god worshiped by the natives, but all the neighboring rulers and kings send generous and expensive gifts to him each year. 5. No statue made by man in the likeness of the god stands in this temple, as in Greek and Roman temples. The temple does, however, contain a huge black stone with a pointed end and round base in the shape of a cone. The Phoenicians solemnly maintain that this stone came down from Zeus; pointing out certain small figures in relief, they assert that it is an unwrought image of the sun, for naturally this is what they wish to see. 6. Bassianus was the chief priest of this god. (Since he was the elder of the boys, the priesthood had been entrusted to him.) He went about in barbarian dress, wearing long-sleeved purple tunics embroidered with gold which hung to his feet; robes similarly decorated with gold and purple covered his legs from hip to toe, and he wore a crown of varicolored precious gems. 7. Bassianus, in the prime of youth, was the handsomest lad of his time. With physical beauty, bloom of youth, and splendor of attire combining to produce the same effect, the youth might well be compared to the handsome

statues of Bacchus.

8. When Bassianus was performing his priestly duties, dancing about the altars in barbarian fashion to the music of flutes, pipes, and every kind of instrument, the natives and the soldiers watched him with more than ordinary curiosity, aware that he belonged to the imperial family. 9. His youthful beauty attracted the eyes of all. At that time a huge army was quartered at Emesa to guard Phoenicia. This army was later transferred from the city, as we shall relate in the pages to follow. The soldiers were therefore frequent visitors in the city and went to the temple on the pretext of worshipping the god; there they delighted in watching Bassianus. 10. Some were deserters and compatriots of Maesa; while they stood admiring the youth, Maesa, either inventing the story or telling the truth, informed them that Bassianus was really the son of Antoninus, although it might appear that he had another father. She claimed that when she was living in the palace with her sister, Antoninus slept with both of her daughters, who were young and beautiful. The men repeated her story to their fellow soldiers, and it soon became common knowledge throughout the army. 11. Maesa was rumored to be enormously wealthy, and it was reported that she would immediately give all her money to the soldiers if they restored the empire to her family. The soldiers agreed that if the family would come secretly to the camp at night, they would open the gates, receive the family inside, and proclaim Bassianus emperor and son of Antoninus. The old woman agreed to the plan, preferring to risk any danger rather than live in obscurity and appear to have been discarded. And so she slipped unnoticed out of the city at night with her daughters and grandsons. 12. Guided by soldiers who had deserted, they came to the wall of the camp and were warmly received inside. Immediately the entire army saluted Bassianus as “Son of Antoninus,” and, wrapping him in a purple military cloak, held him inside the camp. Then, bringing in all the supplies from the villages and adjacent fields, together with the women and children, they prepared to endure a siege if it should prove necessary.

IV

1. THESE matters were reported to Macrinus while he was at Antioch, and the rumor quickly spread through the rest of the armies that the son of Antoninus had been found and that the sister of Julia was handing out money. Believing everything that was said and accepting it as true, the soldiers were deeply stirred. 2. They were moved by hatred of Macrinus and pity for the memory of Antoninus; these considerations persuaded them to support a change of emperors. More than any other factor, however, the hope of money influenced their decision, and many soldiers voluntarily deserted to the new Antoninus. Contemptuously dismissing the affair as the efforts of children, and displaying his usual indolence, Macrinus remained at home, but he did send one of the praetorian prefects to Emesa with a contingent of troops which he considered large enough to crush the rebels with the greatest of ease. 3. When Julianus (for this was the prefect's name) arrived and attacked the walls of the camp, the soldiers inside, mounting the towers and battlements, displayed Bassianus to the besieging army; cheering the son of Antoninus, they waved their full purses to induce the attackers to desert. 4. Believing that Bassianus was the son of Antoninus and looked exactly like him (for this is what they wanted to see), the besieging soldiers cut off Julianus' head and sent it back to Macrinus; when the gates were opened, all of them were welcomed into the camp. The troops, thus augmented, were sufficient not only to withstand a siege but also to fight a pitched battle at close quarters. The number of those who deserted each day, though they came in small groups, continued to increase the size of the army in the camp.

5. When he learned of these developments, Macrinus assembled all the available troops and marched out to put under siege those who had deserted him for Elagabalus.³ The soldiers of Elagabalus, however, did not wait for the attack. Finding his troops bold enough to march out confidently to engage Macrinus in battle, the youth led them from the city. 6. When the two armies met on the borders of Phoenicia and Syria, Elagabalus' soldiers fought with spirit, fearing that if they should lose, they would suffer for what they had done. The soldiers of Macrinus, on the other hand, were completely indifferent and deserted to Elagabalus. 7. When Macrinus saw what was happening, he was afraid that, having lost all his troops, he would be captured

and shamefully treated. While the battle was still raging, he stripped off his purple cloak and other imperial insignia and secretly left the field with a few centurions whom he believed to be especially loyal to him. To avoid recognition he shaved off his beard, donned a traveling cloak, and kept his head covered. 8. He traveled night and day and thus outdistanced the report of his disaster; the centurions drove the chariots at top speed, as if they had been sent by Macrinus, still emperor, on an urgent mission.

And so Macrinus fled from the battle. Both armies continued the fight; the bodyguards and spearbearers whom they call praetorians fought for Macrinus, these picked men making a courageous stand against the rest of the army; the remainder of the troops fought for Elagabalus. 9. But when those who were fighting for Macrinus saw neither the emperor nor the imperial emblems for some time, they did not know whether he had been killed or had fled the battlefield, nor did they know what course they should follow under the circumstances. They had no desire to fight for a man who was absent, and were ashamed to surrender and, betrayed, become prisoners of war. 10. Informed by deserters of Macrinus' flight, Elagabalus sent heralds to advise the praetorians that they were fighting vainly for a cowardly fugitive; he solemnly promised them security and amnesty, and offered them service as his bodyguard. Convinced, the praetorians switched their allegiance. Elagabalus then sent men in pursuit of Macrinus, who by that time had fled some distance. 11. The fugitive was finally captured at Chalcedon in Bithynia, desperately ill and exhausted by his continuous flight. His pursuers found him hiding in the outskirts of the city and cut off his head. It is said that he was hurrying to Rome, putting his faith in the people's enthusiastic support; but when he attempted to cross over to Europe by the narrow Propontic Gulf and was already close to Byzantium, they say that the wind was against him and carried him back to Asia and his fate. 12. So, by mischance, Macrinus failed to elude his pursuers and met an ignoble end a little later while striving to get to Rome, where he should have gone in the beginning. Thus he owed his downfall equally to bad judgment and bad luck.

Such was the fate of Macrinus; with him perished his son Diadumenianus, who was his Caesar.

V

1. NOW the entire army went over to Elagabalus, proclaiming him emperor, and the youth assumed control of the empire. After affairs in the East had been set in order for him by his grandmother and his advisers (for he was young in years, and lacking in education and administrative experience), he delayed his departure for only a short time, as Maesa was eager to return to her familiar imperial life at Rome. 2. The senate and the Roman people were dismayed at the report of these developments, but submitted through necessity because the army had elected to follow this course. They attributed the affair to the indolence and weakness of Macrinus and said that he alone was responsible for what had happened.

3. Leaving Syria, Elagabalus proceeded to Nicomedia, where he was forced by the season of the year to spend the winter. Immediately he plunged into his mad activities, performing for his native god the fantastic rites in which he had been trained from childhood. He wore the richest clothing, draping himself in purple robes embroidered in gold; to his necklaces and bracelets he added a crown, a tiara glittering with gold and jewels. 4. His dress showed the influence of the sacred robe of the Phoenicians and the luxurious garb of the Medes. He loathed Greek and Roman garments because they were made of wool, in his opinion an inferior material; only the Syrian cloth met with his approval. Accompanied by flutes and drums, he went about performing, as it appeared, orgiastic service to his god.

5. When she saw what Elagabalus was doing, Maesa was greatly disturbed and tried again and again to persuade the youth to wear Roman dress when he entered the city to visit the senate. She was afraid that his appearance, obviously foreign and wholly barbaric, would offend those who saw him; they were not used to such garb and considered his ornaments suitable only for women. 6. But Elagabalus had nothing but contempt for the old woman's warnings, nor did anyone else succeed in convincing him. (He would listen only to those who were like him and flattered his faults.) Since, however, he wished the senate and the Roman people to grow accustomed to seeing him in this costume and wished to test their reaction to this exotic sight, before he returned to Rome he had a full-length portrait painted, showing him performing his priestly duties in public. His native god also appeared in the

painting; the emperor was depicted sacrificing to him under favorable auspices. 7. Elagabalus sent this picture to Rome to be hung in the center of the senate house, high above the statue of Victory before which each senator burns frankincense and pours a libation of wine upon entering the chamber. He directed all Roman officials who perform public sacrifices to call upon the new god Elagabalus before all the other gods whom they invoke in their rites. By the time the emperor came to Rome presenting the appearance described above, the Romans saw nothing unusual in it, for the painting had prepared them for what to expect. 8. Elagabalus then made the distribution of money customary at the succession of an emperor and staged lavish and extravagant spectacles of every kind. He erected a huge and magnificent temple to his god and surrounded it with numerous altars. Coming forth early each morning, he sacrificed there hecatombs of bulls and a vast number of sheep. These he placed upon the altars and heaped up spices of every kind; he also set before the altars many jars of the oldest and finest wines, so that the streams of blood mingled with streams of wine. 9. Elagabalus danced around the altars to music played on every kind of instrument; women from his own country accompanied him in these dances, carrying cymbals and drums as they circled the altars. The entire senate and all the knights stood watching, like spectators at the theater. The spices and entrails of the sacrificial animals were not carried by servants or men of low birth; 10. rather, they were borne along in gold vessels held on high by the praetorian prefects and the most important magistrates, who wore long-sleeved robes with a broad purple stripe in the center, robes which hung to their feet in the Phoenician style. On their feet were the linen shoes customarily worn by the Eastern prophets. It was obvious that Elagabalus was paying the highest honor to those associated with him in the performance of the sacred rites.

VI

1. EVEN though the emperor seemed to be devoting all his attention to dancing and to his priestly duties, still he found time to execute many famous and wealthy men who were charged with ridiculing and censuring his way of life. He married one of the noblest of the Roman ladies and proclaimed her Augusta;⁴ but he soon divorced her and, after depriving her of the imperial honors, ordered her to return to private life. 2. So that he might seem to be doing something manly, he made love to one of the Vestal Virgins of Rome, priestesses who are bound by sacred vows to be chaste and remain virgin to the end of their lives; taking the maiden away from Vesta and the holy virgins' quarters, he made her his wife. He sent a letter to the senate asking to be forgiven his impious and adolescent transgression, telling them that he was afflicted with a masculine failing — an overwhelming passion for the maiden. He also informed them that the marriage of a priest and a priestess was both proper and sanctioned. But a short time later he divorced this girl and took yet a third wife, a girl who belonged to the family of Commodus.

3. Not content with making a mockery of human marriage, he even sought a wife for the god whose priest he was. He brought into his own bedroom the statue of Pallas which the Romans worship hidden and unseen. Even though this statue had not been moved from the time when it was first brought from Troy, except when the temple of Vesta was destroyed by fire, Elagabalus moved it now and brought it into the palace to be married to his god. 4. But proclaiming that his god was not pleased by a goddess of war wearing full armor, he sent for the statue of Urania which the Carthaginians and Libyans especially venerate. This statue they say Dido the Phoenician set up at the time when she cut the hide into strips and founded the ancient city of Carthage. The Libyans call this goddess Urania, but the Phoenicians worship her as Astroarche, identifying her with the moon. 5. Claiming that he was arranging a marriage of the sun and the moon, Elagabalus sent for the statue and all the gold in the temple and ordered the Carthaginians to provide, in addition, a huge sum of money for the goddess' dowry. When the statue arrived, he set it up with his god and ordered all men in Rome and throughout Italy to celebrate with lavish feasts and festivals, publicly and privately, in honor of the marriage of the deities.

6. In the suburbs of Rome the emperor built a very large and magnificent temple to which every year in midsummer he brought his god. He staged lavish shows and built race tracks and theaters, believing that chariot races, shows, and countless recitals would please the people, who held night-long feasts and celebrations. He placed the sun god in a chariot adorned with gold and jewels and brought him out from the city to the suburbs. 7. A six-horse chariot bore the sun god, the horses huge and flawlessly white, with expensive gold fittings and rich ornaments. No one held the reins, and no one rode in the chariot; the vehicle was escorted as if the sun god himself were the charioteer. Elagabalus ran backward in front of the chariot, facing the god and holding the horses' reins. He made the whole journey in this reverse fashion, looking up into the face of his god. 8. Since he was unable to see where he was going, his route was paved with gold dust to keep him from stumbling and falling, and bodyguards supported him on each side to protect him from injury. The people ran parallel to him, carrying torches and tossing wreaths and flowers. The statues of all the gods, the costly or sacred offerings in the temples, the imperial ornaments, and valuable heirlooms were carried by the cavalry and the entire Praetorian Guard in honor of the sun god. 9. After thus bringing the god out and placing him in the temple, Elagabalus performed the rites and sacrifices described above; then, climbing to the huge, lofty towers which he had erected, he threw down, indiscriminately, cups of gold and silver, clothing, and cloth of every type to the mob below. He also distributed all kinds of tame animals except swine, which, in accordance with Phoenician custom, he shunned. 10. Many lost their lives in the ensuing scramble, impaled on the soldiers' spears or trampled to death; thus the celebration of the emperor brought tragedy to a host of people. Elagabalus was often seen driving a chariot or dancing. He had no desire to sin in secret, but appeared in public with eyes painted and cheeks rouged; these cosmetics marred a face naturally handsome.

VII

1. OBSERVING his actions, Maesa suspected that the soldiers were outraged by his eccentricities. Fearing that if Elagabalus were killed, she would become a private citizen again, she tried to persuade the youth, who was in every respect an empty-headed young idiot, to adopt as his son and appoint as Caesar his first cousin and her grandson, the child of her other daughter, Mamaea. 2. She told the emperor what it pleased him to hear, that it was clearly necessary for him to have time to attend to the worship and service of his god and to devote himself to the rites and revelries and divine functions, but that there should be another responsible for human affairs, to afford him leisure and freedom from the cares of empire. It was not necessary for him, she said, to look for a stranger or someone not a relative; he should entrust these duties to his own cousin. 3. It was then that the name of Alexianus was changed to Alexander; the name of his grandfather became Alexander the Great, since the Macedonian was very famous and was held in high esteem by the alleged father of them both. Maesa's daughters, and the old woman too, boasted of their adultery with Antoninus, son of Severus, in order to increase the soldiers' love for the youths, who thus appeared to be Antoninus's sons.

4. Alexander was then appointed Caesar and served as consul with Elagabalus himself. Appearing before the senate, Elagabalus confirmed this appointment, and all the senators voted approval of the fantastic and ridiculous situation they were ordered to endorse — that the emperor, who was about sixteen, assume the role of father to Alexander, who was twelve. After adopting Alexander as Caesar, Elagabalus undertook to teach him his own practices; he instructed him in dancing and prancing, and, enrolling him in the priesthood, wanted the lad to imitate his appearance and actions. 5. But his mother Mamaea kept Alexander from taking part in activities so disgraceful and unworthy of an emperor. Privately, she summoned teachers of every subject and had her son trained in the lessons of self-discipline; since he devoted himself to wrestling and to physical exercise as well, he was, by his mother's efforts, educated according to both the Greek and the Roman systems. Elagabalus, much annoyed at this, regretted his decision to make Alexander his son and partner in the empire. 6. He therefore banished Alexander's teachers from the imperial palace; he put to death some of the

most distinguished and sent others into exile. The emperor offered the most absurd excuses for doing this, claiming that these men, by teaching Alexander self-control, educating him in human affairs, and refusing to allow him to dance and take part in the frenzied orgies, would corrupt his adopted son. The madness of Elagabalus increased to such a degree that he appointed all the actors from the stage and the public theaters to the most important posts in the empire, selecting as his praetorian prefect a man who had from childhood danced publicly in the Roman theater. 7. He elevated in similar fashion another young actor, putting him in charge of the education and conduct of the Roman youths and of the qualifications of those appointed to membership in the senatorial and Equestrian orders. To charioteers, comedians, and actors of mimes he entrusted the most important and responsible imperial posts. To slaves and freedmen, to men notorious for disgraceful acts, he assigned the proconsular provincial governorships.

VIII

1. WITH everything that formerly had been held sacred being done in a frenzy of arrogance and madness, all the Romans, especially the praetorians, were angered and disgusted. They were annoyed when they saw the emperor, his face painted more elaborately than that of any modest woman, dancing in luxurious robes and effeminately adorned with gold necklaces. 2. As a result, they were more favorably disposed toward Alexander, for they expected great things of a lad so properly and modestly reared. They kept continual watch upon the youth when they saw that Elagabalus was plotting against him. His mother Mamaea did not allow her son to touch any food or drink sent by the emperor, nor did Alexander use the cupbearers or cooks employed in the palace or those who happened to be in their mutual service; only those chosen by his mother, those who seemed most trustworthy, were allowed to handle Alexander's food. 3. Mamaea secretly distributed money to the praetorians to win their good will for her son; it was to gold that the praetorians were particularly devoted.

When he learned this, Elagabalus plotted against Alexander and his mother in every conceivable way, but Maesa, the grandmother of them both, foiled all his schemes; she was astute in every way and had spent much of her life in the imperial palace. As the sister of Severus' wife Julia, Maesa had always lived with the empress at the court. 4. Therefore, none of Elagabalus' schemes escaped her attention, for the emperor was careless by nature, and his intrigues were always obvious. Since his plots failed, the emperor undertook to strip Alexander of the honor of Caesar, and the youth was no longer to be seen at public addresses or in public processions. 5. But the soldiers called for Alexander and were angry because he had been removed from his imperial post. Elagabalus circulated a rumor that Alexander was dying, to see how the praetorians would react to the news. When they did not see the youth, the praetorians were deeply grieved and enraged by the report; they refused to send the regular contingent of guards to the emperor and remained in the camp, demanding to see Alexander in the temple there. 6. Thoroughly frightened, Elagabalus placed Alexander in the imperial litter, which was richly decorated with gold and precious gems, and set out with him for the praetorian camp. The guards opened the gates and, receiving them inside,

brought the two youths to the temple in the camp. 7. They welcomed Alexander with enthusiastic cheers, but ignored the emperor. Fuming at this treatment, although he spent the night in the camp, Elagabalus unleashed the fury of his wrath against the praetorians. He ordered the arrest and punishment of the guards who had cheered Alexander openly and enthusiastically, pretending that these were responsible for the revolt and uproar. 8. The praetorians were enraged by this order; since they had other reasons, also, for hating Elagabalus, they wished now to rid themselves of so disgraceful an emperor, and believed, too, that they should rescue the praetorians under arrest. Considering the occasion ideal and the provocation just, they killed Elagabalus and his mother Soaemias (for she was in the camp as Augusta and as his mother), together with all his attendants who were seized in the camp and who seemed to be his associates and companions in evil.⁵ 9. They gave the bodies of Elagabalus and Soaemias to those who wanted to drag them about and abuse them; when the bodies had been dragged throughout the city, the mutilated corpses were thrown into the public sewer which flows into the Tiber.

10. After having ruled the empire for more than five years, leading the kind of life described above, Elagabalus perished in this manner together with his mother. The praetorians then proclaimed Alexander emperor and conducted him into the palace while he was still a youth and still being given a thorough education by his mother and his grandmother.

ENDNOTES.

- ¹ Macrinus was the first emperor who was not of the senatorial order.
- ² The Baal of Emesa. The spelling of “Elagabalus” varies.
- ³ I have regularly substituted for “Antoninus” the more familiar “Elagabalus.”
- ⁴ After the Flavian era this title was normally conferred upon the wife of the reigning emperor.
- ⁵ March 12, 222.

BOOK VI.

1. THE fate which Elagabalus suffered I have described in the preceding pages. When Alexander received the empire, the appearance and the title of emperor were allowed him, but the management and control of imperial affairs were in the hands of his women, and they undertook a more moderate and more equitable administration. 2. First, they chose from the senate, to be the emperor's advisory council, sixteen men who because of their age seemed most dignified and temperate in their conduct. Nothing was said or done unless these men had first considered the matter and given unanimous approval. The fact that the character of the imperial government was changed from an arrogant autocracy to a form of aristocracy pleased the people, the army, and especially the senators. 3. To begin with, the statues of the gods which Elagabalus had moved or transferred were returned to their original positions in the ancient temples and shrines. The unqualified men whom Elagabalus had promoted to positions of trust or honor or who were notorious for their crimes were deprived of what they had received from the emperor and were ordered by the councilors to return to their former occupations. 4. In all government business and matters of state, the emperor's council entrusted political matters and public affairs to those who were competent lawyers and skillful orators, while they put in charge of military affairs experienced men who were skilled in the arts of war.

After the empire had been governed in this manner for some time, Maesa, then an old woman, died; receiving the imperial honors, she became, as the Romans believe, a deity.

5. Now left alone with her son, Mamaea tried to govern and control him in the same fashion. Fearing that his vigorous young manhood might plunge him into the errors of adolescence because his power and position were assured, Mamaea kept the palace under close guard and allowed no one suspected of debauchery to approach the youth. She was afraid that his character would be corrupted if his flatterers aroused his growing appetites to disgraceful desires. 6. She therefore induced him to serve as judge in the courts continually and for most of each day; occupied with important matters and the necessary business of the empire, he would have no opportunity to indulge in scandalous practices. Alexander's deportment was governed by a character naturally mild and civilized, and much inclined to benevolence, as was made clear when the youth grew older. 7. At any rate, he entered the fourteenth year of his reign without bloodshed, and no one could say that the emperor had been responsible for anyone's murder. Even though men were convicted of serious crimes, he nevertheless granted them pardons to avoid putting them to death, and not readily did any emperor of our time, after the reign of Marcus, act in this way or display so much concern for human life. Indeed, over a period of many years, no one could recall that any man had been condemned to death by Alexander without a trial.

8. Alexander blamed his mother for her excessive love of money and was annoyed by her relentless pursuit of gold. For a time she pretended to be gathering funds to enable Alexander to gratify the praetorians readily and generously, but in truth she was hoarding it for herself.

And her miserliness in some measure reflected discredit upon his reign, even though he personally opposed it and was angry when she confiscated anyone's property and inheritance illegally.

9. Mamaea secured for Alexander a wife from the aristocracy. Although he loved the girl and lived with her, she was afterward banished from the palace by his mother, who, in her egotistic desire to be sole empress, envied the girl her title. So excessively arrogant did Mamaea become that the girl's father, though Alexander esteemed him highly, could no longer endure the woman's insolence toward him and his daughter; consequently, he took refuge in the praetorian camp, fully aware of the debt of gratitude he owed Alexander for the honors he had received from him, but complaining bitterly about Mamaea's insults. 10. Enraged, Mamaea ordered him to be killed and at the same time drove the girl from the palace to exile in Libya. She did this against Alexander's wishes and in spite of his displeasure, but the emperor was dominated by his mother and obeyed her every command. One might bring this single charge against Alexander, that his excessive amiability and abnormal filial devotion led him to bow to his mother in matters he personally disapproved.

And so for thirteen years he ruled the empire in blameless fashion so far as he personally was concerned.

1. IN THE fourteenth year, however, unexpected dispatches from the governors of Syria and Mesopotamia revealed that Artaxerxes, the Persian king, had conquered the Parthians and seized their Eastern empire, killing Artabanus, who was formerly called the Great King and wore the double diadem. Artaxerxes then subdued all the barbarians on his borders and forced them to pay tribute. He did not remain quiet, however, nor stay on his side of the Tigris River, but, after scaling its banks and crossing the borders of the Roman empire, he overran Mesopotamia and threatened Syria. 2. The entire continent opposite Europe, separated from it by the Aegean Sea and the Propontic Gulf, and the region called Asia he wished to recover for the Persian empire. Believing these regions to be his by inheritance, he declared that all the countries in that area, including Ionia and Caria, had been ruled by Persian governors, beginning with Cyrus, who first made the Median empire Persian, and ending with Darius, the last of the Persian monarchs, whose kingdom was seized by Alexander the Great. He asserted that it was therefore proper for him to recover for the Persians the kingdom which they had formerly possessed. 3. When the Eastern governors revealed these developments in their dispatches, Alexander was greatly disturbed by these unanticipated tidings, particularly since, raised from childhood in an age of peace, he had spent his entire life in urban ease and comfort. Before doing anything else, he thought it best, after consulting his advisers, to send an embassy to the king and by his letters halt the invasion and disappoint the barbarian's hopes. 4. In these letters he told Artaxerxes that he must remain within his own borders and not initiate any action; let him not, deluded by vain hopes, stir up a great war, but rather let each of them be content with what was already his. Artaxerxes would find fighting against the Romans not the same thing as fighting with his barbarian kinsmen and neighbors. Alexander further reminded the Persian king of the victories won over them by Augustus, Trajan, Verus, and Severus. By writing letters of this kind, Alexander thought that he would persuade the barbarian to remain quiet or frighten him to the same course. 5. But Artaxerxes ignored Alexander's efforts; believing that the matter would be settled by arms, not by words, he took the field, pillaging and looting all the Roman provinces. He overran and plundered Mesopotamia, trampling it under the hoofs of his horses. He laid siege to the Roman garrison camps on the banks of the rivers, the camps which defended the empire. Rash by nature and elated by successes beyond his expectations, Artaxerxes was convinced that he could surmount every obstacle in his path. 6. The considerations which led him to wish for an expanded empire were not small. He was the first Persian to dare to launch an attack on the Parthian empire and the first to succeed in winning back that empire for the Persians. Indeed, after Darius had been deprived of his kingdom by Alexander of Macedon, the Macedonians and Alexander's successors divided up the territory by countries and ruled the nations of the East and all Asia for many years. 7. When these governors quarreled and the power of the Macedonians was weakened by continual wars, they say that Arsaces the Parthian was the first to persuade the barbarians in those regions to revolt from the Macedonians. Invested with the crown by the willing Parthians and the neighboring barbarians, Arsaces ruled as king. For a long time the empire remained in his own family, down to Artabanus in our time; then Artaxerxes killed Artabanus and took possession of his kingdom for the Persians. After easily

subduing the neighboring barbarian nations, the king began to plot against the Roman empire.

III

1. WHEN the bold actions of this Eastern barbarian were disclosed to Alexander while he was passing the time in Rome, he found these affronts unendurable. Though the undertaking distressed him and was contrary to his inclinations, since his governors there were calling for him, he made preparations for departure. He assembled for army service picked men from Italy and from all the Roman provinces, enrolling those whose age and physical condition qualified them for military service. 2. The gathering of an army equal in size to the reported strength of the attacking barbarians caused the greatest upheaval throughout the Roman world. When these troops were gathered in Rome, Alexander ordered them to assemble on the usual plain. There he mounted a platform and addressed them as follows:

3. "I wished, fellow soldiers, to make the customary speech to you, the speech from which I, speaking to the popular taste, receive approval, and you, when you hear it, receive encouragement. Since you have now enjoyed many years of peace, you may be startled to hear something unusual or contrary to your anticipations. 4. Brave and intelligent men should pray for things to turn out for the best, but they should also endure whatever befalls. It is true that the enjoyment of things done for pleasure brings gratification, but good repute results from the manliness involved in setting matters straight when necessity demands. To initiate unjust actions is not proof of good intentions, but it is a courageous deed to rid oneself of those who are troublesome if it is done with good conscience; one may expect good results if he has done nothing unjust but has avoided injustice. 5. The Persian Artaxerxes has slain his master Artabanus, and the Parthian empire is now Persian. Despising our arms and contemptuous of the Roman reputation, Artaxerxes is attempting to overrun and destroy our imperial possessions. I first endeavored by letters and persuasion to check his mad greed and his lust for the property of others. But the king, with barbarian arrogance, is unwilling to remain within his own boundaries and challenges us to battle. 6. Let us not hesitate to accept his challenge. You veterans remind yourselves of the victories which you often won over the barbarians under the leadership of Severus and my father, Caracalla. You recruits, thirsting for glory and honor, make it clear that you know how to live at peace mildly and with propriety, but make it equally clear that you turn with courage to the tasks of war when necessity demands. 7. The barbarian is bold against the hesitant and the cowardly, but he does not stand up in like fashion to those who fight back; it is not in close-quarter combat that they battle the enemy with hope of success. Rather, they believe that whatever success they win is the result of plundering after a feigned retreat and flight. Discipline and organized battle tactics favor us, together with the fact that we have always been taught to conquer the barbarian."

IV

1. WHEN Alexander finished speaking, the cheering army promised its wholehearted support for the war. After a lavish distribution of money to the soldiers, the emperor ordered preparations for his departure from the city. He then went before the senate and made a speech similar to the one recorded above; following this, he publicly announced his plans to march out. 2. On the appointed day, after he had performed the sacrifices prescribed for departures, Alexander left Rome, weeping and repeatedly looking back at the city. The senate and all the people escorted him, and everyone wept, for he was held in great affection by the people of Rome, among whom he had been reared and whom he had ruled with moderation for many years. 3. Traveling rapidly, he came to Antioch, after visiting the provinces and the garrison camps in Illyricum; from that region he collected a huge force of troops. While in Antioch he continued his preparations for the war, giving the soldiers military training under field conditions.

4. He thought it best to send another embassy to the Persian king to discuss the possibility of peace and friendship, hoping to persuade him or to intimidate him by his presence. The barbarian, however, sent the envoys back to the emperor unsuccessful. Then Artaxerxes chose four hundred very tall Persians, outfitted them with fine clothes and gold ornaments, and equipped them with horses and bows; he sent these men to Alexander as envoys, thinking that their appearance would dazzle the Romans. 5. The envoys said that the great king Artaxerxes ordered the Romans and their emperor to withdraw from all Syria and from that part of Asia opposite Europe; they were to permit the Persians to rule as far as Ionia and Caria and to govern all the nations separated by the Aegean Sea and the Propontic Gulf, inasmuch as these were the Persians' by right of inheritance. 6. When the Persian envoys delivered these demands, Alexander ordered the entire four hundred to be arrested; stripping off their finery, he sent the group to Phrygia, where villages and farm land were assigned to them, but he gave orders that they were not to be allowed to return to their native country. He treated them in this fashion because he thought it dishonorable and cowardly to put them to death, since they were not fighting but simply carrying out their master's orders.

7. This is the way the affair turned out. While Alexander was preparing to cross the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and lead his army into barbarian territory, several mutinies broke out among his troops, especially among the soldiers from Egypt; but revolts occurred also in Syria, where the soldiers attempted to proclaim a new emperor. These defections were quickly discovered and suppressed. At this time Alexander transferred to other stations those field armies which seemed better able to check the barbarian invasions.

1. AFTER thus setting matters in order, Alexander, considering that the huge army he had assembled was now nearly equal in power and numbers to the barbarians, consulted his advisers and then divided his force into three separate armies. One army he ordered to overrun the land of the Medes after marching north and passing through Armenia, which seemed to favor the Roman cause. 2. He sent the second army to the eastern sector of the barbarian territory, where, it is said, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers at their confluence empty into very dense marshes; these are the only rivers whose mouths cannot be clearly determined. The third and most powerful army he kept himself, promising to lead it against the barbarians in the central sector. He thought that in this way he would attack them from different directions when they were unprepared and not anticipating such strategy, and he believed that the Persian horde, constantly split up to face their attackers on several fronts, would be weaker and less unified for battle. 3. The barbarians, it may be noted, do not hire mercenary soldiers as the Romans do, nor do they maintain trained standing armies. Rather, all the available men, and sometimes the women too, mobilize at the king's order. At the end of the war each man returns to his regular occupation, taking as his pay whatever falls to his lot from the general booty. 4. They use the bow and the horse in war, as the Romans do, but the barbarians are reared with these from childhood, and live by hunting; they never lay aside their quivers or dismount from their horses, but employ them constantly for war and the chase.

Alexander therefore devised what he believed to be the best possible plan of action, only to have Fortune defeat his design. 5. The army sent through Armenia had an agonizing passage over the high, steep mountains of that country. (As it was still summer, however, they were able to complete the crossing.) Then, plunging down into the land of the Medes, the Roman soldiers devastated the countryside, burning many villages and carrying off much loot. Informed of this, the Persian king led his army to the aid of the Medes, but met with little success in his efforts to halt the Roman advance. 6. This is rough country; while it provided firm footing and easy passage for the infantry, the rugged mountain terrain hampered the movements of the barbarian cavalry and prevented their riding down the Romans or even making contact with them. Then men came and reported to the Persian king that another Roman army had appeared in eastern Parthia and was overrunning the plains there. 7. Fearing that the Romans, after ravaging Parthia unopposed, might advance into Persia, Artaxerxes left behind a force which he thought strong enough to defend Media, and hurried with his entire army into the eastern sector. The Romans were advancing much too carelessly because they had met no opposition and, in addition, they believed that Alexander and his army, the largest and most formidable of the three, had already attacked the barbarians in the central sector. They thought, too, that their own advance would be easier and less hazardous when the barbarians were constantly being drawn off elsewhere to meet the threat of the emperor's army. 8. All three Roman armies had been ordered to invade the enemy's territory, and a final rendezvous had been selected to which they were to bring their booty and prisoners. But Alexander failed them: he did not bring his army or come himself into barbarian territory,

either because he was afraid to risk his life for the Roman empire or because his mother's feminine fears or excessive mother love restrained him. 9. She blocked his efforts at courage by persuading him that he should let others risk their lives for him, but that he should not personally fight in battle. It was this reluctance of his which led to the destruction of the advancing Roman army. The king attacked it unexpectedly with his entire force and trapped the Romans like fish in a net; firing their arrows from all sides at the encircled soldiers, the Persians massacred the whole army. The outnumbered Romans were unable to stem the attack of the Persian horde; they used their shields to protect those parts of their bodies exposed to the Persian arrows. 10. Content merely to protect themselves, they offered no resistance. As a result, all the Romans were driven into one spot, where they made a wall of their shields and fought like an army under siege. Hit and wounded from every side, they held out bravely as long as they could, but in the end all were killed. The Romans suffered a staggering disaster; it is not easy to recall another like it, one in which a great army was destroyed, an army inferior in strength and determination to none of the armies of old. The successful outcome of these important events encouraged the Persian king to anticipate better things in the future.

VI

1. WHEN the disaster was reported to Alexander, who was seriously ill either from despondency or the unfamiliar air, he fell into despair. The rest of the army angrily denounced the emperor because the invading army had been destroyed as a result of his failure to carry out the plans faithfully agreed upon. 2. And now Alexander refused to endure his indisposition and the stifling air any longer. The entire army was sick and the troops from Illyricum especially were seriously ill and dying, being accustomed to moist, cool air and to more food than they were being issued. Eager to set out for Antioch, Alexander ordered the army in Media to proceed to that city. 3. This army, in its advance, was almost totally destroyed in the mountains; a great many soldiers suffered mutilation in the frigid country, and only a handful of the large number of troops who started the march managed to reach Antioch. The emperor led his own large force to that city, and many of them perished too; so the affair brought the greatest discontent to the army and the greatest dishonor to Alexander, who was betrayed by bad luck and bad judgment. Of the three armies into which he had divided his total force, the greater part was lost by various misfortunes — disease, war, and cold.

4. In Antioch, Alexander was quickly revived by the cool air and good water of that city after the acrid drought in Mesopotamia, and the soldiers too recovered there. The emperor tried to console them for their sufferings by a lavish distribution of money, in the belief that this was the only way he could regain their good will. He assembled an army and prepared to march against the Persians again if they should give trouble and not remain quiet. 5. But it was reported that Artaxerxes had disbanded his army and sent each soldier back to his own country. Though the barbarians seemed to have conquered because of their superior strength, they were exhausted by the numerous skirmishes in Media and by the battle in Parthia, where they lost many killed and many wounded. The Romans were not defeated because they were cowards; indeed, they did the enemy much damage and lost only because they were outnumbered. 6. Since the total number of troops which fell on both sides was virtually identical, the surviving barbarians appeared to have won, but by superior numbers, not by superior power. It is no little proof of how much the barbarians suffered that for three or four years after this they remained quiet and did not take up arms. All this the emperor learned while he was at Antioch. Relieved of anxiety about the war, he grew more cheerful and less apprehensive and devoted himself to enjoying the pleasures which the city offered.

1. ALEXANDER did not believe that Persian affairs would remain permanently quiet and peaceful, but he did think that the barbarian had provided him with a temporary respite from campaigning. The barbarian army, once disbanded, was not easily remustered, as it was not organized on a permanent basis. More a mob than a regular army, the soldiers had only those supplies which each man brought for himself when he reported for duty. Moreover, the Persians are reluctant to leave their wives, children, and homeland. 2. Now unexpected messages and dispatches upset Alexander and caused him even greater anxiety: the governors in Illyria reported that the Germans had crossed the Rhine and the Danube rivers, were plundering the Roman empire, and with a huge force were overrunning the garrison camps on the banks of these rivers, as well as the cities and villages there. They reported also that the provinces of Illyricum bordering on and close to Italy were in danger. 3. The governors informed the emperor that it was absolutely necessary that he and his entire army come to them. The revelation of these developments terrified Alexander and aroused great concern among the soldiers from Illyricum, who seemed to have suffered a double disaster; the men who had undergone many hardships in the Persian expedition now learned that their families had been slaughtered by the Germans. They were naturally enraged at this, and blamed Alexander for their misfortunes because he had betrayed affairs in the East by his cowardice and carelessness and was hesitant and dilatory about the situation in the North. 4. Alexander and his advisers, too, feared for the safety of Italy itself. They did not consider the Persian threat at all similar to the German. The fact is that those who live in the East, separated from the West by a great continent and a broad sea, scarcely ever hear of Italy, whereas the provinces of Illyricum, since they are narrow and very little of their territory is under Roman control, make the Germans actually neighbors of the Italians; the two peoples thus share common borders. 5. Although he loathed the idea, Alexander glumly announced his departure for Illyria. Necessity compelled him to go, however; and so, leaving behind a force which he considered strong enough to defend the Roman frontiers, after he had seen to the forts and the walls of the camps with greater care and had assigned to each fort its normal complement of troops, the emperor marched out against the Germans with the rest of his army.

6. Completing the journey quickly, he encamped on the banks of the Rhine and made preparations for the German campaign. Alexander spanned the river with boats lashed together to form a bridge, thinking that this would provide an easy means of crossing for his soldiers. The Rhine in Germany and the Danube in Pannonia are the largest of the northern rivers. In summer their depth and width make them easily navigable, but in the cold winters they freeze over and appear like a level plain which can be crossed on horseback. 7. The river becomes so firm and solid in that season that it supports horses and men. Then those who want drinking water do not come to the river with pitchers and bowls; they bring axes and mattocks and, when they have finished chopping, take up water without using bowls and carry it in chunks as hard as rock.

8. Such is the nature of these rivers. Alexander had brought with him many Moroccan javelin

men and a huge force of archers from the East and from the Osroenian country, together with Parthian deserters and mercenaries who had offered their help; with these he prepared to battle the Germans. The missile men were especially troublesome to the Germans: the Moroccans hurl their javelins from a distance and attack and retreat nimbly, while the archers, far removed from their targets, easily fire their arrows into the bare heads and huge bodies of the Germans; but when the Germans attacked at full speed and fought hand to hand, they were often the equal of the Romans.

9. Alexander was thus occupied with these matters. He thought it wise, however, to send an embassy to the Germans to discuss the possibilities of a peaceful settlement. He promised to give them everything they asked and to hand over a large amount of money. The avaricious Germans are susceptible to bribes and are always ready to sell peace to the Romans for gold. Consequently, Alexander undertook to buy a truce rather than risk the hazards of war. 10. The soldiers, however, were not pleased by his action, for the time was passing without profit to them, and Alexander was doing nothing courageous or energetic about the war; on the contrary, when it was essential that he march out and punish the Germans for their insults, he spent the time in chariot racing and luxurious living.

1. THERE was in the Roman army a man named Maximinus whose half-barbarian family lived in a village in the most remote section of Thrace. They say that as a boy he was a shepherd, but that in his youthful prime he was drafted into the cavalry because of his size and strength. After a short time, favored by Fortune, he advanced through all the military ranks, rising eventually to the command of armies and the governing of provinces. 2. Because of his military experience, which I have noted above, Alexander put Maximinus in charge of training recruits for the entire army; his task was to instruct them in military duties and prepare them for service in war. By carrying out his assignments thoroughly and diligently, Maximinus won the affection of the soldiers. He not only taught them their duties; he also demonstrated personally to each man what he was to do. As a result, the recruits imitated his manliness and were both his pupils and his admirers. 3. He won their devotion by giving them all kinds of gifts and rewards. Consequently, the recruits, who included an especially large number of Pannonians, praised the masculinity of Maximinus and despised Alexander as a mother's boy. Their contempt for the emperor was increased by the fact that the empire was being managed by a woman's authority and a woman's judgment, and by the fact that Alexander had directed the campaigns carelessly and timidly. They reminded each other of the defeats in the East which had resulted from the emperor's negligence and of his failure to do anything courageous or vigorous when he faced the Germans. 4. The soldiers were therefore ready for a change of emperors. They had additional reasons for discontent: they considered the current reign burdensome because of its long duration; they thought it profitless for them now that all rivalry had been eliminated; and they hoped that the reign which they intended to institute would be advantageous to them and that the empire would be much coveted and highly valued by a man who received it unexpectedly. They plotted now to kill Alexander and proclaim Maximinus emperor and Augustus, since he was their fellow soldier and messmate and seemed, because of his experience and courage, to be the right man to take charge of the present war. 5. They therefore assembled on the drill field for their regular training; when Maximinus took his position before them, either unaware of what was happening or having secretly made prior preparations for the event, the soldiers robed him in the imperial purple and proclaimed him emperor. 6. At first he refused the honor and threw off the purple, but when they pressed him and, waving their swords, threatened to kill him, he preferred the future risk to the present danger and accepted the empire; often before, he said, dreams and prophecies had predicted this good fortune. He told the soldiers, however, that he accepted the honor unwillingly; he did not really want it and was simply obeying their wish in the matter. 7. He then directed the soldiers to put their thoughts into action, to take up arms and hurry off to attack Alexander while he was still unaware of what had happened. By reaching the emperor before the news of their approach came, they would surprise his soldiers and his bodyguards too. They would either persuade Alexander's forces to join them, or would overcome them with no difficulty, since the imperial forces would be unprepared and anticipating nothing of this nature. 8. After arousing great enthusiasm and good will among the troops, Maximinus doubled their rations, promised them lavish gifts, and revoked all sentences and punishments. He then marched out, for his camp was not far from the

headquarters of Alexander and his companions.

IX

1. WHEN these developments were reported, Alexander, panic-stricken by the incredible nature of the message, was in complete confusion. Bursting from the imperial headquarters as if possessed, weeping and trembling, he denounced Maximinus for his disloyalty and ingratitude, and listed all the favors he had done the man. 2. He castigated the recruits for their recklessness and promised to give them everything they asked and to set straight anything that displeased them. The soldiers guarding the emperor on that day cheered his words; forming an escort, they promised to defend him to the death. 3. When the night had passed, men came at dawn to report that Maximinus was approaching; they said that a cloud of dust could be seen in the distance, and the shouting of a huge throng was audible. Then Alexander came again to the drill field, summoned his troops, and begged them to fight to preserve the life of a man whom they had reared and under whose rule they had lived well content for fourteen years. After this effort to move the soldiers to compassion, Alexander ordered them to take up arms and go forth to battle. 4. At first the soldiers obeyed him, but they soon left the field and refused to fight. Some demanded for execution the commanding general of the army and Alexander's associates, pretending that they were responsible for the revolt. Others condemned the emperor's greedy mother for cutting off their money, and despised Alexander for his pettiness and stinginess in the matter of gifts. 5. For a time they did nothing but shout this barrage of charges. When the army of Maximinus came into view, the clamoring recruits called upon Alexander's soldiers to desert the miserly woman and the timid, mother-dominated youth; at the same time they urged his soldiers to join them in supporting a brave and intelligent man, a fellow soldier who was always under arms and busy with military matters. Convinced, Alexander's troops deserted him for Maximinus, who was then proclaimed emperor by all. 6. Trembling with fear, Alexander was scarcely able to retire to his quarters. Clinging to his mother and, as they say, complaining and lamenting that she was to blame for his death, he awaited his executioner. After being saluted as emperor by the entire army, Maximinus sent a tribune and several centurions to kill Alexander and his mother, together with any of his followers who opposed them. 7. When these men came to the emperor's quarters, they rushed in and killed him with his mother; they also cut down those whom he had honored or who appeared to be his friends. Some, however, managed to flee or to hide for the moment, but Maximinus soon rounded up these fugitives and put them to death.

8. Such was the fate suffered by Alexander and his mother after he had ruled fourteen years without blame or bloodshed so far as it affected his subjects. A stranger to savagery, murder, and illegality, he was noted for his benevolence and good deeds. It is therefore entirely possible that the reign of Alexander might have won renown for its perfection had not his mother's petty avarice brought disgrace upon him.

BOOK VII.

1. THE kind of life which Alexander led and the fate which overtook him after fourteen years as emperor we have described in the preceding book. When he assumed control of the empire, Maximinus reversed the situation, using his power savagely to inspire great fear. He undertook to substitute for a mild and moderate rule an autocracy in every way barbarous, well aware of the hostility directed toward him because he was the first man to rise from a lowly station to the post of highest honor. 2. His character was naturally barbaric, as his race was barbarian. He had inherited the brutal disposition of his countrymen, and he intended to make his imperial position secure by acts of cruelty, fearing that he would become an object of contempt to the senate and the people, who might be more conscious of his lowly origin than impressed by the honor he had won. Everyone knew and spread the story that when he was a shepherd in the mountains of Thrace, he enlisted in a local auxiliary cohort because of his huge size and great strength, and by luck became the emperor of the Romans. 3. He therefore immediately disposed of Alexander's friends and associates, together with his senatorial advisers. Some he returned to Rome; others he dismissed for administrative reasons, in order to gain sole command of the army. He wanted no one around him who was superior to him in birth, desiring to act the tyrant as if from a lofty height, with no one near to whom he must defer. 4. He banished from the imperial palace the entire band of attendants who had served Alexander for many years; he put most of them to death, suspecting that they were plotting against him, for he knew that they were still grieving over Alexander's assassination.

Maximinus was aroused to even greater fury by a plot allegedly formed by many centurions and all the senators. 5. A man of the nobility and consular rank named Magnus was accused of organizing a conspiracy against the emperor and persuading some of the soldiers to transfer the empire to his charge. The plot was said to be something like this. Maximinus had bridged the Rhine River and was about to cross over and attack the Germans; 6. for, as soon as he got control of the empire, he immediately began military operations. Since it appeared that he had been chosen emperor because of his great size, military prowess, and experience in war, he undertook to confirm by action the good reputation and high esteem he enjoyed among the soldiers. In this way, too, he tried to demonstrate that the charges of vacillation and timidity in military matters they brought against Alexander were well founded. Therefore he did not halt the soldiers' training and exercises, and remained under arms himself, spurring the army to action. 7. Now, with the bridge completed, he was about to cross over to attack the Germans. Magnus, however, was said to have persuaded a few prominent soldiers, particularly those assigned to guard and maintain the bridge, to destroy the structure after Maximinus had crossed, and to betray the emperor to the barbarians by cutting off his only return route. After the bridge had been destroyed, the great river, very wide and deep, would be impassable, as no boats were available on the enemy's side. 8. Such was the report of the plot, but whether it was actually true or whether it was fabricated by Maximinus it is not easy to say, because the matter was not investigated. Maximinus did not bring the conspirators to trial or allow them

an opportunity to defend themselves; he arrested without warning all who were suspected and executed them without mercy.

9. There was now unrest among the Osroenian archers. These troops were much grieved by Alexander's death, and when they chanced to discover one of the emperor's friends, a former consul (a man named Quartinus, whom Maximinus had dismissed from the army), they seized him unexpectedly and made him their unwilling general; then, conferring upon him the purple and the processional fire, fatal honors, they brought to the imperial throne a most reluctant occupant. 10. While Quartinus was asleep in his tent, a plot was formed against him, and he was assassinated during the night by a companion and presumed friend, a former commander of the Osroenians (his name was Macedon); yet this same Macedon had been a ringleader in the elevation of Quartinus to the throne and in the revolt against Maximinus; in both actions he had the full support of the Osroenians. Although he had no reason for enmity or hatred, Macedon killed the man whom he himself had chosen and persuaded to accept the empire. Thinking that this act would win him great favor with Maximinus, Macedon cut off Quartinus' head and brought it to the emperor. 11. When he learned of the deed, Maximinus, though he believed that he had been freed from a dangerous enemy, nevertheless had Macedon killed, when the man had every reason to hope and believe that he would receive a generous reward. Macedon was not only the instigator of the revolt and the assassin of the man whom he had persuaded to accept the throne against his better judgment, but he was also a traitor to his friend.

12. For these reasons Maximinus was aroused to greater cruelty and more savage acts, and he was by nature inclined to such behavior. The emperor's appearance was frightening and his body was huge; not easily would any of the skilled Greek athletes or the best-trained warriors among the barbarians prove his equal.

1. HAVING settled affairs in the manner described above, Maximinus led out his entire army and crossed the bridge fearlessly, eager to do battle with the Germans. Under his command was a vast number of men, virtually the entire Roman military force, together with many Moroccan javelin men and Osroenian and Armenian archers; some were subject peoples, others friends and allies, and included, too, were a number of Parthian mercenaries and slaves captured by the Romans. 2. This enormous force was originally assembled by Alexander, but it was increased in size and trained for service by Maximinus. The javelin men and archers seemed to be especially effective against the Germans, taking them by surprise, attacking with agility and then retreating without difficulty. 3. Though he was in enemy territory, Maximinus advanced for a considerable distance because all the barbarians had fled and he met no opposition. He therefore laid waste the whole country, taking particular care to destroy the ripening grain, and burned the villages after allowing the army to plunder them. Fire destroys the German towns and houses very quickly. 4. Although there is a scarcity of stone and fired brick in Germany, the forests are dense, and timber is so abundant that they build their houses of wood, fitting and joining the squared beams. Maximinus advanced deep into German territory, carrying off booty and turning over to the army all the herds they encountered. 5. The Germans had left the plains and treeless areas and were hiding in the forests; they remained in the woods and marshes so that the battle would have to take place where the thick screen of trees made the missiles and javelins of their enemies ineffectual and where the depths of the marshes were dangerous to the Romans because of their unfamiliarity with the region. The Germans, on the contrary, were well acquainted with the terrain and knew which places provided firm footing and which were impassable. They moved rapidly and easily through the marshes, in water only knee-deep. 6. The Germans, who do all their bathing in the rivers, are expert swimmers.

As a result, most of the skirmishing occurred in those regions, and it was there that the emperor personally and very boldly joined battle. When the Germans rushed into a vast swamp in an effort to escape and the Romans hesitated to leap in after them in pursuit, Maximinus plunged into the marsh, though the water was deeper than his horse's belly; there he cut down the barbarians who opposed him. 7. Then the rest of the army, ashamed to betray their emperor who was doing their fighting for them, took courage and leaped into the marsh behind him. A large number of men fell on both sides, but, while many Romans were killed, virtually the entire barbarian force was annihilated, and the emperor was the foremost man on the field. The swamp pool was choked with bodies, and the marsh ran red with blood; this land battle had all the appearance of a naval encounter. 8. This engagement and his own bravery Maximinus reported in dispatches to the senate and Roman people; moreover, he ordered the scene to be painted on huge canvases to be set up in front of the senate house, so that the Romans might not only hear about the battle but also be able to see what happened there. Later the senate removed this picture together with the rest of his emblems of honor. Other battles took place in which Maximinus won praise for his personal participation, for fighting with his own hands, and for being in every conflict the best man on the field. 9. After

taking many German prisoners and seizing much booty, the emperor, since winter had already begun, went to Pannonia and spent his time at Sirmium, the largest city in that country; there he made preparations for his spring offensive. He threatened (and was determined) to defeat and subjugate the German nations as far as the ocean.

III

1. THIS is the kind of military man the emperor was, and his actions would have added to his reputation if he had not been much too ruthless and severe toward his associates and subjects. What profit was there in killing barbarians when greater slaughter occurred in Rome and the provinces ? Or in carrying off booty captured from the enemy when he robbed his fellow countrymen of all their property? 2. Complete indulgence — encouragement, I should say — was granted to informers to threaten and insult, and to reopen any known crimes committed by a man's ancestors which were hitherto unexposed and undetected. Anyone who was merely summoned into court by an informer was immediately judged guilty, and left with all his property confiscated. 3. It was thus possible every day to see men who yesterday had been rich, today reduced to paupers, so great was the avarice of the tyrant, who pretended to be insuring a continuous supply of money for the soldiers. The emperor's ears were always open to slanderous charges, and he spared neither age nor position. He arrested on slight and trivial charges many men who had governed provinces and commanded armies, who had won the honor of a consulship, or had gained fame by military victories. 4. He ordered these men to be brought in chariots to Pannonia, where he was then passing the time; they were to travel day and night, without an escort, from the east, the west, and the south, wherever they happened to be. After insulting and torturing these prisoners, he condemned them to exile or death.

As long as his actions affected only individuals and the calamities suffered were wholly private, the people of the cities and provinces were not particularly concerned with what the emperor was doing. 5. Unpleasant things which happen to those who seem to be fortunate or wealthy are not only a matter of indifference to the mob, but they often bring pleasure to mean and malicious men, who envy the powerful and the prosperous. After Maximinus had impoverished most of the distinguished men and confiscated their estates, which he considered small and insignificant and not sufficient for his purposes, he turned to the public treasuries; all the funds which had been collected for the citizens' welfare or for gifts, all the funds being held in reserve for shows or festivals, he transferred to his own personal fortune. The offerings which belonged to the temples, the statues of the gods, the tokens of honor of the heroes, the decorations on public buildings, the adornments of the city, in short, any material suitable for making coins, he handed over to the mints. 6. But what especially irked the people and aroused public indignation was the fact that, although no fighting was going on and no enemy was under arms anywhere, Rome appeared to be a city under siege. Some citizens, with angry shaking of fists, set guards around the temples, preferring to die before the altars than to stand by and see their country ravaged. From that time on, particularly in the cities and the provinces, the hearts of the people were filled with rage. The soldiers too were disgusted with his activities, for their relatives and fellow citizens complained that Maximinus was acting solely for the benefit of the military.

IV

1. FOR these reasons, and justifiably, the people were aroused to hatred and thoughts of revolt. Prayers were offered by all, and the outraged gods were invoked, but no one dared to start anything until, after Maximinus had completed three years as emperor, the people of Africa first took up arms and touched off a serious revolt for one of those trivial reasons which often prove fatal to a tyrant. The uprising occurred in this manner. 2. The procurator of Africa was a man who performed his duties with excessive severity; he handed down extremely harsh decisions and extorted money to win the emperor's favor. Maximinus always appointed men who subscribed to his way of thinking. The treasury officials at that time, even if they happened to be honest, which was rarely the case, since they foresaw their own risks and knew the emperor's avarice, acted as dishonestly as the rest, even if they did so against their will. 3. Then the procurator of Africa, who acted the tyrant with everyone, involved in lawsuits some young men of the wealthiest and most aristocratic local families and undertook to extort money from them and rob them of their inheritances. Angered by this, the youths promised to pay him the money, but requested a delay of a few days. Calling a meeting, they won the support of all who were known to have suffered an injury or feared that they might suffer one. They ordered the field laborers to come into the city at night armed with clubs and axes. 4. Obeying their masters' orders, the workmen entered the city in a body before daybreak, carrying arms for hand-to-hand fighting hidden under their clothes. A large number assembled; for Africa, which is a heavily populated province, has many farmers. 5. When dawn was approaching, the youths appeared and ordered the mob of workmen to follow them as if they were simply part of the crowd; they directed the workmen to take their assigned positions and, keeping their weapons hidden, to resist bravely if any of the soldiers or the people should attack them to avenge the deed they were plotting. 6. Carrying daggers under their robes, the youths approached the procurator as if to discuss the payment of the money; then, attacking him suddenly, they stabbed and killed him. When his bodyguards drew their swords in retaliation, the workmen from the fields pulled out their clubs and axes and, fighting for their masters, easily routed their opponents.

1. THE success of their plan immediately put the youths in a desperate situation; they realized that a single avenue of safety lay open to them: to add to their bold act deeds even bolder and, enlisting the governor of the province as a partner in their peril, to rouse the whole province to revolt. They knew that the governor, who hated Maximinus, had long prayed for this, but was afraid to act. 2. As it was now noon, the entire group went to the house of the proconsul. The governor, whose name was Gordian, had received the African post by lot when he was about eighty years old, after he had previously governed many provinces and served in the highest public offices. For this reason the youths believed that he would accept with pleasure the office of emperor as the crowning achievement in his career in public office; they thought that the senate and the Roman people would be glad to accept as emperor a man from the aristocracy who had risen to the high office after many governorships as if in a regular cursus. 3. It happened that on the day these events occurred Gordian was at home resting, enjoying a brief respite from his labors and duties. Accompanied by the entire band with drawn swords, the youths overpowered the guards on duty at the gates and burst into the house, where they found Gordian resting on a couch. Standing around him, they draped him in a purple cloak and greeted him with the imperial honors. 4. Astounded by this unexpected turn of events, and thinking it was an act of treachery or part of a plot against him, Gordian threw himself to the floor, begging them to spare the life of an old man who had never harmed them and to continue to display their loyalty and good will toward the emperor. But the youths were insistent and drew their swords. Gordian, alarmed and unaware of what had occurred, did not understand the situation. One of the youths, a talented speaker of distinguished family, asked for quiet and ordered the rest to remain silent. 5. Then, sword in hand, he addressed Gordian as follows: "With two dangers threatening you, the one present, the other future, the one already obvious, the other a remote possibility, you must make your choice whether to enjoy safety with us and have faith in greater things to come, in which indeed we have all placed our trust, or to die at our hands this very moment. If you elect to accept the present situation, there are many factors which augur well for the future: Maximums' hatred of everyone; the people's longing for deliverance from a cruel tyrant; their approval of your conduct in your former offices; and the fact that among the senate and the Roman people you enjoy a distinguished reputation and are held in high esteem. 6. But death awaits you this very day if you decide against us and refuse to join us, and we shall die ourselves, if need be, after we have killed you. We have done a deed which calls for even more desperate measures. The tyrant's procurator is dead, having paid the penalty for his savagery — death at our hands. If you join us and share our peril you will enjoy the honor of being emperor, and the deed which we have done will be praised, not punished."

7. After the young man had finished speaking, the rest of the band cast aside all restraint. The entire populace of the city quickly assembled when the news was known, and the youths proclaimed Gordian Augustus. He begged to be excused, protesting that he was too old. But otherwise he was eager for fame, and did not enter into the office without some personal satisfaction, choosing to risk the future rather than the present danger, and thinking that it was

not so terrible a thing to die, if need be, amidst the imperial honors.

8. Immediately the whole province of Africa was aroused; the people there pulled down Maximinus' emblems of honor and decorated their cities with paintings and statues of Gordian; they added "Africanus" to his imperial titles, giving him their own name, for the Libyans are called Africans in Latin.

1. THESE events occurred at Thystrum, where Gordian was staying at the time. After a few days, however, he left that city, having assumed the title and appearance of emperor, and proceeded to Carthage, which he knew to be a large and heavily populated city where he might do everything just as if he were in Rome. The city of Carthage, in size, wealth, and population, is surpassed only by Rome and contends with Alexandria in Egypt for second place in the empire. 2. Gordian was accompanied by the entire imperial escort, the soldiers on duty there, and the tallest of the city's youths, who preceded him in the manner of the praetorians at Rome. The fasces were wreathed with laurel; it is the laurel which distinguishes the fasces of the emperor from those of other officials. The sacred fire was carried before him, and for a brief period Carthage was Rome in appearance and prosperity.

3. Gordian wrote letters to all the prominent men in Rome, including the leading senators, most of whom were his friends and relatives. He sent open letters to the senate and the Roman people in which he revealed his union with the Africans and attacked the savagery of Maximinus, knowing that this trait of the emperor's character was most violently hated. 4. He promised the Romans moderation in all things: he would banish informers, provide new trials for the unjustly condemned, and return exiles to their own lands. To the praetorians he promised more money than anyone had given them before, and he announced gifts for the people. Arrangements were made for the early execution of the commandant of the Praetorian Guard in Rome, a man named Vitalianus. Gordian knew that the prefect committed the most savage and cruel acts and that he was an intimate and devoted friend of Maximinus. 5. Gordian suspected that Vitalianus would strenuously resist what he was trying to do, and he further suspected that the Romans' fear of the prefect would keep them from assisting him. Consequently, he sent to Rome the quaestor of the province, a bold and physically powerful man who, in the prime of youth, was eager to risk any danger for his emperor. Gordian assigned several centurions and a contingent of soldiers to the quaestor and gave him sealed dispatches written on the folding tablets by which secret messages were sent to the emperors. 6. He ordered these men to enter Rome before dawn and approach Vitalianus while he was still hearing cases, after he had withdrawn into the little office in the courtroom where, alone, he opened and read the private messages which seemed to bear upon the emperor's safety. Gordian further told them to inform the prefect that they were carrying secret messages which concerned Maximinus and that he had sent them on a matter involving the emperor's safety. 7. He ordered these men to pretend that they wished to speak with Vitalianus privately and deliver their report; while he was examining the seals on the dispatches, they were to ask him some question and kill him with the swords concealed beneath their robes. It all happened precisely as Gordian had ordered. Since Vitalianus was accustomed to appear before daybreak, the messengers came to him privately while it was still dark and only a few people were with him. 8. Some visitors had not yet arrived; others had greeted him before dawn and had already left. All was quiet, with only a few people outside his door. When the messengers from Gordian revealed to the prefect what has been described above, they were readily admitted. Handing him the dispatches, they drew their daggers while he was examining the

seals and stabbed him to death; then, holding their daggers ready for action, they sprang from the house.

9. Those who were present drew back in astonishment, thinking that Maximinus had ordered the murder, for he often did this sort of thing even to those who seemed to be his most intimate friends. Hurrying down the Sacred Way, the assassins displayed the letters of Gordian to the people and handed over his directives to the consuls and other officials. And now the rumor spread that Maximinus had been assassinated.

VII

1. WHEN these reports became known, the people milled about as if possessed. The fact is that all peoples are eager for a change of government, but the Roman mob, because of its tremendous size and diverse elements, is unusually prone to instability and vacillation. 2. Therefore the statues, paintings, and all of Maximinus' emblems of honor were destroyed, and the hatred which fear had hitherto suppressed now poured forth without hindrance, freely and fearlessly. The senators met before they received accurate information concerning Maximinus and, placing their trust for the future in the present situation, proclaimed Gordian Augustus, together with his son, and destroyed Maximinus' emblems of honor. 3. Informers and men who were bringing lawsuits either fled or were killed by those against whom they had brought unjust charges; officials and judges who had been the instruments of his savagery were dragged about the city by the mob and were then thrown into the sewers. There was great slaughter of those innocent of wrongdoing; without warning, men broke into the houses of their creditors and their opponents in lawsuits, indeed into the house of anyone they hated for some trivial reason; after threatening and abusing them as informers, their attackers robbed and killed them. 4. Acts of civil war were committed in the name of freedom and peace and security; for example, the man who had been appointed prefect of the city after having held many consular offices (his name was Sabinus) was struck on the head by a stone and killed while he was trying to prevent what was happening in the city.

This is what the people did, but the senate, once it recognized the danger, did everything in its power to induce the provinces to revolt against Maximinus. 5. Embassies composed of senators and distinguished Equestrians were sent to all the governors with letters which clearly revealed the attitude of the senate and the Roman people. These letters requested the governors to aid the common fatherland and the senate with their counsel, and urged the provinces to remain loyal to Rome, where the power and authority from the beginning had been in the hands of the people, whose friends and subjects the provinces were from the time of their ancestors. 6. The majority of the governors welcomed the embassies and had no difficulty in arousing the provinces to revolt because of the general hatred of Maximinus. After killing the provincial officials who favored Maximinus, the governors came to the support of the Romans. A few of the governors, however, killed the envoys who came to them or sent them to Maximinus under guard; these, upon their arrival, he tortured to death in savage fashion.

VIII

1. THIS was the situation with respect to the city and the attitude of the Romans. When these events were reported to Maximinus, he was enraged, but, although he was seriously concerned, he pretended to ignore the matter. On the first and second days he remained quietly in his headquarters, consulting with his friends about a plan of action. 2. The whole army there with him and all the civilians in that region knew of the developments at Rome, and were amazed at the spirit of bold insubordination revealed by these acts; no one talked about the affair, however, each man pretending to be ignorant of what was occurring. So great was Maximinus' apprehension that he allowed nothing to escape his notice; he kept close watch on all, concerned not only with what they said but even with their facial expressions. 3. Then, summoning the entire army to the plain in front of the city, the emperor came forth on the third day, carrying the speech which some of his friends had written for him:¹

4. "I know that what I am going to say to you will sound strange and incredible, and I believe that you will find my remarks ridiculous and amusing, rather than awe-inspiring. It is not the Germans who are taking up arms to oppose you and your valor, those men whom we have conquered so often, nor the Sarmatians, who daily plead with us for peace. The Persians, who not long ago were overrunning Mesopotamia, are now subdued, happy to enjoy what they have, kept in check by the repute of your great skill in arms, and by the trial which they made of my military talents, of which they got a thorough knowledge when I commanded the armies on the riverbank. 5. But the fact is (and you will have to laugh when you hear it) that the Carthaginians have taken leave of their senses and have either persuaded or compelled a miserable old man, doddering in advanced senility, to accept the throne, making sport of the empire as if in deliberate mockery. In what army do they trust, these men among whom lictors are sufficient to protect the proconsul? What kind of weapons do they carry, these men who have no arms except the spears they use in single combat with animals? Dancing, sarcastic quips, and rhythmic posturing are their methods of training for war. 6. Let no one be frightened by the report of what has happened at Rome. Taken unaware by deceit and treachery, Vitalianus was murdered, but you know the unstable and capricious nature of the Roman mob, and you know that it is bold only as long as nothing is involved except shouting. But if that rabble sees only two or three armed men of the legions, each person is terrified at the thought of his own individual danger. Crowding together and trampling their neighbors, the rabble are indifferent to the common danger. 7. If anyone has informed you of the senate's action, do not be surprised if our mild way of life seems irksome to the people and they prefer the undisciplined activities of Gordian; and do not wonder that they call manly and moderate acts fear-inspiring, and believe that unrestrained frenzy is civilized because it provides pleasure. They are, as a result, unfavorably disposed toward my rule because it is disciplined and well ordered, but they are delighted to hear the name of Gordian, whose reprehensible way of life is not unknown to you. 8. It is with these and men like them that you will wage war, if anyone is willing to dignify it by that name. I believe that the majority, indeed, nearly everyone, will extend olive branches and hold out their children to us as soon as we set foot in Italy. They will throw themselves prostrate at our feet, while the rest will flee, in fear and

trembling, and all their property will fall into my hands for distribution to you, and it will be your privilege to receive it and enjoy it in security.”

9. After speaking thus, Maximinus attacked the senate and the Roman people with incoherent abuse, threatening gestures, and savage grimaces, as if he were enraged at his audience; he then publicly announced his departure for Rome. He made a lavish distribution of money to the soldiers, and delayed only a single day before beginning his march at the head of a huge force which included all the Roman armies.

10. A not inconsiderable force of Germans followed him; these he had either conquered by arms or had persuaded to join him in friendly alliance. He had engines of war and military machines, in fact everything he ordinarily took with him when he marched against the barbarians, and he slowed his progress further by collecting supplies and wagons from all sides. 11. As his journey to Rome was sudden and unexpected — not the usual sort but the result of hasty action — he gathered together whatever the army needed. He thought it best, under the circumstances, to send the Pannonians ahead; he had special confidence in these troops who had been first to proclaim him emperor and who wished and promised to risk their lives on his behalf. He ordered these soldiers to precede the rest of his force and seize the regions of Italy before his arrival.

IX

1. SO THE troops with Maximinus continued their march. Meanwhile, in Carthage, his affairs had prospered in a way he had not anticipated. A man of senatorial rank named Capelianus was at that time governor of the Moroccans under Roman rule, the ones called Numidians. This province was defended by garrison camps so located as to prevent marauding raids by the large number of Moroccan barbarians surrounding it. 2. Capelianus thus had a formidable military force under his command. Gordian was hostile to Capelianus because they had earlier been involved in a lawsuit. When he assumed the title of emperor, Gordian sent a man to replace Capelianus and ordered the governor to leave the province. 3. Angered by this, and devoted to Maximinus, who had appointed him governor, Capelianus assembled his entire army. Persuading his troops to remain loyal to Maximinus and faithful to their oath, the governor marched toward Carthage at the head of a huge army of young, vigorous men equipped with every type of weapon and trained for battle by military experience gained in fighting the barbarians.

4. When the report of this army's approach reached the city, Gordian was terrified; the Carthaginians, however, aroused by the news and thinking that their hope of victory lay in the size of a mob rather than in the discipline of an army, went forth in a body to oppose Capelianus. Then the elder Gordian, some say, was in despair because Capelianus was attacking Carthage; when he considered the size of Maximinus' army and reflected that there were no forces in Africa strong enough to match it, he hanged himself. 5. His death was kept secret, however, and his son was chosen to command the crowd of civilians. When the battle was joined, the Carthaginians were superior in numbers, but they were an undisciplined mob, without military training; for they had grown up in a time of complete peace and indulged themselves constantly in feasts and festivals. To make it worse, they were without arms and proper equipment. 6. Each man brought from home a dagger, an ax, or a hunting spear; those who found hides cut out circles of leather, arranged pieces of wood as a frame, and fashioned shields as best they could. The Numidians, by contrast, were excellent javelin men and superb horsemen. Scorning a bridle they used only a stick to guide their mounts. 7. They easily routed the huge Carthaginian mob; without waiting for the Numidians' charge, the Carthaginians threw down their arms and fled. Crowding and trampling one another underfoot, more Carthaginians were killed in the crush than fell by enemy action. There the son of Gordian died, together with all his companions, and the number of dead was so great that it was impossible to gather them for burial. The body of the young Gordian was never found. 8. A few of the many who rushed into Carthage and found a place to hide managed to save themselves; they scattered throughout the city, which is huge and densely populated. The rest of the mob crowded before the gates of the city, trying to force their way in; attacked by the cavalry and legionary troops, they were cut down to the last man. 9. Loud wailing of women and children was heard everywhere in the city when they saw their loved ones slaughtered before their eyes. Others say that when these events were reported to the elder Gordian, who had remained behind because of his advanced age, and he was informed that Capelianus was marching into Carthage, in complete despair he went into his bedroom alone

as if to rest; there he used the sash from his waist to hang himself.

10. Such was the fate of Gordian, whose life in the beginning was favored by Fortune and who died at least presenting the appearance of an emperor. When Capelianus entered Carthage, he put to death all the prominent men who survived the battle, plundered the temples, and seized the public and private funds. 11. Continuing to the rest of the cities which had destroyed Maximinus' emblems of honor, Capelianus killed the most important men, exiling the rest. He turned the farms and villages over to the soldiers to plunder and burn, pretending to be avenging Maximinus; the truth was, however, that he was scheming to win the good will of the soldiers so that if Maximinus should be killed he would have a loyal army and might thus lay claim to the empire.

1. THIS is what was happening in Africa. When the death of the elder Gordian was reported at Rome, the people and the senate particularly were completely bewildered, dumfounded to learn that Gordian, in whom they had placed their hope, was dead. They knew that Maximinus, who was naturally hostile and antagonistic toward them, would spare no one. Now that he had good reason for hatred, he would as a matter of course vent his rage upon them as upon acknowledged enemies. 2. The senate therefore thought it best to meet and consider what should be done. Since they had already cast the die, they voted to issue a declaration of war and choose two men from their own ranks to be joint emperors, dividing the imperial authority so that the power might not be in one man's hands and thus plunge them again into autocracy. They did not meet as usual in the senate house but in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the god whom the Romans worship on the Capitoline Hill. 3. They shut themselves up alone in this temple, as if to have Jupiter as their witness, fellow council member, and overseer of their actions. Choosing the men most distinguished for their age and merit, they approved them by ballot. Other senators received votes, but on the final count Maximus and Balbinus were elected joint emperors by majority opinion. 4. Maximus had held many army commands; appointed prefect of Rome, he administered the office with diligence and enjoyed among the people a good reputation for his understanding nature, his intelligence, and his moderate way of life. Balbinus, an aristocrat who had twice served as consul and had governed provinces without complaint, had a more open and frank nature. 5. After their election, the two men were proclaimed Augusti, and the senate awarded them by decree all the imperial honors.

While these actions were being taken on the Capitoline Hill, the people, whether they were informed by Gordian's friends and fellow countrymen or whether they learned it by rumor, filled the entire street leading up to the Capitol. The huge mob was armed with stones and clubs, for they objected to the senate's action and particularly disapproved of Maximus. 6. The prefect ruled the city too strictly for the popular taste, and was very harsh in his dealings with the criminal and reckless elements of the mob. In their fear and dislike of Maximus, they kept shouting threats to kill both emperors, determined that the emperor be chosen from the family of Gordian and that the title remain in that house and under that name. 7. Balbinus and Maximus surrounded themselves with an escort of swordsmen from the young Equestrians and the discharged soldiers living in Rome, and tried to force their way from the Capitol. The mob, armed with stones and clubs, prevented this until, at someone's suggestion, the people were deceived. There was in Rome at that time a little child, the son of Gordian's daughter, who bore his grandfather's name. 8. The two emperors ordered some of their men to bring the child to the Capitol. Finding the lad playing at home, they lifted him to their shoulders and brought him to the Capitol through the midst of the crowd. Showing the boy to the people and telling them that he was the son of Gordian, they called him "Gordian," while the mob cheered the boy and scattered leaves in his path. 9. The senate appointed him Caesar, since he was not old enough to be emperor. The mob, placated, allowed the imperial party to proceed to the palace.

XI

1. AT THIS same time a fatal blunder was made in Rome, one which originated in the rashness of two senators. The people of Rome were in the habit of coming to the senate house to find out what the senate was doing. 2. When the praetorians whom Maximinus had left behind in the camp at Rome learned of this practice (they were discharged veterans who had remained at home because of their age), they came unarmed and in civilian dress to the door of the senate house to find out what was happening and stood there with the rest of the crowd. 3. The other spectators remained outside, but two or three praetorians who were more curious than the rest, wishing to hear what was being planned, entered the council chamber, pushing past the base of the statue of Victory. Then a senator of the Carthaginian race named Gallicanus, who had recently been consul, and another senator named Maecenas, a man of praetorian rank, attacked the soldiers as they stood with their hands under their cloaks, and stabbed them to the heart with daggers hidden under their robes. 4. As a result of the recent revolt and disorder, all the senators were armed with daggers, openly or secretly, claiming that they were carrying them for protection against possible enemy plots. The praetorians who were struck down on this occasion, having no opportunity to defend themselves because the attack was wholly unexpected, lay dead at the base of the statue of Victory. 5. When the other praetorians saw this, they were terrified by the fate of their comrades. Unarmed and fearing the size of the mob, they turned and fled. Gallicanus ran out of the senate house into the crowd, displaying the dagger in his bloody hand, and ordered the mob to pursue and kill the enemies of the senate and the Roman people, the friends and supporters of Maximinus. 6. The mob, easily persuaded, cheered Gallicanus and set out after the praetorians, hurling stones. The soldiers, few in number and wounded as well, fled before their pursuers; running into the praetorian camp, they shut the gates, took up arms, and posted guards on the walls. Gallicanus, by his reckless crime, brought civil war and widespread destruction upon the city. 7. He persuaded the people to break into the public arsenals, where armor used in parades rather than in battle was stored, each man to protect himself as best he could. He then threw open the gladiatorial schools and led out the gladiators armed with their regular weapons; finally, he collected all the spears, swords, and axes from the houses and shops. 8. The people, as if possessed, seized any tools they could find, made of suitable material, and fashioned weapons. They assembled and went out to the praetorian camp, where they attacked the gates and walls as if they were actually organizing a siege. The praetorians, with their vast combat experience, protected themselves behind their shields and the battlements; wounding their attackers with arrows and long spears, they kept them from the walls and drove them back. 9. With evening approaching, the besiegers decided to retire, since the civilians were exhausted and most of the gladiators were wounded. The people retreated in disorder, thinking that the few praetorians would not dare to pursue so large a mob. But the praetorians now threw open the gates and gave chase. They slaughtered the gladiators, and the greater part of the mob also perished, crushed in the confusion. After following the mob for a short distance, the praetorians returned and remained inside the walls of the camp.

1. THIS debacle increased the fury of the mob and the senate. Generals were chosen and picked men were called up for service from all parts of Italy. The young men were assembled and armed with whatever weapons were at hand. Maximus led most of these soldiers out to attack Maximinus; the rest remained behind to guard and defend the city. 2. Daily attacks were launched against the walls of the praetorian camp, but these assaults accomplished nothing, as the soldiers put up a stout resistance from their higher position. Struck and wounded, the attackers suffered heavily in the fighting. Balbinus, who had remained in Rome, issued an edict in which he pleaded with the people to effect a truce and promised amnesty to the soldiers, offering them pardon for all their offenses. 3. But he failed in his efforts to persuade either side: so huge a mob thought it disgraceful to be defied by a mere handful of men, and the praetorians were enraged to be suffering these barbaric indignities at the hands of Romans. Finally, when the attacks on the walls made no progress, the generals decided that it would be good strategy to block off all the streams flowing into the praetorian camp and thus overcome the soldiers by cutting off their water supply. 4. They therefore stopped the flow of water into the camp and diverted it into other channels, damming up the beds of the streams which flowed under the walls. Recognizing the danger, the despairing praetorians opened the gate and rushed forth to the attack. A sharp skirmish resulted and, when the mob fled, the guards pursued and drove them into all parts of the city. 5. Bested in the hand-to-hand fighting, the people climbed to the housetops and rained down upon the praetorians tiles, stones, and clay pots. In this way they inflicted severe injuries upon the soldiers, who, being unfamiliar with the houses, did not dare to climb after them, and, of course, the doors of the shops and houses were barred. The soldiers did, however, set fire to houses that had wooden balconies (and there were many of this type in the city). 6. Because a great number of houses were made chiefly of wood, the fire spread very rapidly and without a break throughout most of the city. Many men who lost their vast and magnificent properties, valuable for the large incomes they produced and for their expensive decorations, were reduced from wealth to poverty. 7. A great many people died in the fire, unable to escape because the exits had been blocked by the flames. All the property of the wealthy was looted when the criminal and worthless elements in the city joined with the soldiers in plundering. And the part of Rome destroyed by fire was greater in extent than the largest intact city in the empire.

8. This was the situation at Rome. In the meantime, having completed his march, Maximinus was poised on the borders of Italy; after offering sacrifices at all the boundary altars, he advanced into Italy, ordering the troops to march under arms in battle formation.

9. We have now described in detail the revolt in the province of Africa, the civil war in Rome, the actions of Maximinus, and his advance into Italy; the events which followed will be related in the succeeding book.

ENDNOTES.

- ¹ A nice touch, to account for the elegant speech of the nonliterary emperor.

BOOK VIII.

I

1. MAXIMINUS' actions after the death of Gordian and his advance into Italy have been described in the preceding book, together with the revolt in Africa and the dissension which arose at Rome between the praetorians and the people. Halting at the borders, Maximinus sent scouts ahead to find out whether any soldiers lay in ambush in the valleys, thickets, or mountain forests. 2. Leading his army down into level country, Maximinus drew up the legions in a broad, shallow rectangle in order to occupy most of the plain; he placed all the heavy baggage, supplies, and wagons in the center of the formation and, taking command of the rear guard, followed with his troops. 3. On each flank marched the squadrons of armed cavalry, the Moroccan javelin men, and the archers from the East. The emperor also brought along a large number of German auxiliaries; he assigned these to the van to bear the initial assaults of the enemy. These men are savage and bold in the opening phases of battle; and if any risk were involved, the barbarian Germans were readily expendable. 4. When the troops had crossed the plain in good order and strict discipline, they came to the first city in Italy, the one called Ema by the natives. Ema is situated on an elevated plateau at the foot of the Alps. From there advance guards and army scouts returned to report to Maximinus that the city was deserted. The inhabitants had fled in a body after setting fire to the doors of the temples and houses. As they had burned or carried off everything in the cities and fields, no food was left for men or animals. 5. Maximinus was gratified by the immediate flight of these Italians, and now anticipated that all the people of Italy would flee at his approach. But the army was by no means pleased to find itself suffering from famine at the very outset. Therefore, after spending the night at Ema, some in the city in houses already stripped of doors and everything else, others in the fields around the city, at sunrise they pressed on to the Alps. The Alps are very tall mountains which nature has erected as a defensive wall for Italy; rising high above the clouds, they extend a great distance and encompass Italy from the Tyrrhenian Sea on the west to the Ionian Sea on the east. 6. The mountains are covered with limitless dense forests, and the passes are narrow because of the towering cliffs or rough, broken rocks. These narrow passes are man-made, fashioned with much labor by the ancient Italians. The army advanced through these

gaps with great anxiety, expecting the heights to be occupied and the paths blocked against their passage. Judging by the nature of the region, they were justified in their apprehensions.

II

1. WHEN no opposition was offered, they crossed the Alps without hindrance; coming down to level country, they grew bolder and sang songs of thanksgiving. As the Italians had not taken advantage of the rough terrain to hide and protect themselves, Maximinus expected everything to turn out successfully for him without the slightest difficulty. The Italians had not launched treacherous attacks from ambush or fought from the heights, taking advantage of the superior position. 2. While the army was in the plain, the scouts reported that Aquileia, the largest city in that part of Italy, had closed its gates and that the Pannonian legions which had been sent ahead had launched a vigorous attack upon the walls of this city. In spite of frequent assaults, they were completely unsuccessful. Finally, showered with stones, spears, and a rain of arrows, the Pannonians gave up and withdrew. Enraged at the Pannonian generals for fighting too feebly, Maximinus hurried to the city with his army, expecting to capture it with no difficulty.

3. Before these events occurred, Aquileia was already a huge city, with a large permanent population. Situated on the sea and with all the provinces of Illyricum behind it, Aquileia served as a port of entry for Italy. The city thus made it possible for goods transported from the interior by land or by the rivers to be traded to the merchant mariners and also for the necessities brought by sea to the mainland, goods not produced there because of the cold climate, to be sent to the upland areas. Since the inland people farm a region that produces much wine, they export this in quantity to those who do not cultivate grapes. 4. A huge number of people lived permanently in Aquileia, not only the native residents but also foreigners and merchants. At this time the city was even more crowded than usual; all the people from the surrounding area had left the small towns and villages and sought refuge there. They put their hope of safety in the city's great size and its defensive wall; this ancient wall, however, had for the most part collapsed. Under Roman rule the cities of Italy no longer had need of walls or arms; they had substituted permanent peace for war and had also gained a participating share in the Roman government. 5. Now, however, necessity forced the Aquileians to repair the wall, rebuild the fallen sections, and erect towers and battlements. After fortifying the city with a rampart as quickly as possible,

they closed the gates and remained together on the wall day and night, beating off their assailants. Two senators named Crispinus and Menipphilus, former consuls, were appointed generals. 6. These two had seen to everything with careful attention. With great foresight they had brought into the city supplies of every kind in quantities sufficient to enable it to withstand a long siege. An ample supply of water was available from the many wells in the city, and, a river flowing at the foot of the city wall provided both a defensive moat and an abundance of water.

III

1. THESE are the preparations which had been made in the city. When it was reported to Maximinus that Aquileia was well defended and tightly shut, he thought it wise to send envoys to discuss the situation with the townspeople from the foot of the wall and try to persuade them to open the gates. There was in the besieging army a tribune who was a native of Aquileia, and whose wife, children, and relatives were inside the city. 2. Maximinus sent this man to the wall accompanied by several centurions, expecting their fellow citizen to win them over easily. The envoys told the Aquileians that Maximinus, their mutual emperor, ordered them to lay down their arms in peace, to receive him as a friend, not as an enemy, and to turn from killing to libations and sacrifices. Their emperor directed them not to overlook the fact that their native city was in danger of being razed to its very foundations, whereas it was in their power to save themselves and to preserve their city when their merciful emperor pardoned them for their offenses. Others, not they, were the guilty ones. 3. The envoys shouted their message from the foot of the wall so that those above might understand it. Most of the city's population was on the walls and in the towers; only those standing guard at other posts were absent. They all listened quietly to what the envoys were saying. 4. Fearing that the people, convinced by these lying promises, might choose peace instead of war and throw open the gates, Crispinus ran along the parapet, pleading with the Aquileians to hold out bravely and offer stout resistance; he begged them not to break faith with the senate and the Roman people, but to win a place in history as the saviors and defenders of all Italy. He warned them not to trust the promises of a tyrant, a liar, and a hypocrite, and not to surrender to certain destruction, lulled by soft words, when they could put their trust in the always unpredictable outcome of war. 5. Often, he continued, few have prevailed over many and those who appeared to be weaker have overcome those assumed to be stronger. Nor should they be frightened by the size of the besieging army. "Those who fight on another's behalf," he said, "well aware that the benefits, if any should result, will be not theirs but his, are less eager to do battle, knowing that while they share the risks, another will reap the greatest prizes of the victory. 6. But those who fight for their native land can look for greater favor from the gods because they do not pray for help in

seizing the property of others, but ask only to be allowed to retain in safety what is already theirs. They show an enthusiasm for battle which results not from the orders of another but from their own inner compulsion, since all the fruits of victory belong to them and them alone.” 7. By saying such things as these, Crispinus, who was venerable by nature and highly skilled in speaking Latin, and had governed the Aquileians moderately, succeeded in persuading them to remain at their assigned posts; he ordered the envoys to return unsuccessful to Maximinus. He is said to have persevered in his prosecution of the war because the many men in the city who were skilled at auguries and the taking of auspices reported that the omens favored the townspeople. The Italians place particular reliance upon the taking of auguries. 8. Oracles, too, revealed to them that their native god promised them victory. They call this god Belis, and worship him with special devotion, identifying him with Apollo, whose image, some of Maximinus’ soldiers said, often appeared in the sky over the city, fighting for the Aquileians.

9. Whether the god actually appeared to some of the besiegers, or whether they simply said that he did because they were ashamed that so large an army was unable to overcome a mob of civilians, and it would thus seem that they had been beaten by gods, not by men, I am unable to say, but the strangeness of the whole affair makes everything about it credible.

IV

1. WHEN the envoys returned unsuccessful, Maximinus, in a towering rage, pressed on toward the city with increased speed. But when he came to a large river sixteen miles from Aquileia, he found it flowing very wide and very deep. 2. The warmth at that season of the year had melted the mountain snow that had been frozen all winter, and a vast, snow-swollen flood had resulted. It was impossible for Maximinus' army to cross this river because the Aquileians had destroyed the bridge, a huge structure of imposing proportions built, by earlier emperors, of squared stones and supported on tapering piers. Since neither bridges nor boats were available, the army halted in confusion. 3. Some of the Germans, unfamiliar with the swift, violent rivers of Italy and thinking that these flowed down to the plains as lazily as their own streams (it is the slow current of the German rivers which causes them to freeze over), entered the river with their horses, which are trained to swim, and were carried away and drowned.

4. After a ditch had been dug around the camp to prevent attacks, Maximinus halted for two or three days beside the river, considering how it might be bridged. Timber was scarce, and there were no boats which could be fastened together to span the river. Some of his engineers, however, called attention to the many empty wooden kegs scattered about the deserted fields, the barrels which the natives use to ship wine safely to those forced to import it. The kegs are hollow, like boats; when fastened together and anchored to the shore by cables, they float like pontoons, and the current cannot carry them off. Planks are laid on top of these pontoons, and with great skill and speed a bank of earth is piled up evenly on the platform thus fashioned. 5. After the bridge had been completed, the army crossed over and marched to Aquileia, where they found the buildings on the outskirts deserted. The soldiers cut down all the trees and grapevines and burned them, and destroyed the crops which had already begun to appear in those regions. Since the trees were planted in even rows and the interwoven vines linked them together everywhere, the countryside had a festive air; one might even say that it wore a garland of green. All these trees and vines Maximinus' soldiers cut down to the very roots before they hurried up to the walls of Aquileia. 6. The army was exhausted, however, and it seemed wiser not to launch an immediate

attack. The soldiers therefore remained out of range of the arrows and took up stations around the entire circuit of the wall by cohorts and legions, each unit investing the section it was ordered to hold. After a single day's rest, the soldiers kept the city under continuous siege for the remaining time.

They brought up every type of siege machinery and attacked the wall with all the power they could muster, leaving untried nothing of the art of siege warfare. 7. They launched numerous assaults virtually every day, and the entire army held the city encircled as if in a net, but the Aquileians fought back determinedly, showing real enthusiasm for war. They had closed their houses and temples and were fighting in a body, together with the women and children, from their advantageous position on the parapet and in the towers. In this way they held off their attackers, and no one was too young or too old to take part in the battle to preserve his native city.

8. All the buildings in the suburbs and outside the city gates were demolished by Maximinus' men, and the wood from the houses was used to build the siege engines. The soldiers made every effort to destroy a part of the wall, so that the army might break in, seize everything, and, after leveling the city, leave the area a deserted pasture land. The journey to Rome would not be fittingly glorious if Maximinus failed to capture the first city in Italy to oppose him. 9. By pleading and promising gifts, Maximinus and his son, whom he had appointed his Caesar, spurred the army to action; they rode about on horseback, encouraging the soldiers to fight with resolution. The Aquileians hurled down stones on the besiegers; combining pitch and olive oil with asphalt and brimstone, they ignited this mixture and poured it over their attackers from hollow vessels fitted with long handles. Bringing the flaming liquid to the walls, they scattered it over the soldiers like a heavy downpour of rain. 10. Carried along with the other ingredients, the pitch oozed onto the unprotected parts of the soldiers' bodies and spread everywhere. Then the soldiers ripped off their blazing corselets and the rest of their armor too, for the iron grew red hot, and the leather and wooden parts caught fire and burned. As a result, soldiers were seen everywhere stripping themselves, and the discarded armor appeared like the spoils of war, but these were taken by cunning and treachery, not by courage on the field of battle. In this tragedy, most of the soldiers suffered scarred and disfigured faces and lost eyes and hands, while every unprotected part of the body was severely injured. The

Aquileians hurled down torches on the siege engines which had been dragged up to the walls. These torches, sharpened at the end like a javelin, were soaked in pitch and resin and then ignited; the firebrands, still blazing, stuck fast in the machines, which easily caught fire and were consumed by the flames.

V

1. DURING the opening days, then, the fortunes of war were almost equal. As time passed, however, the army of Maximinus grew depressed and, cheated in its expectations, fell into despair when the soldiers found that those whom they had not expected to hold out against a single assault were not only offering stout resistance but were even beating them back. 2. The Aquileians, on the other hand, were greatly encouraged and highly enthusiastic, and, as the battle continued, their skill and daring increased. Contemptuous of the soldiers now, they hurled taunts at them. As Maximinus rode about, they shouted insults and indecent blasphemies at him and his son. The emperor became increasingly angry because he was powerless to retaliate. 3. Unable to vent his wrath upon the enemy, he was enraged at most of his troop commanders because they were pressing the siege in cowardly and halfhearted fashion. Consequently, the hatred of his supporters increased, and his enemies grew more contemptuous of him each day.

As it happened, the Aquileians had everything they needed in abundant quantities. With great foresight they had stored in the city all the food and drink required for men and animals. The soldiers of the emperor, by contrast, lacked every necessity, since they had cut down the fruit trees and devastated the countryside. 4. Some of the soldiers had built temporary huts, but the majority were living in the open air, exposed to sun and rain. And now many died of starvation; no food was brought in from the outside, as the Romans had blocked all the roads of Italy by erecting walls provided with narrow gates. 5. The senate dispatched former consuls and picked men from all Italy to guard the beaches and harbors and prevent anyone from sailing. Their intent was to keep Maximinus in ignorance of what was happening at Rome; thus the main roads and all the bypaths were closely watched to prevent anyone's passing. The result was that the army which appeared to be maintaining the siege was itself under siege, for it was unable to capture Aquileia or leave the city and proceed to Rome; all the boats and wagons had been hidden, and no vehicles of any kind were available to the soldiers. 6. Exaggerated rumors were circulated, based only on suspicion, to the effect that the entire Roman people were under arms; that all Italy was united; that the provinces of Illyricum and the barbarian nations in the East and South had

gathered an army; and that everywhere men were solidly united in hatred of Maximinus. The emperor's soldiers were in despair and in need of everything. There was scarcely even sufficient water for them. 7. The only source of water was the nearby river, which was fouled by blood and bodies. Lacking any means of burying those who died in the city, the Aquileians threw the bodies into the river; both those who fell in the fighting and those who died of disease were dropped into the stream, as the city had no facilities for burial.

8. And so the completely confused army was in the depths of despair. Then one day, during a lull in the fighting, when most of the soldiers had gone to their quarters or their stations, Maximinus was resting in his tent. Without warning, the soldiers whose camp was near Rome at the foot of Mount Alba,¹ where they had left their wives and children, decided that the best solution was to kill Maximinus and end the interminable siege. They resolved no longer to ravage Italy for an emperor they now knew to be a despicable tyrant. 9. Taking courage, therefore, the conspirators went to Maximinus' tent about noon. The imperial bodyguard, which was involved in the plot, ripped Maximinus' pictures from the standards; when he came out of his tent with his son to talk to them, they refused to listen and killed them both. They killed the army's commanding general also, and the emperor's close friends. Their bodies were handed over to those who wished to trample and mutilate them, after which the corpses were exposed to the birds and dogs. The heads of Maximinus and his son were sent to Rome. Such was the fate suffered by Maximinus and his son, who paid the penalty for their savage rule.

VI

1. WHEN the soldiers were informed of what had happened, they were to a man dumfounded, but by no means all the troops were pleased about the assassination. The Pannonians and the barbarians from Thrace were especially angered, for these were the men who had actually placed the empire in Maximinus' hands. Since the deed was accomplished, they tolerated it, but unwillingly; they had no choice but to be hypocritical and pretend to be pleased with all that had happened. 2. Then, laying down their arms, the soldiers came to the walls of Aquileia, this time in peace, and reported the assassination of Maximinus, expecting the Aquileians to throw open the gates and welcome as friends yesterday's enemies. The Aquileian generals, however, did not allow the gates to be opened to them; bringing forward the statues of Maximus and Balbinus and Gordian Caesar, they cheered these rulers themselves and thought it appropriate that Maximinus' soldiers also acknowledge them and shout their approval of the emperors chosen by the senate and the Roman people. 3. They informed the soldiers that the other two Gordians had gone to join Jupiter in heaven. And now the Aquileians set up a market on the walls, offering for sale a huge quantity of goods of all kinds, including ample supplies of food, drink, clothing, and shoes — in short, everything that a prosperous and flourishing city could provide for human consumption. 4. At this the soldiers were even more amazed; they now realized that the Aquileians had enough of everything they needed even if the siege were prolonged, whereas they lacked all the necessities and would have perished to the last man before they captured a city so abundantly supplied. The army continued to remain in position around the city, while the soldiers purchased what they needed from the walls, each man buying as much as he chose. In the meantime, they discussed the situation among themselves. A state of peace and amity actually existed, even though the surrounded city appeared still under siege, with the army encamped on all sides.

5. This was the situation at Aquileia. The horsemen carrying the head of Maximinus to Rome made the journey at top speed; the gates of all the cities on their route were thrown open to receive them, and the people welcomed them with laurel branches. When they had crossed the marshes and shallows between Altinum and Ravenna, they found the emperor Maximus in Ravenna

levying picked men from Rome and Italy. 6. The Germans sent to Maximus a large number of auxiliary troops; their good will toward the man was of long standing and resulted from his moderate governorship of their country. While he was preparing for war against Maximinus, the horsemen arrived with the heads of the emperor and his son and reported the victory. They informed Maximus that the army was in agreement with the Romans about the emperors and had sworn allegiance to the men elected by the senate. 7. When these unexpected developments were announced, sacrifices were led to the altars, and all joined in celebrating a victory won without striking a blow. Finding the omens favorable, Maximus sent the horsemen on to Rome to report to the people what had happened and to display the heads of the two men. When the messengers arrived, they rushed into the city and raised on high the heads of their enemies impaled on a spear for all to see. No words can describe the rejoicing in the city on that day. 8. Men of all ages rushed headlong to the altars and temples; no one remained at home, but, like men possessed, the people congratulated each other and poured into the Circus Maximus as if a public assembly were being held there. Balbinus sacrificed a hecatomb, and all the magistrates and the entire senate shouted with joy, each feeling that he had escaped an ax suspended over his head. Messengers and heralds with laurel branches were sent around to the provinces.

VII

1. THUS was holiday kept at Rome. Meanwhile, Maximus left Ravenna and proceeded to Aquileia, crossing on his way the shallows fed by the Eridanus River and the surrounding marshes; these shallows empty into the sea through seven outlets, and for this reason the natives call the marsh, in their own language, the “Seven Seas.” 2. The Aquileians immediately opened their gates and welcomed Maximus into the city. Now all the cities of Italy sent embassies to him of their most distinguished citizens, clad in white and carrying laurel branches. Each group brought the statues of its ancestral gods and the gold crowns among the votive offerings. These men cheered Maximus and scattered leaves in his path. The soldiers who were besieging Aquileia now came forward, carrying the laurel branches symbolic of peaceful intent, not because this represented their true feelings but because the presence of the emperor forced them to pretend respect and good will. 3. The truth is that most of the soldiers were secretly angered and grieved to see their chosen emperor killed and the emperors elected by the senate in full command. In Aquileia, Maximus attended to the sacrifices on the first and second days; on the third day, however, he summoned the entire army to the plain and from a platform erected for his use addressed them as follows:

4. “How much it has profited you to change your minds and support the actions of the Romans you have learned from recent experience. Now you are at peace instead of at war. You are enjoying the protection of the gods by whom you swore. And you are keeping your soldier’s oath, that sacred rite of the Roman empire. All good things are yours to enjoy from this time on, for you have confirmed your pledges to the senate and the Roman people and to us, your emperors, chosen by the senate and the people for our nobility of birth, the many positions of authority we have held, and the long succession of offices which made it appear that we had risen to the throne by a regular cursus. 5. The empire is the personal property of no man. It is from of old the common possession of the people of Rome, the seat of your empire’s fortune. To us and to you have been entrusted the administration and management of that empire. With good discipline and proper behavior, with respect and honor for those who command you, a prosperous life, full of every good thing, will be yours. For all other men in the provinces and the cities, peace will result,

and obedience to their governors. You will be able to live as you like among your kinsmen; you will not suffer injury in some foreign land. 6. As to the matter of keeping the barbarian nations quiet, that will be our concern. As two emperors invested with equal power, we shall manage affairs at Rome jointly. Should any difficulty arise abroad, one of us can easily be present wherever and whenever the occasion demands. Let no one of you think that we shall remember what has occurred, either what you did (for you were simply obeying orders) or what the Romans and the other provincials did, for they rebelled because they were unjustly treated. But rather let us proclaim an amnesty for all offenses, and let there be pacts of lasting friendship and pledges of eternal good will and good conduct.”

7. After this speech, Maximus promised the soldiers lavish gifts of money; then, remaining in Aquileia only a few days longer, he arranged to return to Rome. He sent the rest of the army to the provinces and to duty in their own local garrisons, while he went to Rome with the praetorians, the guards of the imperial palace, and the troops enrolled by Balbinus. 8. The auxiliaries from Germany also accompanied him to Rome; he put great faith in their loyalty, relying on the fact that before he became emperor he had governed the province of Germany in moderate fashion. Balbinus came out to meet his co-emperor on the outskirts of Rome, bringing with him Gordian Caesar. The senate and the people welcomed Maximus with cheers, as if he were celebrating a triumph.

VIII

1. FOR the rest of the time the two emperors governed in an orderly and well-regulated manner, winning approval on every hand both privately and publicly. The people honored and respected them as patriotic and admirable rulers of the empire. The praetorians, however, were privately disgruntled, not at all pleased that the people had demonstrated their approval of the emperors. The noble birth of the two men was an affront to the praetorians, and they were indignant also because the emperors had received the imperial office from the senate. 2. The praetorians feared that the German troops with Maximus in Rome would oppose them if they should instigate a revolt. They suspected that the Germans were lying in wait for them; if the praetorians were discharged from service by trickery, the Germans would be at hand to replace them as the imperial bodyguard. They recalled the example of Severus, who dismissed the praetorians who had killed Pertinax.

3. When the Capitoline Games were drawing to an end and all the people were occupied with festivals and shows, the praetorians suddenly brought their hidden resentments into the open. Making no attempt to control their anger, they launched an unreasoning assault; rushing into the palace with one purpose, they approached the aged emperors. 4. It so happened that the two men were not in complete accord: so great is the desire for sole rule and so contrary to the usual practice is it for the sovereignty to be shared that each undertook to secure the imperial power for himself alone. Balbinus considered himself the more worthy because of his noble birth and his two terms as consul; Maximus felt that he deserved first place because he had served as prefect of Rome and had won a good reputation by his administrative efforts. Both men were led to covet the sole rule because of their distinguished birth, aristocratic lineage, and the size of their families. 5. This rivalry was the basis of their downfall. When Maximus learned that the Praetorian Guard was coming to kill them, he wished to summon a sufficient number of the German auxiliaries who were in Rome to resist the conspirators. But Balbinus, thinking that this was a ruse intended to deceive him (he knew that the Germans were devoted to Maximus), refused to allow Maximus to issue the order, believing that the Germans were coming not to put down a praetorian uprising but to secure the empire for Maximus alone. 6. While the two men

were arguing, the praetorians rushed in with a single purpose. When the guards at the palace gates deserted the emperors, the praetorians seized the old men and ripped off the plain robes they were wearing because they were at home. Dragging the two men naked from the palace, they inflicted every insult and indignity upon them. Jeering at these emperors elected by the senate, they beat and tortured them, pulling their beards and eyebrows and doing them every kind of physical outrage. They then brought the emperors through the middle of the city to the praetorian camp, unwilling to kill them in the palace; they preferred to torture them first, so that they might suffer longer. 7. When the Germans learned what was happening, they snatched up their arms and hastened to the rescue. As soon as the praetorians were informed of their approach, they killed the mutilated emperors. Leaving the corpses exposed in the street, the praetorians took up Gordian Caesar and proclaimed him emperor, since at the moment they could find no other candidate for the office. Proclaiming that they had only killed the men whom the people did not want to rule them in the first place, they chose as emperor this Gordian who was descended from the Gordian whom the Romans themselves had forced to accept the rule. Keeping their emperor Gordian with them, they went off to the praetorian camp, where they shut the gates and remained quiet. Learning that the men they were hurrying to rescue had been killed and their bodies exposed, the Germans returned to their quarters, unwilling to fight fruitlessly for men already dead.

8. Such was the undeserved and impious fate suffered by these two respected and distinguished elder statesmen, nobly born men deservedly elevated to the imperial throne. Gordian, at the age of about thirteen, was designated emperor and assumed the burden of the Roman empire.

ENDNOTES.

¹ Legio II Parthica, stationed near Rome by Severus to protect the city.

The Greek Text



Roman amphitheatre at Alexandria — it has been suggested that Herodian was from Alexandria, as he places a large emphasis on Caracalla's massacre of the city and its inhabitants.

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BOOK I.

SECTION 1

Οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν περὶ συγκομιδὴν ἱστορίας ἀσχοληθέντων ἔργων τε πάλαι γεγονότων μνήμην ἀνανεώσασθαι σπουδασάντων, παιδείας κλέος αἰδίων μνόμενοι, ὥς ἂν μὴ σιωπήσαντες λάθοιεν ἐς τὸν πολλὸν ὄμιλον ἀριθμούμενοι, τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας ἐν ταῖς ἀφηγήσεσιν ὠλιγόρησαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐπεμελήθησαν φράσεώς τε καὶ εὐφωνίας, θαρροῦντες, ὥς εἴ τι καὶ μυθῶδες λέγοιεν, τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ τῆς ἀκροάσεως αὐτοὶ καρπώσονται, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς τῆς [2] ἐξετάσεως οὐκ ἐλεγχθήσεται. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ μῖσος τυράννων, κολακείαν τε ἢ τιμὴν βασιλέων πόλεώς τε καὶ ιδιωτῶν, εὐτελῆ καὶ μικρὰ ἔργα λόγων ἀρετῇ δόξῃ [3] παρέδωκαν τῆς ἀληθείας μείζονι. ἐγὼ δ' ἱστορίαν οὐ παρ' ἄλλων παραδεξάμενος ἄγνωστόν τε καὶ ἀμάρτυρον, ὑπὸ νεαρᾷ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἐντευξομένων μνήμῃ, μετὰ πάσης [ἀληθοῦς] ἀκριβείας ἤθροισα ἐς συγγραφὴν, οὐκ ἀτερπῇ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκήσας ἔργων [4] μεγάλων τε καὶ πολλῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ γενομένων. εἰ γοῦν τις παραβάλοι πάντα τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ χρόνον, ἐξ οὐπὲρ ἡ Ῥωμαίων δυναστεία μετέπεσεν ἐς μοναρχίαν, οὐκ ἂν εὖροι ἐν ἔτεσι περὶ που διακοσίοις μέχρι τῶν Μάρκου καιρῶν οὔτε βασιλεῶν οὕτως ἐπαλλήλους διαδοχὰς οὔτε πολέμων ἐμφυλίων τε καὶ ξένων τύχας ποικίλας ἐθνῶν τε κινήσεις καὶ πόλεων ἀλώσεις τῶν τε ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς βαρβάροις, γῆς τε σεισμούς καὶ ἀέρων φθορὰς τυράννων τε καὶ βασιλέων βίους παραδόξους πρότερον ἢ σπανίως ἢ μηδ' ὅλως μνημονευθέντας· [5] ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐπιμηκεστέραν ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δὲ πρόσκαιρον τὴν δυναστείαν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μέχρι προσηγορίας καὶ τιμῆς ἐφημέρου μόνης ἐλθόντες εὐθέως κατελύθησαν. μερισθεῖσα γὰρ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐξήκοντα ἐς πλείους δυνάστας ἢ ὁ χρόνος ἀπῆτει, πολλὰ καὶ [6] ποικίλα ἠνεγκε καὶ θαύματος ἄξια. τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν πρεσβύτεροι διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελέστερον ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἤρξαν, οἱ δὲ κομιδῇ νέοι ῥαθυμότερον βίωσαντες πολλὰ ἐκαινοτόμησαν· διόπερ εἰκότως ἐν ἡλικίαις τε καὶ ἐξουσίαις διαφόροις οὐχ ὅμοια γέγονε τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα. ὥς δ' ἕκαστα τούτων πέπρακται, κατὰ χρόνους καὶ δυναστείας διηγῆσομαι.

SECTION 2

[1] τῷ βασιλεύοντι Μάρκῳ θυγατέρες μὲν ἐγένοντο πλείους, ἄρρενες δὲ δύο. τῶν δὲ ἀρρένων τούτων ὁ μὲν ἕτερος κομιδῇ νέος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε (Βηρίσσιμος δ' ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), τὸν δὲ περιόντα Κόμοδόν τε καλούμενον ὁ πατὴρ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀνεθρέψατο, πάντοθεν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ λόγοις δοκιμωτάτους ἐπὶ συντάξουσιν [2] οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτοις καλῶν, ὅπως συνόντες αἰεὶ παιδεύουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν υἱόν. τάς τε θυγατέρας ἐν ᾧ γεγενημένης ἐξέδοτο ἀνδράσι τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοῖς ἀρίστοις, οὐ τοὺς γένους μακραῖς διαδοχαῖς εὐπατρίδας οὐδὲ τοὺς πλούτου περιβολαῖς λαμπροῦς, κοσμίους δὲ τὸν τρόπον καὶ σῶφρονας τὸν βίον γαμβροὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι θέλων· ταῦτα γὰρ μόνον ψυχῆς ἴδια καὶ ἀναφαίρετα ἡγεῖτο κτήματα.

[3] ἀρετῆς δὲ πάσης ἔμελεν αὐτῷ, λόγων τε ἀρχαιότητος ἦν ἐραστής, ὡς μηδενὸς μήτε Ῥωμαίων μήτε Ἑλλήνων ἀπολείπεσθαι· δηλοῖ δὲ ὅσα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦλθεν ἢ λεχθέντα [4] πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἢ γραφέντα. παρεῖχε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιεικῇ καὶ μέτριον βασιλέα, τοὺς τε προσιόντας δεξιούμενος καλύπων τε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν δορυφόρους ἀποσοβεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. μόνος τε βασιλέων φιλοσοφίαν οὐ λόγοις οὐδὲ δογμάτων γνώσεσι, σεμνῷ δ' ἦθει καὶ σῶφρονι βίῳ ἐπιστώσατο. πολὺ τε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἠνεγκε τῶν ἐκείνου καιρῶν ἢ φορά· φιλεῖ γὰρ πῶς αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ζῆλω τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος γνώμης βιοῦν.

[5] ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκείνῳ ἐπράκται ἀνδρεῖα καὶ σῶφρονα, στρατηγικὴν ἢ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα, πρὸς τε τοὺς τὰ ἀρκτῶα τῆς γῆς [ἔθνη βάρβαρα] κατοικοῦντας πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ποιουμένους τὸν βίον, πολλοῖς καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι συγγέγραπται. ἃ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου τελευτὴν παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον εἰδὼν τε καὶ ἤκουσα - ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ πείρα μετέσχον ἐν βασιλικαῖς ἢ δημοσίαις ὑπηρεσίαις γενόμενος - ταῦτα συνέγραψα.

SECTION 3

[1] γηραιὸν ὄντα Μάρκον, καὶ μὴ μόνον ὑφ' ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ «καὶ» καμάτοις τε καὶ φροντίσι τετρυχωμένον διατρίβοντά τε ἐν Παίοσι νόσος χαλεπὴ καταλαμβάνει. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἐλπίδας φαύλως ἔχειν ὑπώπτευν, ἑώρα τε τὸν παῖδα τῆς μειρακίων ἡλικίας ἀρχόμενον ἐπιβαίνειν, δεδιὼς μὴ νεότης ἀκμάζουσα καὶ ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ ἐξουσίαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀκώλυτον προσλαβοῦσα μαθημάτων μὲν καλῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀφηνιάσῃ, μέθαις δὲ καὶ κραιπάλαις ἐπιδῶ ἑαυτήν (ῥᾶστα γὰρ αἱ τῶν νέων ψυχαὶ ἐς ἡδονὰς ἐξολισθαίνουσαι ἀπὸ [2] τῶν παιδείας καλῶν μετοχτετεύονται), οἷα δὴ ἄνδρα πολυίστορα μάλιστα ἐτάραττε μνήμη τῶν ἐν νεότητι βασιλείαν παραλαβόντων, τοῦτο μὲν Διονυσίου τοῦ Σικελιώτου τυράννου, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἀκρασίας καινὰς ἡδονὰς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις μισθοῖς ἐθῆρᾶτο, τοῦτο δὲ αἱ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὕβρεις τε καὶ [3] βίαι, δι' ὧν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρχὴν κατήσχυναν, Πτολεμαῖος μὲν καὶ μέχρις ἀδελφῆς γνησίας ἔρωτος προχωρήσας παρὰ [τε] τοὺς Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἑλλήνων νόμους, Ἀντίγονος δὲ Διόνυσον πάντα μιμούμενος καὶ κισσὸν μὲν περιτιθεὶς τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀντὶ καυσίας καὶ διαδήματος Μακεδονικοῦ, [4] θύρσον δὲ ἀντὶ σκήπτρου φέρων· ἔτι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐλύπει τὰ μὴ πρὸ πολλοῦ «γενόμενα» ἀλλ' ὑπόγυον ἔχοντα τὴν μνήμην, τὰ τε Νέρωνι πεπραγμένα ὃς ἐχώρησε μέχρι μητρώου φόνου παρεῖχε τε τοῖς δήμοις ἑαυτὸν καταγέλαστον θέαμα, τὰ τε Δομετιανῷ τετολμημένα, [5] τῆς ἐσχάτης ὠμότητος οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντα. τοιαύτας δὲ τυραννίδος εἰκόνας ὑποτυπούμενος ἐδεδίει τε καὶ ἡλιζεν οὐ μετρίως δ' αὐτὸν ἐταράττον καὶ οἱ Γερμανοὶ γεινιῶντες, οὓς οὐδέπω πάντας ἐκεχειρώτο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πειθοῖ ἐς συμμαχίαν προσηγάγετο, τῶν δὲ καὶ κρατήσας ἦν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ διαδράντες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν δέει τῆς παρουσίας τοιοῦτου βασιλέως. ὑπώπτευν οὖν, μὴ τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ μειρακίου καταφρονήσαντες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτῷ. ἐρᾷ δὲ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τυχούσαις ἀφορμαῖς ῥᾶστα κινεῖσθαι.

SECTION 4

[1] κυμαίνουσιν οὖν ἔχον τοσαύταις φροντίσι τὴν ψυχὴν, συγκαλέσας τε τοὺς φίλους ὅσοι τε παρῆσαν τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα παραστησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ πάντες συνῆλθον, ἡσυχῇ τοῦ σκίμποδος κουφίσας ἑαυτὸν τοιούτων λόγων ἤρξατο·

[2] ἄχθεσθαι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐφ' οἷς ὁρᾶτέ με διακείμενον, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· φύσει τε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐλεεινὸν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμφοραῖς, τά τε δεῖνὰ ὑπ' ὄψιν πεσόντα οἶκτον προκαλεῖται μείζονα. ἐμοὶ δέ τι καὶ πλεον ὑπάρχειν παρ' ὑμῶν οἶομαι· ἐκ γὰρ ὧν αὐτὸς διάκειμαι [3] πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀμοιβαίαν εὖνοιαν εἰκότως ἤλπικα. νῦν δὲ καιρὸς εὐκαιρος ἐμοὶ τε αἰσθέσθαι μὴ μάτην ἐς ὑμᾶς τοσούτου χρόνου τιμὴν τε καὶ σπουδὴν κατατεθεῖσθαι, ὑμῖν τε ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, δείξασιν ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτύχετε οὐκ ἀμνημονεῖτε. ὁρᾶτε δὴ μοι τὸν υἱὸν ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀνεθρέψασθε, ἄρτι τῆς μεираκίων ἡλικίας ἐπιβαίνοντα καὶ δεόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ζάλῃ τῶν κυβερνησόντων, μὴ ποι φερόμενος ὑπ' ἀτελοῦς τῆς τῶν δεόντων [4] ἐμπειρίας ἐς φαῦλα ἐπιτηδεύματα προσαραχθῇ. γένεσθε δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ὑμεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἐμοῦ πατέρες πολλοί, περιέποντές τε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλευόντες. οὔτε γὰρ χρημάτων πλῆθος οὐδὲν αὐταρκες πρὸς τυραννίδος ἀκρασίαν, οὔτε δυρυφόρων φρουρὰ ἱκανὴ ρύεσθαι τὸν [5] ἄρχοντα, εἰ μὴ προσυπάρχοι ἡ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὖνοια. μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς ἀρχῆς μῆκος ἀκινδύνως ἤλασαν, ὅσοι μὴ φόβον ἐξ ὠμότητος, πόθον δὲ «ἐκ» τῆς αὐτῶν χρηστότητος ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς ἐνέσταξαν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δουλεύοντες ἀλλ' οἱ μετὰ πειθοῦς ὑπακούοντες ἀνύποπτα καὶ ἔξω κολακείας προσποιήτου δρῶντές τε καὶ πάσχοντες διατελοῦσι καὶ οὐδέ ποτε ἀφηνιάζουσιν, [6] ἣν μὴ βία καὶ ὕβρει ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἄχθῳσι. χαλεπὸν δὲ μετριάσαι τε καὶ ὄρον ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπιθυμίαις ὑπηρετούσης ἐξουσίας. τοιαῦτα δὴ συμβουλευόντες αὐτῷ, καὶ ὧν ἀκούει παρῶν ὑπομιμνήσκοντες, ὑμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον ἀποδείξετε βασιλέα, τῇ τε ἐμῇ μνήμῃ χαριεῖσθε τὰ μέγιστα, οὕτω τε μόνως αἰδίων αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι δυνήσεσθε.

[7] τοσαῦτα εἰπόντα τὸν Μᾶρκον ἐπιπεσοῦσα λιποθυμία κατεσίγασεν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀσθενείας τε καὶ ἀθυμίας αὐθις ὑπτίαζεν. οἶκτος δὲ πάντας ἐλάμβανε τοὺς παρόντας, ὥς μὴδὲ κατασχόντας αὐτῶν τινὰς ἐς οἰμωγὴν ἀναβοῆσαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπιβιώσας μιᾶς ἀνεπαύσατο, πόθον τε τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐγκαταλιπὼν [8] ἀρετῆς τε αἰδίων μνήμην ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον

αἰῶνα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Μάρκου, ἐπειδὴ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη, πᾶν τε τὸ παρὸν στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τὸ δημῶδες πλῆθος ὁμοίως πένθει κατείχετο, οὐδέ τις ἦν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὃς ἀδακρυτὶ τοιαύτην ἀγγελίαν ἐδέχετο. πάντες δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς φωνῆς, οἱ μὲν πατέρα χρηστόν, οἱ δ' ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα, γενναῖον δὲ ἕτεροι στρατηγόν, οἱ δὲ σῶφρονα καὶ κόσμιον ἄρχοντα ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐψεύδετο.

SECTION 5

[1] ὀλίγων δὲ διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν ὅσαις περὶ τὴν κηδεῖαν τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἀπησχόλουν, ἔδοξε τοῖς φίλοις προαγαγεῖν τὸ μειράκιον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥς ἂν διαλεχθεῖη τε τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ χρήματα δωρησάμενος, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς βασιλείαν διαδεχομένοις, μεγαλόφρονι [2] ἐπιδόσει οἰκειώσεται τὸ στράτευμα. παρηγγέλθη τε δὴ πᾶσιν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ εἰωθὸς πεδίον αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχεσθαι. προελθὼν δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος τάς τε βασιλείους θυσίας ἐπετέλει, καὶ βήματος αὐτῷ εἰς ὕψος ἀρθέντος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνελθὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ περιστησάμενος τοὺς πατρώους φίλους (πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ λόγιοι παρῆσαν αὐτῷ) ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[3] κοινὴν εἶναι μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καταλαβοῦσιν ἀλγηδόνα καὶ μηδὲν τι ἤττον ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δυσφορεῖν ἐμμαντὸν ἀκριβῶς πέπεικα. οὐδὲ γὰρ περιόντος μοι τοῦ πατρὸς πλεονεκτεῖν ὑμῶν ἡξίουν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς ὥς ἓνα ἡγάπα. ἔχαιρε γοῦν μᾶλλον συστρατιώτην με ἢ υἱὸν καλῶν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προσηγορίαν ἡγεῖτο φύσεως, τὴν δ' ἀρετῆς κοινωνίαν. φέρων τέ με πολλάκις ἔτι νήπιον ὄντα ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἐνεχείρισε πίστεσι.

[4] διόπερ καὶ ῥᾶστα πάσης εὐνοίας μεθέξειν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἥλπικα, τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων τροφεῖά μοι ταῦτα ὀφειλόντων, τοὺς δ' ἡλικιώτας εἰκότως ἂν καὶ συμφοιτητὰς τῶν ἐν ὅλοις ἔργων ἀποκαλοίην· πάντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὥς [5] ἓνα ὁ πατὴρ ἐφίλει τε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐπαίδευεν. ἔδωκε δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐμὲ βασιλέα ἢ τύχη, οὐκ ἐπέισακτον, ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ προσκλήτῳ σεμνυνόμενοι ἀρχῇ, ἀλλὰ μόνος τε ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀπεκυήθην, καὶ μὴ πειραθέντα με ἰδιωτικῶν σπαργάνων ἅμα τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς προελθεῖν ἢ βασιλείῳς ὑπεδέξατο πορφύρα, ὁμοῦ [6] δέ με εἶδεν ἥλιος ἄνθρωπον καὶ βασιλέα. εἰκότως δ' ἂν ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι στέργοιτε οὐ δοθέντα ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ γεννηθέντα αὐτοκράτορα. ὁ μὲν οὖν πατὴρ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπτὰς ὁπαδὸς ἤδη καὶ σύνεδρος ἐστὶ θεῶν· ἡμῖν δὲ χρὴ μέλειν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς διοικεῖν. κατορθοῦν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ βεβαιοῦν ὑμέτερον ἔργον, εἰ τά τε τοῦ πολέμου λείψανα μετὰ πάσης ἀνδρείας ἀπαλείψαιτε καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ προαγάγοιτε.

[7] ὑμῖν τε γὰρ ταῦτα δόξαν οἶσει καὶ τὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην χάρισιν ἀξίαις οὕτως ἀμείψεσθε· ὃν ἐπακούειν τε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ἐφορᾶν ἡγεῖσθε. εὐδαιμονοίημεν δ' ἂν τὰ δέοντα πράττοντες ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ μάρτυρι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρότερον ὑμῖν ἀνδρείως κατορθωθέντα εἰς τὴν

ἐκεῖνου σοφίαν τε καὶ στρατηγίαν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει· ὅσα δ' ἂν σὺν ἐμοὶ βασιλεῖ νέῳ προθύμῳς ἐπιδείξησθε, τούτων «αὐτοὶ» τὴν δόξαν [8] πίστεώς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀποίσεσθε. τό τε ἐν ἡμῖν νέον σεμνότητος πληρώσετε τῇ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔργων ἀνδραγαθία. τὸ βάρβαρον δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ νέας ἡγεμονίας κολασθὲν οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρὸν καταθαρσήσει τῆς «ἡμετέρας» ἡλικίας [καταφρονῆσαν], τὰ τε μέλλοντα φοβήσεται δέει τῶν πεπειραμένων.

τοσαῦτα ὁ Κόμοδος εἰπὼν καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως δωρεαῖς χρημάτων οἰκειωσάμενος τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ἐς τὴν βασιλείον ἐπανῆλθεν αὐλήν.

SECTION 6

[1] ὀλίγου μὲν οὖν τινὸς χρόνου πάντα ἐπράττετο τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πατρῶων φίλων, οἱ πανημέριοι συνῆσαν αὐτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευόντες, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐνδιδόντες χρόνον, ὅσον ἐνόμιζον αὐτάρκη πρὸς σῶφρονά τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν. παρεισδύντες δέ τινες τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς οἰκετῶν διαφθείρειν ἐπειρῶντο νέον ἦθος βασιλέως, ὅσοι τε κόλακες τραπέζης [καί] τὸ εὐδαιμον γαστρὶ καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις μετροῦσιν, ὑπεμίμησκον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς, θεάματά τε καὶ ἀκούσματα τερπνὰ διηγούμενοι τὴν τε τῶν ἐπιτηδεῶν δαψίλειαν καταριθμοῦντες διαβάλλοντές τε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἰστρου ὥραν, μήτε ὁπώρας εὐφορον κρυεράν [2] τε ἀεὶ καὶ συννεφῇ. οὐ παύσῃ δὲ ἔλεγον ὧ δέσποτα, πηγνύμενόν τε καὶ ὀρυττόμενον πίνων ὕδωρ; ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπολαύσουσι πηγῶν τε θερμῶν καὶ ψυχροῦ νάματος ἀτμίδων τε καὶ ἀέρων, ὧν Ἰταλία μόνῃ εὐφορος. τοιαῦτα δὴ τινα τῷ μειρακίῳ ὑποτυποῦμενοι ἤγειρον [3] αὐτοῦ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἐς τὴν ἡδονῶν ἐπιθυμίαν. αἰφνιδίως δὲ καλέσας τοὺς φίλους ποθεῖν ἔλεγε τὴν πατρίδα· ὁμολογεῖν δὲ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς αἰφνιδίου ὀρμῆς αἰδούμενος, δεδιέναι προσεποιεῖτο, μή τις ἐκεῖσε προκαταλάβοι τὴν βασιλείον ἐστὶν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν πλουσίων, εἴθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀχυρᾶς ἀκροπόλεως δύναμιν καὶ περιβολὴν συγκροτήσας ἐπιθῆται τῇ ἀρχῇ. αὐτάρκης δὲ ὁ δῆμος χορηγῆσαι πληθὸς ἐπιλέκτων νεανιδῶν.

[4] τοιαῦτά τινα προφασιζομένου τοῦ μειρακίου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνεστάλησάν τε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ σκυθρωπαῖς ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐς γῆν ἔνευσαν. Πομπηιανὸς δέ, ὃς πρεσβυτάτος τε ἦν ἀπάντων καὶ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν προσήκων αὐτῷ (συνώκει γὰρ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Κομόδου), ποθεῖν μὲν σε, ἔφη, τέκνον καὶ δέσποτα, τὴν πατρίδα εἰκός· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν οἴκοι ὁμοία ἐπιθυμία ἐαλώκαμεν.

[5] ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐνταῦθα προυργιαίτερα ὄντα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπείγοντα ἐπέχει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αἰῶνα ἀπολαύσεις, ἐκεῖ τε ἡ Ῥώμη, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾗ. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἀτελεῖ καταλιπεῖν μετὰ τοῦ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ἐπισφαλές. θάρσος γὰρ ἐμβαλοῦμεν τοῖς βαρβάροις, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνόδου πόθον [6] ἀλλὰ φυγὴν καὶ δέος ἡμῶν καταγνοῦσι. καλὸν δέ σοι χειρωσαμένῳ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ὠκεανῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρίσαντι ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε θριαμβεύοντί τε καὶ δεσμίους ἀπάγοντι καὶ αἰχμαλώτους βασιλεῖς τε καὶ σατράπας βαρβάρους. τούτοις γὰρ οἱ πρὸ σοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλοι τε καὶ ἔνδοξοι γεγόνασι. δεδιέναι δέ σε οὐ χρή, μή τις ἐκεῖ

τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιθῆται. οἱ τε γὰρ ἄριστοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα σὺν σοί, ἢ τε στρατιωτικὴ δύναμις παροῦσα πᾶσα τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προασπίζει· ταμιεῖά τε χρημάτων βασιλικῶν ἐνταῦθα πάντα· ἢ τε τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμη αἰώνιον σοι πίστιν καὶ εὐνοίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐβεβαίωσεν.

[7] τοιαῦτά τινα ἐς προτροπὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ κρείττονα ὁρμὴν ὁ Πομπηϊανὸς εἰπὼν διέτρεψε πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ μειράκιον. αἰδεσθεῖς γὰρ ὁ Κόμοδος τὰ λεχθέντα, οὐδέν τε οἷός τε ὦν εὐλόγως ἀποκρίνασθαι, τοὺς φίλους ἀπεπέμψατο, φήσας ἀκριβέστερον καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκέψεσθαι [8] τὸ πρακτέον. ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν θεραπόντων οὐκέτι μὲν τοῖς φίλοις οὐδὲν ἐκοινώσατο, ἐκπέμψας δὲ γράμματα, καὶ διανείμας οἷς ἐδοκίμασε τῆς ὀχθῆς τοῦ Ἰστρου τὴν πρόνοιαν προστάζας τε αὐτοῖς ἀνέχειν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομάς, ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἔξοδον. οἱ μὲν οὖν διώκουν τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα· οἱ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πλείστους τῶν βαρβάρων ὅπλοις ἐχειρώσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ μεγάλας συντάξεις ἐς φιλίαν ἐπηγάγοντο [9] ῥᾶστα πείσαντες. φύσει γὰρ τὸ βάρβαρον φιλοχρήματον, καὶ κινδύνων καταφρονήσαντες ἢ δι' ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ἐφόδου τὸ χρειῶδες πρὸς τὸν βίον πορίζονται, ἢ μεγάλων μισθῶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικαταλλάσσουνται. ἅπερ ὁ Κόμοδος εἰδὼς καὶ τὸ ἀμέριμον ὠνούμενος ἀφειδῶς τε ἔχων χρημάτων, πάντα ἐδίδου τὰ αἰτούμενα.

SECTION 7

[1] τῆς δὲ ἐξόδου διαγγελθείσης κίνησις δὴ μεγίστη καταλαμβάνει τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ πάντες αὐτῷ συναπελθεῖν ἤθελον, ὥς ἂν ἀπαλλαγεῖεν μὲν τῆς ἐν τῇ πολεμίας διατριβῆς, ἀπολαύσειαν δὲ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη ἄγγελοί τε ἦκον κηρύττοντες τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄφιξιν, ὑπερήσθη τε ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος καὶ χρηστὰς εἶχεν ἐλπίδας νέου αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιδημίας, [2] πατρώζειν τὸ μειράκιον ἡγούμενοι. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδοιορίαν ὁ Κόμοδος μετὰ νεανικῆς σπουδῆς καὶ διαδραμῶν τὰς ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις, ὑποδεχθεὶς τε πανταχοῦ βασιλικῶς καὶ δήμοις ἐορτάζουσιν ἐπιφανείς, ἀσπαστός τε [3] καὶ ποθεινὸς πᾶσιν ὤφθη. ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῆς Ῥώμης, πᾶσά τε ἡ σύγκλητος βουλή καὶ πανδημεὶ ὅσοι τὴν Ῥώμην κατῴκου ἄνθρωποι, μὴ κατασχόντες αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἕκαστος φθάσαι θέλων, δαφνηφόροι τε καὶ πάντα ἐπιφερόμενοι ἄνθη τότε ἀκμάζοντα, ὥς ἕκαστος οἷός τε ἦν, πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ὑπῆντων, θεασόμενοι τὸν νέον [4] καὶ εὐγενῆ βασιλέα. ἐπόθουν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀληθεῖ ψυχῆς διαθέσει ἅτε παρ' αὐτοῖς γεννηθέντα τε καὶ τραφέντα καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τριγονίας βασιλέα τε καὶ εὐπατρίδην ὄντα Ῥωμαίων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς πατρός αὐτῷ γένος ἐκ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπισήμων ἦν· Φαυστίνα δ' ἡ μήτηρ βασίλισσα γεγέννητο θυγάτηρ τε οὖσα Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπικληθέντος, καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος κατὰ θηλυγονίαν, ἀνήνεγκε δὲ τὸ γένος αὕτη ἐπὶ Τραϊανὸν πρόπαππον.

[5] γένους μὲν οὖν ὁ Κόμοδος οὕτως εἶχε, πρὸς δὲ τῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀκμῇ καὶ τὴν ὧσιν ἦν ἀξιοθέατος σώματός τε συμμετρία καὶ κάλλει προσώπου μετ' ἀνδρείας. ὀφθαλμῶν τε γὰρ ἀρθμίαι καὶ πυρώδεις βολαί, κόμη τε φύσει ξανθὴ καὶ οὖλη, ὥς, εἴποτε φοιτῇ δι' ἡλίου, τοσοῦτον ἐκλάμπειν αὐτῷ πυροειδές τι, ὥς τοὺς μὲν οἶσθαι ῥίνημα χρυσοῦ προιόντι ἐπιπάσσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκθειάζειν, λέγοντας αἴγλην τινὰ οὐράνιον περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ συγγεγενῆσθαι αὐτῷ· ἰουλοὶ τε αὐτοῦ κατιόντες ταῖς [6] παρειαῖς ἐπῆνθουν. τοιοῦτον δὲ θεασάμενοι βασιλέα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, εὐφημίαις τε παντοδαπαῖς καὶ στεφάνων καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ὑπεδέχοντο. ὥς δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσήλασεν, ἐς τε τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νεῶς ἀνελθὼν εὐθὺς τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καταλειφθεῖσι στρατιώταις χαριστήρια ὁμολογήσας τῆς φυλαχθείσης πίστεως, ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλὴν ἀνεχώρησεν.

SECTION 8

[1] χρόνου μὲν οὖν τινὸς ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἀπένεμε τοῖς πατρώοις φίλοις, πάντα τε ἔπραττεν ἐκείνοις συμβούλοις χρώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐνεχείρισε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑαυτῷ, ἐπιστήσας τοῖς στρατοπέδοις Περέννιον, ἄνδρα τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰταλιώτην, στρατιωτικὸν δ' εἶναι δοκοῦντα (διὸ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἔπαρχον ἐποίησε τῶν στρατοπέδων), τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου ἀποχρώμενος ἡλικία ἐκεῖνος [εἶασεν] αὐτὸν τρυφαῖς σχολάζοντα καὶ κραιπάλαις, τῆς φροντίδος καὶ τῶν βασιλείων καμάτων ἀπῆγεν [2] [αὐτόν], πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο πλούτου τε ἀκρατήτῳ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ τῶν μὲν προσκτωμένων ἀεὶ καταφρονήσει, τῶν δ' οὐπω παρόντων ἀπλήστῳ ἀντιποιήσει. τοὺς τε πατρώους φίλους πρῶτος διαβάλλειν ἤρξατο, καὶ ὅσοι πλούσιοί τε ἦσαν καὶ εὐγενεῖς, τούτους ἐς ὑποψίαν ἄγων τὸ μειράκιον ἐφόβει, ὥς ἂν αὐτοὺς διαχρησάμενος ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ παράσχοι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀρπάζειν τὰ ἐκείνων κτήματα.

[3] μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἐπέτρεπε τὸν νεανίσκον ἢ τε τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμη καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους αἰδώς. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὥσπερ τινὸς πονηρᾶς καὶ βασκάνου τύχης ἀνατρεπούσης αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔτι σῶφρον καὶ κόσμιον, συνέβη τι τοιοῦτον. Λουκίλλα ἦν τῷ Κομόδῳ πρεσβυτάτῃ πάντων ἀδελφῇ. αὕτη πρότερον Λουκίῳ Βήρῳ αὐτοκράτορι συνώκει, ὃν κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας Μάρκος ποιησάμενος, ἐκδούς [τε] αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, δεσμὸν εὐνοίας ἐχυρώτατον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποίησατο. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ συνέβη τὸν Λούκιον τελευτῆσαι, μενόντων τῇ Λουκίλλῃ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας συμβόλων Πομπηιανῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἐξέδοτο αὐτήν.

[4] οὐδὲν ἤττον μέντοι καὶ ὁ Κόμοδος ἐφύλαττε τὰς τιμὰς τῇ ἀδελφῇ· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου καθῆστο ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, καὶ τὸ πῦρ προεπόμπευεν αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο, Κρισπῖναν ὄνομα, ἀνάγκη τε ἐγένετο τὴν προεδρίαν ἀπονέμεσθαι τῇ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος γυναικί, δυσφόρως τοῦτο φέρουσα ἡ Λουκίλλα, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης τιμὴν ἑαυτῆς ὕβριν νομίζουσα, τὸν μὲν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα Πομπηιανὸν εἰδυῖα ἀγαπῶντα τὸν Κόμοδον, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐπιθέσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνακοινοῦται, Κοδράτου δέ, νεανίσκου εὐγενοῦς τινος καὶ πλουσίου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ λανθανοῦση συνουσία διεβάλλετο, πείραν τῆς γνώμης λαμβάνουσα, περὶ τε τῆς προεδρίας συνεχῶς ἀπωδύρετο, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνέπεισε τὸν νεανίσκον ὀλέθρια βουλευσασθαι αὐτῷ τε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ συγκλήτῳ.

[5] συνωμότας γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν τινὰς τῶν ἐξεχόντων ἀναπειθῆι νεανίσκον τινά, καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα τῆς βουλῆς, Κυντιανὸν ὄνομα, προπετὴ δὲ καὶ θρασύν, λαβόντα ἐγχειρίδιον ὑπὸ κόλπου, καιρὸν φυλάξαντα καὶ τόπον ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπιπεσεῖν τε τῷ Κομόδῳ καὶ φονεῦσαι, τὰ λοιπὰ φήσας αὐτὸς κατορθώσεσθαι [6] χρημάτων ἐπιδόσει. ὁ δ' ὑποστὰς ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου εἰσόδῳ (ζοφώδης δὲ αὕτη, διὸ καὶ λήσεσθαι ἤλπισε), γυμνώσας τὸ ξιφίδιον, ἐπελθὼν τε αἰφνιδίως τῷ Κομόδῳ, καὶ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ προειπὼν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτῷ ἐπιτεπέμφοι, τρῶσαι μὴ φθάσας, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ περὶ τὴν τῶν ῥημάτων προφορὰν ἡσχολεῖτο καὶ τὴν δεῖξιν τοῦ ξίφους, συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως δίκην ἀνοίας ὑπέσχεν, ὃς προεῖπε τὸ βεβουλευμένον μᾶλλον ἢ ἔδρασε, παρέσχε τε αὐτῷ μὲν προγνωσθέντι ἀλῶσαι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ προμαθόντι φυλάξασθαι.

[7] αὕτη μὲν δὴ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη αἰτία τῷ μεираκίῳ μίσους ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν· ἔτρωσέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ λεχθέντα, καὶ κοινούς ἐχθροὺς πάντας ἡγεῖτο, μεμνημένος ἀεὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐπιδραμόντος [8] φωνῆς. ὑπῆρξε δὲ καὶ τῷ Περηνίῳ πρόφασίς τε καὶ ὑπόθεσις αὐτάρκης· ἐκκόπτειν γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ κολοῦειν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, ὧν ἀρπάζων τὰς οὐσίας ῥᾶστα πλουσιώτατος ἐγένετο τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων. γενομένης δ' ἐξετάσεως διὰ τοῦ Περηνίου ἀκριβεστέρας τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν ὁ Κόμοδος διεχρήσατο καὶ πάντας ἀφειδῶς τοὺς τε ὄντας ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' οἰαισδήποτε διαβληθέντας ὑποψίαις.

SECTION 9

[1] ὁ δὲ Περέννιος ἀποσκευασάμενος πάντας, οὓς καὶ ὁ Κόμοδος ἠδεῖτο καὶ ὅσοι πατρῶαν αὐτῷ εὖνοιαν ἐπεδείκνυντο τῆς τε ἐκείνου σωτηρίας προμήθειαν εἶχον, ποιησάμενός τε αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας, ἐπεβούλευε τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ τοῖς τε υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ νεανίαις οὓσιν ἐγχειρίσαι πείθει τὸν Κόμοδον <τὴν> πρόνοιαν τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν στρατευμάτων, αὐτός τε πλεῖστα χρήματα ἡθροίζεν ἐς τὸ ἐπιδόσει λαμπραῖς ἀποστήσαι τὸ στρατιωτικόν. οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ λανθάνοντες συνεκρότουν δύναμιν, ὥς ἂν τοῦ Περεννίου κατεργασαμένου τὸν Κόμοδον ἐπιθοῖντο τῇ ἀρχῇ.

[2] ἐγνώσθη δ' ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ παραδόξῳ τρόπῳ. ἱερὸν ἀγῶνα τελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Διὶ Καπετωλίῳ, θεάματά τε <θυμέλης> καὶ ἰσχύος πάντα ἀθροίζεται ὥς ἐς βασιλίδα πόλιν πανηγυρίζουσιν. θεατῆς δὲ καὶ ἀθλοθέτης σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱερεῦσιν, οὓς ἐκ περιόδων χρόνον ἡ τάξις καλεῖ, ὁ [3] βασιλεὺς γίγνεται. κατελθόντος δὴ τοῦ Κομόδου ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀγωνιστῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν προκαθίσαντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ἔδρᾳ, πληρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας, τῶν τε ἐν ἀξιώσεσιν <ἐν> ἐξαιρέτοις ἔδραις καὶ ὥς ἐκάστοις διετέτακτο ἰδρυμένων, πρὶν τι λέγεσθαι ἢ πράττεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀνὴρ φιλοσόφου φέρων σχῆμα (βάκτρον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ μετὰ χεῖρας, ἡμιγύμνω τε αὐτῷ ἐκκρεμῆς πήρα) εἰσδραμὼν καὶ στὰς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σκηνῇ τῷ τε χειρὸς νεύματι [4] τὸν δῆμον κατασιγάσας οὐ πανηγυρίζειν σοι καιρὸς ἔφη Κόμοδε, νῦν, οὐδὲ θέαις καὶ ἑορταῖς σχολάζειν. ἐπικείται γάρ σου τοῖς αὐχέσι τὸ τοῦ Περεννίου ξίφος, καὶ εἰ μὴ φυλάξῃ κίνδυνον οὐκ ἐπαιωρούμενον ἀλλ' ἤδη παρόντα, λήσεις ἀπολόμενος. αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δύναμιν ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζει, οἳ τε παῖδες αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰλλυρικὴν στρατιὰν ἀναπείθουσιν. εἰ [5] δὲ μὴ φθάσεις, διαφθείρη. ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ὑπὸ τινος δαιμονίου τύχης ἐπειχθέντος, εἴτε καὶ τολμήσαντος ἵνα δόξαν ἄρῃται πρότερον ἄγνωστος καὶ ἄσημος ὢν, εἴτε ἐλπίσαντος ἀμοιβῆς μεγαλοδώρου τεύξεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀφασία τὸν Κόμοδον καταλαμβάνει. καὶ πάντες ὑπώπτευν μὲν τὰ λεχθέντα, πιστεῦειν δὲ οὐ προσεποιοῦντο. κελεύει δὲ αὐτὸν συλληφθῆναι ὁ Περέννιος, οἷά τε μεμνηνότεα καὶ ψευδῇ λέγοντα πυρὶ παραδοθῆναι.

[6] ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀκαίρου παρρησίας τοιαύτην ὑπέσχε δίκην· οἱ μέντοι περὶ τὸν Κόμοδον, ὅσοι τε εὐνοεῖν προσεποιοῦντο, καὶ πάλοι μὲν ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς τὸν Περέννιον διακεῖμενοι (βαρὺς γὰρ καὶ ἀφόρητος ἦν ὑπεροψία καὶ ὕβρις), τότε

«δὲ» καιρὸν εὐκαιρον ἔχοντες, διαβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο, ἐχρῆν τε ἄρα τὸν Κόμοδον τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ τὸν Περέννιον σὺν τοῖς παισὶ διολέσθαι [7] κακῶς. ἦλθον γὰρ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ στρατιῶταί τινες λαθόντες τὸν τοῦ Περεννίου παῖδα, καὶ νομίσματα ἐκόμισαν ἐκτετυπωμένα τὴν ἐκείνου εἰκόνα. λαθόντες δὲ καίτοι ἔπαρχον ὄντα τὸν Περέννιον καὶ δείξαντες τῷ Κομόδῳ τὰ νομίσματα διδάξαντές τε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὰ λανθάνοντα [8] αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔτυχον μεγάλων δωρεῶν· ἀγνοοῦντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Περεννίου μηδὲν τέ τι τοιοῦτον προσδεχομένου νύκτωρ ὁ Κόμοδος πέμψας ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν· καὶ τὴν ταχίστην, ὅπως τὴν τῶν πραττομένων γνῶσιν φθάσωσιν, ἐκπέμπει τοὺς πορευσομένους φήμης ὀξυτέρῳ δρόμῳ ἐπιστῆναί τε δυνησομένους τῷ παιδί τοῦ Περεννίου τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀγνοοῦντι, γράμματά τε φιλικὰ ποιήσας καὶ «ἐπὶ» μείζοσι φήσας καλεῖν ἐλπίσιν αὐτὸν ἥκειν κελεύει.

[9] ὁ δὲ μήτε «τι» τῆς παρασκευῆς πω καὶ τῶν βεβουλευμένων μήτε τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν πατέρα εἰδώς, τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰπόντων ταῦτα καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐντετάλθαι ῥήμασι, μηδὲν δὲ ἐπεσταλκέναι τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀρκούμενον γράμμασι, πιστεύσας ὁ νεανίας, ἀσχάλλων μὲν καὶ δυσφορῶν ὅτι δὴ ἀτελῆ κατέλιπε τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ὅμως δὲ θαρρῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς ἔτι συνεστῶση δυνάμει, [10] ποιεῖται τὴν ἔξοδον. γενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἷς τοῦτο ἐντέταλτο, διεχρήσαντο. τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἐκείνους κατέλαβεν· ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος δύο τοὺς ἐπάρχους καταστήσας ἀσφαλέστερον ᾤκηθη μὴ ἐνὶ πιστεύειν τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀσθενεστέραν ἔσεσθαι ἥλπισε πρὸς τὴν βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν.

SECTION 10

[1] χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διαγενομένου ἑτέρα τις ἐπιβουλὴ τοιαύτη κατ' αὐτοῦ συνεσκεύασθη. Μάτερνος ἦν τις στρατιώτης μὲν πρότερον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δεινὰ τολμήσας, τὴν τε τάξιν λιπὼν καὶ πείσας ἑτέρους ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων συναποδρᾶναι, χεῖρα πολλὴν κακούργων ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἄθροίσας χρόνῳ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κώμαις τε καὶ ἀγροῖς ἐπιτρέχων ἐλήστευεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, μεῖζον τι πλῆθος ἤθροισε κακούργων μεγάλαις τε δωρεῶν ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ τῶν ἀλικομένων κοινωνία, ὥς μηκέτι ληστῶν ἀλλὰ πολεμίων ἔχειν ἀξίωμα.

[2] πόλεσι γὰρ ἤδη μεγίσταις ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς δεσμοτήρια βία ῥηγνύντες, τοὺς ἐφ' οἰαισδὴ καθειρχθέντας αἰτίαις δεσμῶν ἐλευθέρους ἀφιέντες ἄδειάν τε ὑπισχνούμενοι, εὐεργεσίαις ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν προσήγοντο· πᾶσάν τε κατατρέχοντες τὴν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἰβήρων χώραν, πόλεσί τε ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐπιόντες, καὶ μέρη μὲν ἐμπιπράντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ <δι> ἀρπαγῆς ποιούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν.

[3] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐδηλώθη τῷ Κομόδῳ, μετὰ πάσης ὀργῆς τε καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγουμένοις ῥαθυμίαν ἐγκαλῶν καὶ κελεύει στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀθροισθῆναι. μαθόντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι δύναμιν ἀγειρομένην ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν μὲν χωρίων ἃ ἐπόρθουν ἀπέστησαν, λαθόντες δὲ διὰ ταχείας καὶ ἀβάτου ὁδοιπορίας κατ' ὀλίγους ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρεδύοντο, καὶ περὶ βασιλείας ἤδη καὶ μειζόνων πραγμάτων ὁ Μάτερνος ἐβουλεύετο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ προπεπραγμένα πάσης ἐλπίδος μειζόνως ἦν προχωρήσαντα, φήθη δεῖν μέγα τι δράσας κατορθῶσαι, ἢ ἐπεὶ περ ἅπαξ ἐν κινδύνῳ καθεισθίκει, μὴ ἀσήμως [4] μηδ' ἀδόξως τελευτῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ τοσαύτην ὑπάρχειν δύναμιν ἡγεῖτο ὥς ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως ἰσορρόπου καὶ φανερᾶς ἐφόδου συστήναι πρὸς τὸν Κόμοδον (τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἐλογίζετο εὖνουν ἔτι τῷ Κομόδῳ ὑπάρχον, τὴν τε περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν δορυφόρων εὖνοιαν), τέχνη καὶ σοφία ἤλπισε περιέσεσθαι. καὶ μηχανᾶται τοιόνδε τι·

[5] ἦρος ἀρχῇ ἐκάστου ἔτους ὠρισμένης ἡμέρας μητρὶ θεῶν πομπὴν τελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· καὶ πάντα ὅσα παρ' ἐκάστοις πλούτου σύμβολα κειμήλιά τε βασιλέων ὕλης τε ἢ τέχνης θαύματα, τῆς θεοῦ προπομπεύει. ἀνετός τε πᾶσι δέδοται ἐξουσία παντοδαπῆς παιδιᾶς, ἕκαστός τε ὁ βούλεται σχῆμα ὑποκρίνεται· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτως μέγα ἢ ἐξαιρετον ἀξίωμα, ὃ μὴ παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀμφιεσθέντι ὑπάρχει παῖξαι τε καὶ κρύψαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὥς μὴ

ῥαδίως [6] διαγινῶναι τόν τε ὄντα καὶ τὸν μιμούμενον. ἔδοξε δὴ τῷ Μάτερνῳ καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι ἐς τὸ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν λαθεῖν. ἤλπισε γὰρ αὐτός τε ἀναλαβὼν τὸ τῶν δορυφόρων σχῆμα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπλίσας ὁμοίως ἀναμίξας τε τῷ πλήθει τῶν αἰχμοφόρων καὶ τῆς πομπῆς νομισθεὶς μέρος, μηδενὸς [τε] προφυλαττομένου αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσὼν [7] τὸν Κόμοδον διαχρήσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ προδοσίας γενομένης [καὶ] τινῶν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ προκατελθόντων ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κατειπόντων (φθόνος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦτο παρώξυνεν, εἰ δὴ ἔμελλον ἀντὶ ἀρχυλῆστοῦ δεσπότην ἔξειν βασιλέα), πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτός τε ὁ Μάτερνος συλληφθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη, καὶ οἱ συνωμόται ἀξίας ὑπέσχον δίκας. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος θύσας τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ χαριστήρια ὁμολογήσας τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπετέλει, παρέπεμπε τε τὴν θεὸν χαίρων. καὶ σωτήρια τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπανηγύριζεν.

SECTION 11

[1] θρησκεύουσι δὲ μάλιστα τὴν θεὸν τήνδε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης, ὡς ἱστορία παρελήφαμεν, ἧς ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἔδοξε διὰ τὴν παρ' Ἑλλήνων τισὶν ἀγνωσίαν. αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμα διοπετέες εἶναι λέγουσιν, οὔτε δὲ τὴν ὕλην οὔτε τεχνιτῶν ὅστις ἐποίησεν ἐγνωσμένον οὐδὲ ψαυστὸν χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης. τοῦτο δὲ πάλοι μὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθῆναι λόγος ἔς τινα τῆς Φρυγίας χῶρον (Πεσσινοῦς δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν λαβεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐκ τοῦ πεσόντος ἀγάλματος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ) καὶ [2] πρῶτον ἐκεῖσε ὀφθῆναι. ὡς δὲ παρ' ἑτέροις εὖρομεν, Ἰλῶ τῷ Φρυγί καὶ Ταντάλῳ τῷ Λυδῷ πόλεμον ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ μὲν περὶ ὄρων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῆς Γανυμήδους ἀρπαγῆς· ἰσορρόπου δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἐκατέρωθεν πεσεῖν ἰκανοὺς, καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ὄνομα δοῦναι τῷ χωρίῳ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Γανυμήδην ἀρπασθέντα ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι λόγος, ἀνθελκόντων αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἑραστοῦ, ἀφανοῦς δὲ γενομένου τοῦ σώματος ἐκθειαςθῆναι τὸ πάθος τοῦ μειρακίου ἐς μῦθον καὶ τὴν Διὸς ἀρπαγὴν. ἐν δὲ τῷ προειρημένῳ Πεσσινούντι πάλοι μὲν Φρύγες ὠργιάζον ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Γάλλῳ παραρρέοντι, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν φέρουσιν [3] οἱ τῇ θεῷ τομίαι ἱερωμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ηὔξετο τὰ πράγματα, φασὶν αὐτοῖς χρησθῆναι μενεῖν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐς μέγα προχωρήσειν, εἰ τὴν Πεσσινουντίαν θεὸν μεταγάγοιεν ὡς αὐτούς. πέμψαντες δὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Φρύγας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἤτουν· ἔτυχον δὲ ῥαδίως συγγένειαν προβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰνείου τοῦ Φρυγὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς διαδοχὴν καταλέγοντες. κομισθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ γενόμενον ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Θύμβριδος ἐκβολαῖς (ταύταις γὰρ ἀντὶ λιμένων ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) ἔστησε [4] θεία δυνάμει τὸ σκάφος. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ πανδημεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν ναὺν ἐφελκόντων, ἀντεχούσης τῆς ἰλῦος οὐ πρότερον ἢ ναὺς ἀνέδραμε, πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἰέρειαν ἐνεχθῆναι [τῆς] θεοῦ ἥτις [τῆς Ἑστίας] ἦν τοιαύτης, ὥστ' ἔδει παρθενεύεσθαι, αἰτίαν δὲ διαφθορᾶς εἶχεν. μέλλουσα δὲ κριθῆσεσθαι, ἰκετεύει τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ Πεσσινουντίᾳ θεῷ τὴν κρίσιν· καὶ λυσασμένη τὴν ζώνην ἐπαφῆκε τῇ πρῶρᾳ τῆς νεῶς προσευξαμένη, εἰ παρθένος [5] εἴη καὶ ἀγνή, πεισθῆναι τὸ σκάφος. ῥαδίως δὲ τῆς ζώνης ἐξηρητημένη ἢ ναὺς ἠκολούθησεν· ὁμοῦ δὲ τὸ ἐναργὲς τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς παρθένου Ῥωμαῖοι ἐθαύμασαν. τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ «περὶ» τῆς Πεσσινουντίας θεοῦ φιλοτιμότερον ἱστορήσθω, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἔχοντα γῶσιν τοῖς τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ἐκφυγὼν τὴν Ματέρνου ἐπιβουλὴν πλείονί τε περὶ

αὐτὸν ἐχρῆτο φρουρᾷ καὶ σπανίως τοῖς δήμοις ἐπεφαίνετο, τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν
προαστείαις καὶ τοῖς ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως βασιλικοῖς κτήμασιν διατρίβων καὶ
ἐαυτὸν δικαστηρίων ἀπείργων καὶ βασιλικῶν πράξεων.

SECTION 12

[1] συνέβη δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ λοιμώδῃ νόσον κατασχεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν· μάλιστα δὲ τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἤκμασεν ἅτε πυλυνθρώπων τε οὔσῃ φύσει καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ὑποδεχομένη, πολλή τέ τις φθορὰ ἐγένετο [2] ὑποζυγίων ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρώπων. τότε ὁ Κόμοδος συμβουλευσάντων αὐτῶ τινῶν ἱατρῶν ἐς τὴν Λαύρεντον ἀνεχώρησεν· εὐψυχέστερον γὰρ ὄν τὸ χωρίον καὶ μεγίστοις κατάσκιον δαφνηφόροις ἄλσεσιν (ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ) σωτήριον εἶναι ἐδόκει, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος φθορὰν ἀντέχειν ἐλέγετο εὐωδία τε τῆς τῶν δαφνῶν ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῇ τῶν δένδρων ἡδεῖα σκιᾷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν κελευόντων τῶν ἱατρῶν μύρου εὐωδεστάτου τάς τε ὁσφρήσεις καὶ τὰ ὄτα ἐνεπίμπλασαν, θυμιάμασί τε καὶ ἀρώμασι συνεχῶς ἐχρῶντο, φασκόντων τινῶν τὴν εὐωδίαν φθάσασαν ἐμπιπλάναι τοὺς πόρους τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ κωλύειν δέχεσθαι τὸ φθορῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος, ἢ εἰ καὶ τι προεμπέσοι, κατεργάζεσθαι δυνάμει κρείττονι. πλὴν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ νόσος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤκμασε, πολλῆς ἀνθρώπων φθορᾶς γενομένης πάντων τε ζώων <τῶν> τοῖς ἀνθρώπων συνοίκων.

[3] ἐπέσχε δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ καὶ λιμὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. Κλέανδρός τις ἦν, τὸ μὲν γένος Φρύξ, τῶν δημοσίων εἰωθότων ὑπὸ κήρυκι πιπράσκεσθαι. οἰκέτης δὲ βασιλικὸς γενόμενος συναυξηθεὶς τε τῷ Κομόδῳ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας προήχθη, ὥς τὴν τε τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξουσίαν τὴν τε τῶν <βασιλικῶν> στρατιωτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρισθῆναι. ὑπὸ δὲ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς ἀνεπίεσθη καὶ πρὸς βασιλείας [4] ἐπιθυμίαν. ἀθροίζων δὲ χρήματα καὶ πλεῖστον σῖτον συνωνόμενος καὶ ἀποκλείων, ἥλπιζε <ν> ὑπάξεσθαι τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ πρῶτον ἐν σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καταστήσας ἐπιδόσει λαμπραῖς ἀλόντας πόθῳ τοῦ χρειώδους προσαγάγοιτο. μέγιστον δὲ γυμνάσιον κατασκευάσας λουτρὸν δημόσιον ἀνῆκεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ μὲν [5] οὖν οὕτως τὸν δῆμον ἐθελεύαζεν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν δεινῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφέροντες μισοῦντές τε αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀκόρεστον τῆς τοῦ πλούτου ἐπιθυμίας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις συνιστάμενοι κατὰ πλήθη κακῶς ἠγόρευον, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, διάγοντος ἐν προαστείῳ τοῦ Κομόδου, ἐπελθόντες πανδημεὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Κλέανδρον ἐς θάνατον ἤτουν.

[6] ταραχῆς δ' οὔσης περὶ τὸ προάστειον τοῦ τε Κομόδου ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεχωρηκόσι τόποις ἡδοναῖς σχολάζοντος ἀγνοοῦντός τε τὰ θρυλούμενα,

ἐπείπερ ὁ Κλέανδρος ἀγγέλλεσθαι τι τῶν πραττομένων ἐκώλυνεν αὐτῷ, αἰφνιδίως, οὐ προσδοκῶντος τοῦ δήμου, ἐπιφαίνονται ὠπλισμένοι κελεύσαντος τοῦ Κλεάνδρου πάντες οἱ βασιλῆες [7] τοὺς τε ἐντυγχάνοντας ἔβαλλον καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐδ' ἀντιστῆναι οἶός τε ἦν, ἄνοπλοι πρὸς ὠπλισμένους καὶ πεζοὶ πρὸς ἵππεῖς· τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐφθείρετο δὲ ὁ δῆμος οὐ μόνον βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδὲ πατούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ὠθούμενοι καὶ [ὑπὸ τῶν ἱπέων] ἐπ' ἀλλήλους πίπτοντες πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο.

[8] μέχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν τῆς Ῥώμης πυλῶν ἀκωλύτως οἱ ἵππεῖς διώκοντες τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ἀφειδῶς ἀνήρουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει μέιναντες αἰσθόμενοι τὸ κατειληφὸς πάθος, ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν εἰσόδους ἔς τε τὰ δωμάτια ἀναβάντες λίθοις καὶ κεράμοις ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἵππεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἔπασχον ἅπερ δεδράκεσαν, οὐδενὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς συστάδην μαχομένου, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἤδη βάλλοντος αὐτούς, τιτρωσκόμενοι τοίνυν καὶ μὴ φέροντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν διεφθείροντο· [9] ὑπὸ τε τῆς τῶν λίθων συνεχοῦς βολῆς οἱ ἵπποι κυλινδουμένοις τοῖς λίθοις ἐπιβαίνοντες ὠλίσθανον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπεωθοῦντο. πολλῶν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν πιπτόντων ἐπεβοήθουν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως πεζοὶ στρατιῶται μίσει τῶν ἱπέων.

SECTION 13

[1] ὄντος δὲ πολέμου ἐμφυλίου ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀγγεῖλαι τὰ πραττόμενα τῷ Κομόδῳ ἐβούλετο δέει τῆς Κλεάνδρου ἐξουσίας, ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν Κομόδου ἀδελφῶν (Φαδίλλα ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῇ) εἰσδραμοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (ῥαδία δὲ ἡ εἰσοδος αὐτῇ καὶ ἀκώλυτος ἄτε ἀδελφῇ) λυσαμένη τὰς τρίχας ῥίψασά τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑαυτήν, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἡ πένθους σχῆμα δεῖξασα σὺ μὲν ἔφη ὦ [2] βασιλεῦ, μένων ἐπὶ ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν πραττομένων ἀγνοία, <ἐν> ἐσχάτῳ καθέστηκας κινδύνῳ· ἡμεῖς δέ, τὸ σὸν γένος, ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπολούμεθα. οἴχεται δέ σοι ὁ τε δῆμος Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. ἂ δὲ πρὸς μηδενὸς βαρβάρων πείσεσθαι προσεδοκῶμεν, ταῦτα δρῶσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκεῖοι, καὶ οὕς μάλιστα εὐηργέτησας, [3] τούτους ἐχθροὺς ἔχεις. Κλεάνδρος ἐπὶ σὲ τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὥπλισεν· ἐκ δὲ διαφόρου καὶ ἐναντίας γνώμης οἱ μὲν μισοῦντες αὐτόν, [ὁ δῆμος,] οἱ δὲ στέργοντες, [πᾶν τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα,] ἐν ὅπλοις εἰσὶ, καὶ φθείροντες ἀλλήλους ἐμφυλίου αἵματος τὴν πόλιν ἐπλήρωσαν. τὰ δ' ἐκάτερου τοῦ πλήθους δεινὰ ἡμᾶς προσλήπεται, εἰ μὴ τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκδώσεις <τόν> πονηρὸν οἰκέτην, ὀλέθρου τοσούτου τοῖς μὲν αἴτιον ἤδη γεγονότα, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐσόμενον ὅσον οὐδέπω.

[4] τοιαυτά τινα εἰποῦσα ῥηξαμένη τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ τῶν παρόντων τινές (ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ τοῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως λόγοις) τὸν Κόμοδον ἐτάραξαν. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνος τόν τε ἐπικείμενον κίνδυνον οὐ μέλλοντα ἀλλὰ παρόντα ἤδη φοβηθεὶς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Κλεάνδρον, οὐδὲν μὲν τι εἰδότα τῶν ἀπηγγελεμένων, οἰόμενον δέ. ἐλθόντα οὖν αὐτόν συλληφθῆναι κελεύει καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν δόρατί τε ἐπιμήκει ἐγκαταπήξας ἐκπέμπει [5] τερπνὸν καὶ ποθεινὸν τῷ δήμῳ θέαμα. ἔσθῃ γὰρ οὕτως τὸ δεινόν, καὶ ἐκάτεροι πολεμοῦντες ἐπαύσαντο, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ἀνηρημένον ἰδόντες ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐμάχοντο, δέει τε τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς (συνίεσαν γὰρ ἐξηπατῆσθαι καὶ τὰ δρασθέντα παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ τετολμηκέναι), ὁ δὲ δῆμος κεκόρεστο τιμωρίαν παρὰ τοῦ τὰ δεινὰ δράσαντος [6] εἰληφώς. προσανεῖλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Κλεάνδρου (δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἄρρενες αὐτῷ), πάντας τε ὅσους ἤδεσαν ἐκείνῳ φίλους διεχρήσαντο· σύροντές τε τὰ σώματα καὶ πᾶσαν ὕβριν ἐνυβρίσαντες, τέλος λελωθημένα ἐς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς φέροντες ἔρριψαν. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει Κλεάνδρός τε καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν ἐχρήσαντο, φιλοτιμουμένης, ὥς ἂν τις εἴποι, τῆς φύσεως ἐν ἐνὶ δεῖξαι, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἐσχάτης

εὐτελείας ἐς τὸ μέγιστον ὕψος ἄραι καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀρθέντα ῥῖψαι ὀλίγη καὶ ἀνέλπιστος δύναται τύχης ῥοπή.

[7] ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος δεδιὼς μὲν τὴν τοῦ δήμου κίνησιν, μή τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν νεωτερίσειεν, ὅμως δὲ παρορμησάντων αὐτὸν τῶν οἰκείων κατελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ πάσης εὐφημίας τε καὶ παραπομπῆς τοῦ δήμου ὑποδεχθεὶς ἐς τὴν βασιλείον ἐπανῆλθεν αὐλήν. πειραθεὶς δὲ τοσούτων κινδύνων ἀπίστως προσεφέρετο πᾶσιν ἀφειδῶς τε φονεύων καὶ πάσαις διαβολαῖς ῥαδίως πιστεύων μηδέ τινα προσιέμενος τῶν λόγου ἀξίων· ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν περὶ τὰ καλὰ σπουδῆς ἀπῆγεν ἑαυτόν, δεδούλωντο δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπάλληλοι [8] καὶ ἀκόλαστοι σώματος ἡδοναί. καὶ σώφρων μὲν πᾶς καὶ παιδείας κᾶν ἔτι μετρίως μεμνημένος τῆς αὐλῆς ὡς ἐπίβουλος ἐδιώκετο, γελωτοποιοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων ὑποκριταὶ εἶχον αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον. ἀρμάτων τε ἡνιοχείας καὶ θηρίων ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως μάχας ἐπαιδεύετο, τῶν μὲν κολάκων ἐς ἀνδρείας δόξαν αὐτὰ ὑμνούντων, τοῦ δὲ ἀπρεπέστερον μετιόντος ἢ βασιλεῖ σώφρονι ἥρμοζε.

SECTION 14

[1] ἐγένοντο δέ τινες κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ καὶ διοσημεῖαι. ἀστέρες γὰρ ἡμέριοι συνεχῶς ἐβλέποντο ἕτεροί τε ἐς μῆκος κεχαλασμένοι ὥς ἐν μέσῳ ἀέρι κρέμασθαι δοκεῖν· ζῷά τε παντοῖα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν μὴ τηροῦντα σχήμασί τε ἁλλοδαποῖς καὶ μέρεσι σώματος ἀναρμόστοις [2] πολλάκις ἀπεκυήθη. τὸ μέγιστον δὲ δεινόν, ὃ καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἐλύπησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον οἰωνίσματι καὶ φαύλῳ συμβόλῳ χρωμένους πάντας ἐτάραξεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὄμβρου προϋπάρξαντος οὔτε νεφῶν ἀθροισθέντων, σεισμοῦ δὲ ὀλίγου προγενομένου γῆς, εἴτε σκηπτοῦ νύκτωρ κατενεχθέντος, εἴτε καὶ πυρὸς ποθεν ἐκ τοῦ σεισμοῦ διαρρυσθέντος, πᾶν τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος κατεφλέχθη, μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον γενόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔργων.

[3] πλουσιώτατον δὲ ἦν πάντων ἱερῶν, δι' ἀσφάλειαν ἀναθήμασι κεκοσμημένον χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου· ἕκαστος δέ, ᾧ εἶχεν, ἐκεῖσε ἐθησαυρίζετο. ἀλλὰ τὸ πῦρ ἐκείνης νυκτὸς πολλοὺς ἐκ πλουσίων πένητας ἐποίησεν· ὅθεν ὠλοφύροντο κοινῇ μὲν πάντες τὰ δημόσια, ἕκαστος δὲ τὰ ἴδια αὐτοῦ.

[4] καταφλέξαν δὲ τὸ πῦρ τὸν τε νεῶν καὶ πάντα τὸν περίβολον, ἐπενεμήθη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως καὶ κάλλιστα ἔργα· ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νεῶ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς γυμνωθὲν ὥφθη τὸ τῆς Παλλάδος ἄγαλμα, ὃ σέβουσιν τε καὶ κρύπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κομισθὲν ἀπὸ Τροίας, ὡς λόγος· ὃ τότε πρῶτον [καὶ] μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξιν εἶδον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς [5] ἄνθρωποι. ἀρπάσασαι γὰρ τὸ ἄγαλμα αἱ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱέρειαι παρθένοι διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴν μετεκόμισαν. κατεφλέχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως μέρη «καὶ» κάλλιστα, ἱκανῶν τε ἡμερῶν πάντα ἐπιὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐπεβόσκετο, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἢ κατενεχθέντες ὄμβροι ἐπέσχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμήν.

[6] ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ἐξεθειάσθη πιστευόντων κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅτι γνώμη θεῶν καὶ δυνάμει ἥρξατό τε τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐπαύσατο. συνεβάλλοντο δὲ τινες ἐκ τῶν καταλαβόντων, πολέμων σημεῖον εἶναι τὴν τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Εἰρήνης ἀπώλειαν. τὰ γοῦν ἀκολουθήσαντα, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν, ἐκ τῆς ἀποβάσεως τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν φήμην ἐπιστάσαστο.

[7] πολλῶν δὴ καὶ δεινῶν συνεχῶς κατειληφόντων τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος μετ' εὐνοίας τὸν Κόμοδον ἐπέβλεπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίαις τῶν ἁλλεπαλλήλων συμφορῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἀκρίτους φόνους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ

τοῦ βίου ἀνέφερον ἀμαρτήματα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλάνθανε τὰ πραπτόμενα πάντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς λανθάνειν ἤθελεν· ἃ δὲ πράττων οἴκοι διεβάλλετο, ταῦτα καὶ δημοσίᾳ [8] δεῖξαι ἐτόλμησεν· ἐς τοσοῦτόν τε μανίας καὶ παροινίας προὔχωρησεν, ὥς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πατρώαν προσηγορίαν παραιτήσασθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ Κομόδου καὶ Μάρκου υἱοῦ Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διὸς υἱὸν αὐτὸν κελεύσας καλεῖσθαι ἀποδυσάμενός τε τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ βασιλείον σχῆμα λεοντὴν ἐπεστρώννυτο καὶ ρόπαλον μετὰ χεῖρας ἔφερον· ἀμφιέννυτό τε ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσουφεῖς ἐσθῆτας, ὥς εἶναι καταγέλαστον αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σχήματι καὶ θηλειῶν πολυτέλειαν [9] καὶ ἡρώων ἰσχὺν μιμούμενον. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ προῖων ἐφαίνετο, ἥλλαξε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων μηνῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ὅσα μὲν ἀρχαῖα καταλύσας, πάντας δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ προσηγορίαις ὀνομάσας, ὧν αἱ πλεῖσται ἐς Ἡρακλέα δῆθεν ὥς ἀνδρειότατον ἀνεφέροντο. ἔστησε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς συγκλήτου συνεδρίου τόξον διηγκυλημένον· ἐβούλετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῷ φόβον ἀπειλεῖν.

SECTION 15

[1] τὸν μὲν οὖν ἀνδριάντα μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν καθελούσα ἡ σύγκλητος Ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα ἵδρυσεν· ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος μηκέτι κατέχων ἑαυτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θέας ἐπετέλεσεν, ὑποσχόμενος τὰ τε θηρία πάντα ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ κατακτενεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις τῶν νεανιῶν μονομαχήσειν. διαδραμούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης συνέθεον ἔκ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων ἐθνῶν, θεασόμενοι ἅ μὴ πρότερον μήτε ἐωράκεσαν μήτε ἠκηκόεσαν. καὶ γὰρ διηγέλλετο αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ εὖστοχον, καὶ ὅτι ἔμελεν [2] αὐτῷ ἀκοντίζοντι καὶ τοξεύοντι μὴ πταίειν. συνήσαν δὲ παιδεύοντες αὐτὸν Παρθυαίων οἱ τοξικὴν ἀκριβοῦντες καὶ Μαυρουσίων οἱ ἀκοντίζειν ἄριστοι, οὓς πάντας εὐχειρίᾳ ὑπερέβαλλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβον αἱ τῆς θέας ἡμέραι, τὸ μὲν ἀμφιθέατρον πεπλήρωτο, τῷ δὲ Κομόδῳ περιδρομὸς κύκλῳ κατεσκευάστο, ὥς μὴ συστάδην τοῖς θηρίοις μαχόμενος κινδυνεύοι, ἄνωθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀκοντίζων εὖστοχίας μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρείας παρέχοιτο [3] δεῖξιν. ἐλάφους μὲν οὖν καὶ δορκάδας ὅσα τε κερασφόρα πλὴν ταύρων, συνθέων αὐτοῖς καὶ καταδιώκων ἔβαλλε φθάνων τε αὐτῶν τὸν δρόμον καὶ πληγαῖς καιρίοις ἀναιρῶν· λέοντας δὲ καὶ παρδάλεις ὅσα τε ζῶα γενναῖα περιθέων ἄνωθεν κατηκόντιζεν. οὐδὲ τις εἶδεν ἀκόντιον δεύτερον οὐδὲ τραῦμα ἄλλο πλὴν τοῦ θανατηφόρου· [4] ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τοῦ ζώου ὀρμῇ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου ἢ κατὰ καρδίας ἔφερε τὴν πληγὴν, καὶ οὐδέποτε σκοπὸν ἄλλον ἔσχεν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλο μέρος ἤλθε τὸ ἀκόντιον τοῦ σώματος, ὥς μὴ ἅμα τε τρῶσαι καὶ φονεῦσαι. τὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν ζῶα ἠθορίζετο αὐτῷ. τότε γοῦν εἶδομεν ὅσα ἐν γραφαῖς [5] ἐθαυμάζομεν· ἀπὸ τε γὰρ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν, εἴ τι πρότερον ἄγνωστον ἦν, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ τῆς ἀρκτώος γῆς ζῶα πάντα φονεύων Ῥωμαίοις ἔδειξε. τὸ δ' εὖστοχον τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐξεπλήττοντο. λαβὼν οὖν ποτὲ βέλη ὧν αἱ ἀκμαὶ ἦσαν μνηοειδεῖς, ταῖς Μαυρουσίαις στρουθοῖς ὀξύτατα φερομέναις καὶ ποδῶν τάχει καὶ κολπώσει πτερῶν ἐπαφιεῖς τὰ βέλη κατ' ἄκρου τοῦ τραχήλου ἐκαρπτόμει, ὥς καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀφηρημένας ὀρμῇ τοῦ βέλους ἔτι περιθεῖν αὐτὰς ὥς μηδὲν παθούσας.

[6] παρδάλεως δὲ ποτε ὀξύτάτῳ δρόμῳ τὸν ἐκκαλούμενον καταλαβούσης φθάσας τῷ ἀκοντίῳ μέλλουσας δῆξεσθαι, τὴν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν δὲ ἐρρύσατο, φθάσας τῇ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμῇ τὴν τῶν ὀδόντων ἀκμὴν. λεόντων δὲ ποτε ἐξ ὑπογαίων ἐκατὸν ἅμα ἀφεθέντων ἰσαριθμοῖς ἀκοντίοις πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ κειμένων τῶν πτωμάτων δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σχολῆς πάντας

ἀριθμῆσαι καὶ μηδ' ἐν ἰδεῖν περιττὸν ἀκόντιον.

[7] μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων, εἰ καὶ βασιλείας τὰ πραττόμενα ἦν ἀλλότρια, πλὴν ἀνδρείας καὶ εὐστοχίας παρὰ τοῖς δημῳδοῦσιν εἶχε τινα χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ γυμνὸς ἐς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον εἰσῆλθεν ὄπλα τε ἀναλαβὼν ἐμονομάχει, τότε σκυθρωπὸν εἶδεν ὁ δῆμος θέαμα, τὸν εὐγενῆ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα μετὰ τοσαῦτα τρόπαια πατρός τε καὶ προγόνων οὐκ ἐπὶ βαρβάρους ὄπλα λαμβάνοντα στρατιωτικὰ ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ πρέποντα, καθυβρίζοντα δὲ [8] τὸ ἀξίωμα αἰσχίστῳ καὶ μεμιασμένῳ σχήματι. ὁ μὲν οὖν μονομαχῶν ῥαδίως τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν περιεγίνετο καὶ μέχρι τραυμάτων προεχώρει ὑπεικόντων ἀπάντων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα οὐ τὸν μονομάχον ἐννοοῦντων, ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ προεχώρησε μανίας, ὥς μηκέτι βούλεσθαι μηδὲ τὴν βασιλείον οἰκεῖν ἐστίαν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετοικισθῆναι ἐβούλετο ἐς τὸ τῶν μονομάχων καταγώγιον. ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐκέτι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων ἐνδόξου τινὸς [9] προτετελευτηκότος ὀνόματι καλεῖσθαι προσέταξε. τοῦ δὲ μεγίστου ἀγάλματος κολοσσιαίου, ὅπερ σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι εἰκόνα φέρον ἡλίου, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν ἰδρύσατο <τὴν> ἑαυτοῦ, ὑπογράψας τῇ βάσει [οὐχ] ἃς εἰώθασι βασιλικὰς καὶ πατρῶας προσηγορίας, ἀντὶ δὲ Γερμανικοῦ μονομάχους χιλίους νικήσαντος.

SECTION 16

[1] ἔδει δὲ ἄρα ποτὲ κάκεῖνον παύσασθαι μεμνηότα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν τυραννουμένην. νέου μὲν γὰρ ἔτους τῆς εἰσιούσης ἔμελλεν ἡμέρας <.... ἐκείνης γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας> σέβουσι [τε] τὴν ἐορτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς θεὸν ἀρχαιότατον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιχώριον ἀναφέροντες. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Κρόνον ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐκβληθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελθόντα ἐς γῆν γενέσθαι ξένον, δεδιότα δὲ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς δυναστείαν παρ' αὐτῷ κρυπτόμενον λαθεῖν· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα δοθῆναι τῷ χώρῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας Λατίον τε [2] κληθῆναι, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς ἐς τὴν ἐπιχώριον παραχθέν. διὰ ταῦτά τοι καὶ μέχρι νῦν Ἰταλιῶται τὰ μὲν Κρόνια προεορτάζουσι θεῷ τῷ λαθόντι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἱερομηνίαν ἄγουσι τῷ τῆς Ἰταλίας θεῷ. διπρόσωπον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἴδρυται, ἐπειδὴ ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἄρχεται τε καὶ παύεται. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς προσιούσης, ἐν ἣ ῥα μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι δεξιοῦνται τε ἀλλήλους καὶ προσαγορεύουσι νομισμάτων τε ἀντιδόσεις καὶ [3] κοινωνία τῶν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καλῶν εὐφραίνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀρχαί τε ἐπώνυμοι τότε πρῶτον τὴν ἔνδοξον καὶ ἐνιαύσιον πορφύραν περιτίθενται, πάντων ἐορταζόντων ὁ Κόμοδος ἐβούλετο οὐκ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείου, ὡς ἔθος, προελθεῖν οἰκίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ τῶν μονομάχων καταγωγίου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐπαρύφου καὶ βασιλικῆς πορφύρας ὅπλα τε αὐτὸς φέρων καὶ συμπριόντων τῶν λοιπῶν μονομάχων ὀφθῆναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἀνήνεγκε πρὸς Μαρκίαν, ἣν εἶχε τῶν παλλακίδων τιμιωτάτην, καὶ οὐδέν τι ἀπέιχε γαμετῆς γυναικός, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπῆρχεν ὅσα Σεβαστῇ πλήν τοῦ πυρός, [ῥ]α μαθοῦσα τὴν παράλογον οὕτω καὶ ἀπρεπῇ βούλῃσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρῶτα ἐλιπάρει καὶ προσπίπτουσα μετὰ δακρύων ἐδεῖτο μήτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καθυβρίσαι μηθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδόντα μονομάχοις καὶ ἀπεγνωσμένοις ἀνθρώποις κινδυνεύσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ ἰκετεύουσα οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτοῦ, ἥ μὲν δακρύουσα ἀπέστη, ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος μεταπεμψάμενος Λαίτῳ τε τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῶν στρατοπέδων Ἑκλεκτὸν τε τὸν τοῦ θαλάμου προεστῶτα ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ <πάντα> παρασκευασθῆναι ὡς διανυκτερεύσων ἐν τῷ τῶν μονομάχων καταγωγίῳ κάκεῖθεν προελευσόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας τῆς ἱερομηνίας, ὡς Ῥωμαίοις ἔνοπλος ὀφθεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἰκέτευον καὶ πείθιν

SECTION 17

[1] ἐπειρῶντο μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ἀσχάλλων τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ὡς δὴ καθευδήσων (καὶ γὰρ μεσημβρίας εἰώθει τοῦτο ποιεῖν), λαβὼν γραμματεῖον τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐκ φιλύρας ἐς λεπτότητα ἡσκημένων ἐπαλλήλῳ τε ἀνακλάσει ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπτυγμένων γράφει, [2] ὅσους χρή τῆς νυκτὸς φονευθῆναι. ὦν πρώτη μὲν ἦν Μαρκία, εἶποντο δὲ Λαϊτὸς τε καὶ Ἑκλεκτος, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου πρωτευόντων. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἔτι λοιποὺς πατρώους φίλους ἀποσκευάσασθαι πάντας ἤθελεν, αἰδοῦμενος ἔχειν αἰσχυρῶν ἔργων σεμνοὺς ἐπόπτας· τῶν δὲ πλουσίων τὰς οὐσίας χαρίσασθαι ἐβούλετο μερίσαι τε ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς μονομαχοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν ἵνα φυλάττοιεν [3] αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ ἵνα τέρποιεν. γράψας δὴ <τὸ> γραμματεῖον τίθησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος, οἰηθεὶς μηδένα ἐκεῖσε εἰσελεύσεσθαι. ἦν δέ τι παιδίον πάνυ νήπιον, τούτων δὴ τῶν γυμνῶν μὲν ἐσθῆτος χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ λίθοις πολυτίμοις κεκοσμημένων, οἷς ἀεὶ χαίρουσι Ῥωμαίων οἱ τρυφῶντες. ὑπερηγάπα δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος αὐτὸ ὡς συγκαθεύδειν πολλάκις. Φιλοκόμοδός τε ἐκαλεῖτο, δεικνυούσης καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τὴν στοργὴν τὴν ἐς τὸν [4] παῖδα τοῦ βασιλέως. τὸ δὴ παιδίον τοῦτο ἄλλως ἀθύρον, προελθόντος τοῦ Κομόδου ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη λουτρά τε καὶ κραιπάλας, εἰσδραμὸν ἐς τὸν θάλαμον ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος κείμενον ἀνελόμενον, ἵνα δὴ παίζειν ἔχοι, πρόεισι τοῦ οἴκου. κατὰ δὲ τινὰ δαίμονα συνήντητο τῇ Μαρκίᾳ. ἡ δὲ (καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔστεργε τὸ παιδίον) περιπτύξασα καὶ φιλοῦσα <αὐτὸ> τὸ γραμματεῖον ἀφαιρεῖται, δεδοκυῖα δὴ μή τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπὸ νηπιότητος ἀγνοοῦν παῖζον διαφθείρη. γνωρίσασα δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κομόδου χεῖρα, ταύτη καὶ μᾶλλον [5] ἐσπούδαζε διεξελθεῖν τὴν γραφὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εὗρεν αὐτὸ θανατηφόρον καὶ πρὸ πάντων αὐτὴν τε μέλλουσαν τεθνήξασθαι, Λαϊτὸν τε καὶ Ἑκλεκτον ἐπακολουθήσοντας, τῶν τε λοιπῶν τοσοῦτον φόνον, ἀνοιμώξασα καθ' ἑαυτὴν τε εἰποῦσα εὗγε, ὦ Κόμοδε. ταῦτ' ἄρα χαριστήρια εὐνοίας τε καὶ στοργῆς <τῆς ἐμῆς> ὕβρεώς τε καὶ παροινίας τῆς σῆς, ἥς ἐτῶν τοσούτων ἠνεσχόμην. ἀλλ' οὐ [6] καταπρόϊξη αὐτὸς μεθύων νηφούσης γυναικός. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τὸν Ἑκλεκτον μεταπέμπεται. ἔθος δ' εἶχεν αὐτῇ προσιέναι ἅτε τοῦ θαλάμου φύλαξ, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ διεβάλλετο. δοῦσα δὲ τὸ γραμματεῖον ὅρα ἔφη ποῖαν μέλλομεν παννυχίζειν ἑορτήν. ὁ δ' Ἑκλεκτος ἀναγνούς τε καὶ ἐκπλαγείς (ἦν δὲ τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος, τολμησαί τε ἅμα καὶ δρᾶσαι θυμῷ τε

δουλεῦσαι πεφυκώς) κατασημηνάμενος οὖν τὸ γραμματεῖον διὰ τινος τῶν
ἐαυτῷ πιστῶν ἀναγνωσθησόμενον πέμπει [7] τῷ Λαίτῳ. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
ταραχθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Μαρκίαν ὡς δὴ συσκευόμενος αὐτοῖς περὶ ὧν
ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ τῶν μονομάχων καταγωγίου· προσποιησάμενοι
δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ διαφερόντων σκέπτεσθαι συντίθενται φθάσαι τι δράσαντες
ἢ παθεῖν, οὐδὲ καιρὸν [8] εἶναι μελλήσεως ἢ ἀναβολῆς. ἀρέσκει δὴ δοῦναι
φάρμακον δηλητήριον τῷ Κομόδῳ, ὑπέσχετο δ' αὐτὸ ῥᾶστα δώσειν ἢ
Μαρκία. εἰώθει γὰρ αὐτὴ κινᾶναι τε καὶ δίδόναι τὴν πρώτην πόσιν, ὡς ἥδιον
πίοι παρ' ἐρωμένης. ἐλθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἐμβαλοῦσα ἔς τε
κύλικα τὸ φάρμακον οἶνῳ τε κεράσασα εὐδῶδει δίδωσι πιεῖν. ὁ δ' ὡς συνήθη
φιλοτησίαν μετὰ πολλὰ λουτρὰ καὶ γυμνάσια [9] τὰ πρὸς θηρία διψῶν ἔπιεν
ἀναισθητῶς. εὐθέως δὲ κάρως ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔς ὕπνον καθελκόμενος ὑπὸ
καμάτου <τοῦτο> πάσχειν οἰηθεὶς ἀνεπαύσατο. ὁ δὲ Ἑκλεκτος καὶ Μαρκία
πάντας ἀποστῆναι κελεύσαντες ἔς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπιέναι, ἡσυχίαν δὴ
παρεσκεύαζον αὐτῷ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων <καιρῶν> τοῦτο πάσχειν ὁ
Κόμοδος ὑπὸ κραιπάλης· πολλάκις γὰρ λουόμενος καὶ πολλάκις ἐσθίων
οὐδένα καιρὸν εἶχεν ἔς ἀνάπausιν ὠρισμένον, ἀλλεπαλλήλοις καὶ διαφόροις
συνεχόμενος ἡδοναῖς, [10] αἷς δὴ καταλαβούσῃ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἄκων ἐδούλευεν. ἐπ'
ὀλίγον μὲν οὖν ἡσύχασε, περὶ στόμαχον δὲ καὶ κοιλίαν τοῦ φαρμάκου
γενομένου ἱλιγγός τε αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνει ἑμετός τε πολὺς ἐπιγίνεται, ἢ τῆς
προεγκειμένης τροφῆς ἅμα πότῳ πολλῷ ἐξωθούσης τὸ φάρμακον, ἢ διὰ τὸ
προκαταλαμβανόμενον, ὅπερ εἰώθασι βασιλεῖς ἐκάστοτε πρὸ πάσης τροφῆς
λαμβάνειν, κώλυμα δηλητηρίων.

[11] πλὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ γε τοῦ ἐμέτου ὄντος, φοβηθέντες μὴ πᾶν ἐξεμέσας
τὸ φάρμακον ἀνανήψῃ καὶ πάντες ἀπόλωνται, νέον τινὰ ὄνομα Νάρκισσον,
γενναῖόν τε καὶ ἀκμαστήν, πείθουσιν εἰσελθόντα τὸν Κόμοδον ἀποπνίξαι,
μεγάλα δώσειν ἔπαθλα ὑποσχόμενοι. ὁ δ' εἰσδραμὼν παρειμένον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ
τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ μέθης ἀποσφίγξας τὸν τράχηλον φονεύει.

[12] τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τέλει τοῦ βίου ὁ Κόμοδος ἐχρήσατο, βασιλεύσας ἔτη
τρισκαίδεκα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν, εὐγενέστατός τε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
γενομένων βασιλέων, κάλλει τε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων εὐπρεπέστατος
αὐταρκέστατός τε συμμετρία σώματος, εἰ δέ τι δεῖ καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας εἰπεῖν,
οὐδενὸς ἥττων εὐστοχία τε καὶ εὐχειρία, εἰ μὴ τὴν τούτων εὐμορίαν αἰσχροῖς
ἐπιτηδεύμασι κατήσχυεν, ὡς προεῖρηται.

BOOK II.

SECTION 1

Ἀνελόντες δὲ τὸν Κόμοδον οἱ ἐπιβουλευσάντες, ὥς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ συντάγματι τῆς ἱστορίας δεδήλωται, κρύψαι τε τὸ γενόμενον βουλόμενοι, ὥς ἂν τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὴν βασιλείον αὐλήν δορυφόρους λάθοιεν, ἐνειλήσαντες στρωμνῇ τινι εὐτελεῖ τὸ σῶματιον καὶ καταδήσαντες, ἐπιθέντες δὲ δυσὶν οἰκέταις τῶν πιστῶν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐκπέμπουσιν ὥς δὴ τι σκευὸς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου περισπόν.

[2] οἱ δὲ φέροντες διὰ μέσων ἐκφέρουσι τῶν φυλάκων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ μέθης ἐκραιπάλων, οἱ δὲ ἐγρηγορότες κάκεῖνοι ἐς ὕπνον κατεφέροντο κατεχούσαις τε ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ δοράτια ἐπανεπαύοντο, οἱ δ' οὐ πάνυ τὸ ἐκφερόμενον τοῦ θαλάμου, ὅτι ποτ' εἶη, ἐπολυπραγμόνουν, ἐπεὶ μὴδ' αὐτοῖς διέφερε ταῦτ' εἰδέναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτως κλαπὲν ἐκκομισθέν τε τῆς αὐλείου θύρας νύκτωρ ὀχήματι ἐπιθέντες ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἀπέπεμψαν.

[3] ὁ δὲ Λαῖτος καὶ Ἐκλεκτος ἅμα τῇ Μαρκίᾳ τὸ πρακτέον ἐβουλεύοντο. ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ μὲν τοῦ θανάτου φήμην ἐγκατασπείραι, ὅτι δὴ αἰφνιδίως τετελευτήκοι ἀποπληξίας ἐπιπεσούσης· καὶ γὰρ ἐνδεχομένων πίστιν ἔξειν ᾧοντο τὴν φήμην προδιαβεβλημένης τῆς ἀκορέστου καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσης ἐκείνου τρυφῆς. πρῶτον δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέξασθαι ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην τινὰ καὶ σῶφρονα τὸν διαδεζόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅπως αὐτοί τε σωθεῖεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πικρᾶς καὶ ἀκολάστου τυραννίδος πάντες ἀναπνεύσειαν. καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἄναλογιζόμενοι οὐδένα οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον εὑρίσκον ὥς Περτίνακα. ἦν δ' ὁ Περτίναξ [4] τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰταλιώτης, ἐν δὲ πολλαῖς στρατιωτικαῖς τε καὶ πολιτικαῖς εὐδοκιμήσας πράξεις, πολλὰ δὲ κατὰ Γερμανῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολήν βαρβάρων ἐγείρας τρόπαια, μόνος τε περιλειφθεὶς τῶν σεμνῶν πατρῶν τῷ Κομόδῳ φίλων· ὃν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν Μάρκου ἐταίρων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐντιμότατον γενόμενον, ἣ διὰ σεμνότητα αἰδούμενος ἢ ὥς πένητα τηρήσας. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο μέρος τῶν ἐγκωμίων, ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων ἐγχειρισθεὶς πάντων οὐσίαν εἶχεν ἐλάττονα.

[5] πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Περτίνακα νυκτὸς ἀκμαζούσης πάντων τε ὕπνω κατειλημμένων ἀφικνοῦνται ὁ Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἐκλεκτος ὀλίγους τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι. ἐπιστάντες δὲ αὐτοῦ κεκλεισμένης τῆς οἰκίας ταῖς θύραις διεγείρουσι τὸν φυλάσσοντα. ἀνοίξας δὲ ἐκεῖνος καὶ θεασάμενος στρατιώτας ἐφεστῶτας καὶ Λαῖτον, ὃν ἤδει ἔπαρχον ὄντα, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ παραχθὲς «εἰς» ἀγγέλλει. [6] ὁ δὲ ἤκειν αὐτοὺς κελεύει «οὐ» δεινὰ «τὰ»

προσδοκώμενα ἑαυτῷ ἐκάστοτε συμβήσεσθαι φάσκων. ἐν τοσαύτῃ γοῦν αὐτόν φασι μῆναι ψυχῆς ἀταραξία ὥς μηδ' ἀναθορεῖν τοῦ σκίμποδος, μῆναι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τὸν Λαῖτον ἅμα τῷ Ἐκλέκτῳ εἰσελθόντα καίτοι δοκοῦντα ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἥκειν προσειπεῖν τε καὶ θαρροῦντι μηδὲ [7] ὠχριάσαντι τῷ προσώπῳ πάλαι μὲν φάναι καὶ πάσης νυκτὸς τόδε τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου εἶχον δι' ἐλπίδος μόνος τε τῶν πατρῶων ἔτι περιλειπόμενος φίλων ἐθαύμαζον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ Κόμοδον βραδύνοντα. τί δὴ μέλλετε; ὑμεῖς τε γὰρ δράσετε τὸ κεκελευσμένον, ἐγὼ τε πονηρᾶς ἐλπίδος [8] καὶ φόβου συνεχοῦς ἀπαλλάξομαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Λαῖτος οὐ παύσῃ ἔφη ἀνάξια σαντοῦ καὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων σοι λέγων; οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ σῷ ἦδε ἡμῶν ἢ ἄφιζις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ὁ τύραννος δίκην δοὺς τὴν προσήκουσαν, καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς δρᾶσαι διανοεῖτο, ταῦτα [9] πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔπαθεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἥκομέν σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειριοῦντες, ὃν ἴσμεν προύχοντα ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ σωφροσύνη βίου μεγέθει τε ἀξιώματος καὶ ἡλικίας σεμνότητι ποθοῦμένον τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· ὅθεν κάκείνους εὐκταῖον καὶ ἡμῖν σωτήριον τὸ [10] πραπτόμενον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶμεν. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Περτίναξ οὐ παύσεσθε ἔφη χλευάζοντες πρεσβύτην καὶ τοσαύτην μου δειλίαν κατεγνωκότες ὥς πρῶτον ἀπατῆσαι βούλεσθαι, εἴθ' οὕτως φονεῦσαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔφη ὁ Ἐκλεκτός ἐπεὶ λέγουσιν ἡμῖν οὐ πεπίστευκας, λαβὼν τουτὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον (γνωρίζεις δὲ τὴν Κομόδου χεῖρα, οὔσης σοι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἐν συνηθείᾳ) ἀνάγνωθι. οὕτως γὰρ γνώσῃ, τίνα τε κίνδυνον ἐφύγομεν, καὶ ὅτι μὴ σκῆψις ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια πρόσσεσι τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὁ Περτίναξ, πεισθεὶς τε ἀνδράσι καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ φίλοις, πάντα πυθόμενος τὰ πεπραγμένα

SECTION 2

[1] ἐπιδίδωσιν ἑαυτόν. καὶ πρῶτον ἀρέσκει προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ πείραν τῆς γνώμης τῶν στρατιωτῶν λαβεῖν· πείσειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λαῖτος ὑπισχνεῖτο, ἐπεὶ [2] αὐτῷ ἐπάρχω ὄντι μετρίαν ἀπένεμον αἰδῶ. συμπαραλαβόντες οὖν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὅσοι παρήσαν, ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠπείγοντο. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς νυκτὸς προκεχωρήκει καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐνεστώσης πρὸ ἡμέρας πάντα ἐπράττετο. διαπέμπουσι δὲ τινὰς τῶν πιστῶν τοὺς διαβοήσοντας ὅτι ὁ Κόμοδος μὲν τέθνηκε, Περτίναξ δὲ [3] ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον βασιλεύσων ἅπεισι. διαδραμούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐνθουσιῶντι ἑοικῶς ἐξεβακχεύετο διέθεόν τε, καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕκαστος χαίρων ἀπήγγελλε καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐπ' ἀξιώσεως ἢ πλουσίοις· ἐκείνοις γὰρ καὶ «μάλιστα» ἐπιβουλευόντα ἦδεσαν τὸν Κόμοδον. ἔθεόν τε περὶ τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ βωμούς, χάριτας [4] θεοῖς ὁμολογοῦντες. ἐβόων δὲ διάφορα, οἱ μὲν κεῖσθαι τὸν τύραννον λέγοντες, οἱ δὲ τὸν μονομάχον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπρεπέστερα βλασφημοῦντες. καὶ ὅσα πρότερον ἐπεῖχεν ὁ φόβος ῥήματα, ταῦτα προελθούσης ἀδείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ῥαδίως ἐλέγετο. πλεῖστον δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνέθει δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἠπείγοντο δὲ μάλιστα δεδιότες, μή πως ἄρα οἱ στρατιῶναι ὀκνηρότερον ὑπακούσωσι [5] τῇ τοῦ Περτίνακος ἀρχῇ ἐσομένην γὰρ σῶφρονα μὴ πάνυ τι ἀποδέξεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας προσεδόκων τυραννίδι δουλεύειν εἰθесμένους ἀρπαγαῖς τε καὶ βίαις ἐγγεγυμνασμένους. ἴν' οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐκβιάσονται ὑπακούσαι, πανδημεὶ συνῆλθον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ὃ τε Λαῖτος καὶ Ἑκλεκτος εἰσῆλθον ἄγοντες τὸν Περτίνακα· συγκαλέσας «τε» τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Λαῖτος ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[6] Κόμοδος μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τέθνηκεν ἀποπληξία· αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου θανάτου οὐκ ἄλλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ· συμβουλεύουσι γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀεὶ τὰ ἄριστα καὶ σωτήρια [οἷς] μὴ πειθόμενος, βίους δὲ ὥς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὑπὸ πλήθους «τροφῆς» ἀποπνιγείς διεφθάρη. τὸν μὲν οὖν κατέλαβε τέλος τὸ πεπρωμένον. οὐδὲ γὰρ μία οὐδ' ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις θανάτου αἰτία, διάφοροι δὲ οὔσαι ἐς ἓν τέρμα [7] βίου συντελοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἂντ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄγομεν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρα τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν σεμνόν, τὸν δὲ βίον σῶφρονα, ἀρετῆς δὲ τῆς ἐν ἔργοις ἔμπειρον· ὧν οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεων ἐπειράθητε, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχοντα τοσούτων ἐτῶν ἀεὶ διὰ τιμῆς τε καὶ [8] θαύματος

ἔσχετε. δίδωσί τε ἡμῖν ἢ τύχη οὐ βασιλέα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα χρηστόν. εὐφρανεῖ τε ἢ τοῦδε ἀρχὴ οὐχ ὑμᾶς μόνον τοὺς ἐνταῦθα δορυφοροῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἰδρυμένους, οἱ τὴν πείραν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων φέρουσι διὰ μνήμης. τό τε βάρβαρον οὐ χρήμασιν ἔτι θεραπεύσομεν, πείρα δὲ ὧν πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασι στρατηγοῦντος φόβῳ ὑποτάσσονται.

[9] τοιαῦτα δὴ λέγοντος τοῦ Λαίτου μὴ κατασχὼν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ δῆμος μελλόντων καὶ ὀκνούντων ἔτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν Σεβαστόν τε ἀναγορεύει καὶ πατέρα καλεῖ πάσαις τε γεραίρει εὐφημίας. τότε καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οὐχ ὁμοία μὲν προθυμία τῇ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος πλήθους ἀνάγκη (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου περιειλημμένοι ὀλίγοι τε καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὡς ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ) πλὴν συνεξεβόησαν καὶ Σεβαστόν προσεῖπον τὸν Περτίνακα·
[10] ἔς τε τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα τοὺς συνήθεις ὅρκους ὁμόσαντες καὶ θύσαντες, δαφνηφοροῦντες πᾶς ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ἐπειδὴ προσήει καὶ τὸ περίορθρον, ἐς τὴν βασίλειον αὐλὴν ἀνήγαγον τὸν Περτίνακα.

SECTION 3

[1] ὁ δὲ ἐπέιπερ ἰδρύθη ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ἐστία τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς προεῖρηται, νύκτωρ ἀναγαγόντων, φροντίσι μεγίσταις τὴν γνώμην ἐταράττετο· πάνυ τε αὐτόν, καίτοι δοκοῦντα ψύχης εἶναι ἐρρωμένης καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἀνδρεῖον, τὰ παρόντα ἐφόβει, οὐχ οὕτως προνοία τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας (κινδύνων γὰρ καὶ μειζόνων πολλάκις ἦν καταφρονήσας), ἐλογίζετο δὲ τὴν τε αἰφνίδιον τῆς τυραννίδος μεταβολὴν τὴν τε ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ τινων εὐγένειαν, οὕς ὑπώπτευσεν οὐκ ἀνεξομένους μετὰ βασιλέα εὐγενέστατον τὴν ἀρχὴν μεταπεσοῦσαν ἐς ἄνδρα ἐξ ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ ἀσήμου γένους [2] ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντα. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτῷ διὰ σωφροσύνην ἐπηνεῖτο καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς πράξεσιν ἦν εὐκλεής, ἀλλ' ὅσον εὐγενείας χάριν πολὺ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἀπελείπετο. ἡμέρας οὖν καταλαβούσης κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς οὔτε τὸ πῦρ ἐάσας αὐτοῦ προπομπεῦσαι οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν βασιλικῶν συμβόλων ἐς ὕψος ἀρθῆναι πρὶν ἢ μαθεῖν τὴν γνώμην τῆς συγκλήτου [3] βουλῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ ἐπιφανῆναι πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφήμεσαν Σεβαστόν τε καὶ βασιλέα προσηγόρευσαν, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρητεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἐπίφθονον γῆράς τε προῖσχύμενος συγγνώμης ἐδεῖτο εἶναί τε πολλοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἔφασκεν οἷς ἡ βασιλεία μᾶλλον ἀρμόζει· καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς Γλαβρίωνος εἶλκεν αὐτὸν καθίξεσθαι κελεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου [4] θρόνου. ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος εὐγενέστατος μὲν πάντων τῶν εὐπατριδῶν (ἀνέφερε γοῦν ἐς Αἰνεῖαν τὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀγχίσου τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν), ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν τελέσας δεύτερον. ὁ δὲ ἀλλ' αὐτὸς [τε] ἔφη ἐγὼ ὃν σὺ νομίζεις πάντων ἀξιώτατον, σοί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς παραχωρῶ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐπευφημίζομεν σοὶ διδόντες. τότε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐκβιασμένων ἐκλιπαρησάντων τε ὀκνῶν καὶ μόλις ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλείον θρόνον ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[5] τὸ πάνυ δεξιὸν ὑμῶν τῆς πρὸς με τιμῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς σπουδῆς ὑπερβάλλον ἐπίλεκτόν τε ἐς πρόκρισιν τοσαύτης παρ' ὑμῖν εὐγενείας, οὐκ ἔχον κολακείας ὑποψίαν ἀλλὰ δεῖξιν καὶ πίστιν εὐνοίας, ἄλλω μὲν ἂν τῷ θάρσος καὶ προθυμίαν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὸ ἐτοίμως ὑποδέξασθαι τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα ἐλπίδα τε ῥαστώνης ὑπέφηνεν ἂν ὡς εὐμαρῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν διοίσοντι ἐν ἀρχομένοις οὕτως εὐνοοῦσιν· [6] ἐμοὶ δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ ἐξαίρετα τιμῆς τε αἰσθήσει ἐκπλήττει δέος τε καὶ ἀγῶνα οὐ μικρὸν ἐμποιεῖ. μεγάλων γὰρ εὐεργεσιῶν προὑπαρχουσῶν τὸ ἰσότημον δυσέφικτον ἀεὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς, καὶ μικρὰ μὲν

λαβοῦσιν ἀντιδοῦναι μείζω οὐχ οὕτως εὐμαρὲς ὡς εὐχάριστον δοκεῖ, ὀπηνίκα δ' ἂν ὁ πρῶτός τι δράσας ἀγαθὸν ἀνυπέρβλητον καταθῇται χάριν, τὸ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀντιδοθὲν οὐχ οὕτως δυσπόριστον ὡς ἀναίσθητον ἅμα [7] καὶ ἀχάριστον ὀνομάζεται. ὁρῶ δὴ οὐ τὸν τυχόντα μοι ἐπηρτημένον ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὸ ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχεῖν τῆς τοσαύτης παρ' ὑμῶν τιμῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ ἢ προεδρίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις, εἴ τις αὐτὴν μὴ καταισχύνει. ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὡς φαῦλα μισεῖται, τοσούτῳ τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς ἀγαθὰ μεγάλως ἐλπίζεται. καὶ τὰ μὲν δεινὰ τῶν ἔργων αἰὲ μνημονεύεται (τὸ γὰρ λυπήσαν δυσσάπλειπτον), τὰ δὲ χρηστὰ ἅμα τῇ ἀπολαύσει καὶ τὴν [8] περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην συναναλίσκει, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁμοίως εὐφραίνει ἐλευθερία ὡς λυπεῖ δουλεία, οὐδὲ τις ἀδεῶς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων ἐν χάριτος μοίρᾳ τίθεται, τὰ ἴδια καρποῦσθαι νομίζων, ὁ δὲ τῶν οἰκείων στερηθεὶς αἰώνιον ἔχει τὴν μνήμην τοῦ λελυπηκότος. οὐδ' εἴ τις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν χρηστὴ γένοιτο μεταβολή, αὐτὸς τι πλεόν καρποῦσθαι νομίζει, ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν δημωφελοῦς καὶ κοινῇ διαφέροντος ὀλίγη τοῖς καθ' ἓνα φροντίς, τὸ δὲ καθ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος εἰ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην προχωροίη, οὐδέν τι μέγα ὠφελεῖσθαι [9] νομίζει. οἱ τ' εἰθισμένοι ταῖς τῆς τυραννίδος ἀκρίτοις καὶ ἀφειδέσι μεγαλοδωραῖς ἐντρυφᾶν τὴν ἐς τὸ σωφρονέστερον καὶ μεμετρημένον διὰ σπάνιν χρημάτων μεταβολὴν οὐ φειδῶ σῶφρονα οὐδὲ σύμμετρον καὶ κεκριμένην διοίκησιν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀθλιότητα βίου ὀνειδίζουσιν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι τὸ μὲν μέγα καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε χαρίζεσθαι οὐκ ἂν περιγένοιτο, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρπάζειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ λογισμῷ πάντα καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου νέμειν ἄνευ τοῦ δεινόν τι δρᾶσαι, μὴ παρέχον ἄδικον εὐπορίαν χρημάτων, διδάσκει [10] φειδῶ σῶφρονα τῶν καλῶς πορισθέντων. ταῦτα δὴ ὑμᾶς ἐγνωκότας χρὴ συναίρεσθαι καὶ κοινήν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν διοίκησιν νομίζοντας, ἀριστοκρατίαν τε ἀλλ' οὐ τυραννίδα ὑπομενοῦντας αὐτούς τε ἀγαθὰς ἔχειν ἐλπίδας καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖσθαι.

[11] τοιαῦτα ὁ Περτίναξ εἰπὼν ὑπερῆσέ τε τὴν σύγκλητον βουλήν, καὶ πρὸς πάντων εὐφημηθεὶς πάσης τε τιμῆς καὶ αἰδοῦς παρ' αὐτῶν τυχὼν ἔς τε τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ προπεμφθεὶς τάς τε ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας θυσίας τελέσας ἐς τὴν βασιλείον ἐπανῆλθεν αὐλήν.

SECTION 4

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη τῶν τε λεχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον γραφέντων, ὑπερήδοντο πάντες, σεμνὸν καὶ ἡπιον ἄρχοντα καὶ πατέρα, οὐ βασιλέα ἔξιν ἐλπίζοντες. τοὺς τε γὰρ στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε παύσασθαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δημότας ὕβρεως καὶ μήτε πελέκεις φέρειν μετὰ χειρας μήτε παίειν τινὰ τῶν παριόντων, ἔς τε τὸ κόσμιον καὶ εὐτακτον μετάγειν πάντα ἐπειρᾶτο, ἔν τε ταῖς προόδοις καὶ τοῖς [2] δικαστηρίοις πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον ἦθος ἐπεδείκνυτο. καὶ τῆς Μάρκου ἀρχῆς ζήλω τε καὶ μιμήσει τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους ὑπομιμνήσκων εὐφραине, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πάντας ἐξ ὧμης καὶ ἐφρυβρίστου τυραννίδος ἐς σῶφρονα καὶ ἀμέριμνον βίον μεταχθέντας ῥᾶστα ἐς εὐνοίαν ὤκειώσατο. τῆς τε ἡμέρου ἀρχῆς ἡ φήμη διαθέουσα πάντα ἔθνη, ὅσα τε Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα καὶ ὅσα φίλα, καὶ πάντα [3] στρατόπεδα, ἐκθειάζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔπειθεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅσοι πρότερον ἀφηνίαζον ἢ ἐστασίαζον, φόβῳ τε καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις αὐτοῦ στρατείαις ἀρετῆς, πίστει τε γνώμῃς ὅτι μηδένα ἐκὼν ἀδικήσει ποτὲ ἐκάστῳ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονέμων, χάριτος ἀπρεποῦς καὶ βίας ὧμης ἀλλότριοις, ἐκόντες αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. πρεσβεῖαι τε πανταχόθεν ἀφικνουῦντο συνηδομένων ἀπάντων τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Περτίνακι ἀρχῇ.

[4] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῷ εὐτάκτῳ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔχαιρον. ὁ δὲ πάντας εὐφραине, τοῦτο μόνους ἐλύπει τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας, οἱ δορυφορεῖν εἰώθασι τοὺς βασιλέας. κωλυόμενοι γὰρ ἀρπάζειν τε καὶ ὑβρίζειν ἔς τε τὸ εὐτακτον καὶ κόσμιον ἀνακαλούμενοι, τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον τῆς ἀρχῆς ὕβριν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀτιμίαν καθαίρεισιν τε τῆς ἀνέτου ἐξουσίας νομίζοντες τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἔφερον εὐταξίαν.

[5] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγον ὀκνηροὺς τε καὶ ἀπειθεῖς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κελευομένοις παρῆχον. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, οὐδ' ὅλων μηνῶν δύο τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκυίας, ἐπιδειξαμένου τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλὰ σῶφρονα καὶ χρηστὰ ἔργα ἐλπιδῶν τε ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑποφαινομένων ἐβάσκηνε πάντα καὶ ἀνέτρεψε πονηρὰ τύχη ἐκώλυσέ τε θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἐπωφελῇ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἔργα ἐς τέλος ἀχθῆναι.

[6] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πᾶσαν τὴν κατ' Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀγεώργητόν τε καὶ παντάπασιν οὕσαν ἀργὸν ἐπέτρεψεν, ὁπόσῃν τις βούλεται καὶ δύναται, εἰ καὶ βασιλέως κτῆμα εἴη, καταλαμβάνειν, ἐπιμεληθέντι τε καὶ

γεωργήσαντι δεσπότη εἶναι. ἔδωκέ τε γεωργοῦσιν ἀτέλειαν πάντων ἐς δέκα ἔτη καὶ διὰ παντὸς δεσποτείας [7] ἀμεριμνίαν. τοῖς τε βασιλικοῖς κτήμασιν ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοῦ τοῦνομα ἐπιγράφεσθαι, εἰπὼν αὐτὰ οὐκ ἴδια τοῦ βασιλεύοντος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ καὶ δημόσια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τέλη τε πάντα <τὰ> πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐς εὐπορίαν χρημάτων ἐπινοηθέντα ἐπὶ τε ὄχθαις ποταμῶν καὶ λιμέσι πόλεων ἔν τε ὁδῶν πορείαις καταλύσας [8] ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν. ἐμέλλησε δ' ἂν ἔτι καὶ πλείονα, ὥς γε τὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐνεδείκνυτο, εὐεργετήσιν τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας τῆς πόλεως ἦν διώξας καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν κολασθῆναι κελεύσας, τοῦ μηδένα ἐπηρεάζεσθαι μηδὲ ματαίοις ἐγκλήμασι περιπίπτειν προνοούμενος. ἐν ἀδείᾳ τε καὶ μακαρίῳ βίῳ ἢ τε σύγκλητος μάλιστα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες βιώσεσθαι [9] προσεδόκων. οὕτω γὰρ μέτριος καὶ ἰσότιμος ἦν ὡς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἤδη μειράκιον ὄντα μηδὲ ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλὴν ἀναγαγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τῇ πατρῴᾳ μένειν οἰκίᾳ, καὶ ἐς τὰ συνήθη προϊόντα διδασκαλεῖα καὶ γυμνάσια ιδιωτεύοντα ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς παιδεύεσθαι τε καὶ πάντα πράττειν, οὐδαμοῦ τῦφον ἢ πομπὴν παρεχόμενον βασιλικήν.

SECTION 5

[1] τοιαύτης δὲ εὐμοιρίας καὶ εὐταξίας κατεχούσης τὸν βίον μόνοι οἱ δορυφόροι, ἀσχάλλοντες μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι, ποθοῦντες δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς προγεγενημένης τυραννίδος ἀρπαγὰς τε καὶ βίας ἔν τε ἀσωτίαις καὶ κραιπάλαις <διαγωγάς>, ἐβουλεύσαντο ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὸν Περτίνακα, ὡς ὄντα αὐτοῖς βαρὺν καὶ ἐπαχθῆ, ζητῆσαι δὲ τινα τὸν πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἄνετον καὶ ἀκόλαστον παρέξοντα ἐξουσίαν.

[2] αἰφνιδίως τοίνυν, οὐδενὸς προσδοκῶντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διατριβόντων, θυμῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ ὀρμῇ <ἐκ> τοῦ στρατοπέδου δρόμῳ φερόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἡμέρας ἀκμαζούσης ἐπεισῆλθον τοῖς βασιλείοις τὰ τε δόρατα [3] διατεινόμενοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι. τῷ δὲ παραδόξῳ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀνελπίστῳ οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ὑπηρεσία ταραχθέντες, ὀλίγοι τε πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ ἄνοπλοι πρὸς ὀπλισμένους, οὐκ ἔμενον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἦν ἐγκεχείριστο φρουρὰν λιπὼν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείῳ ἢ ἐπὶ ταῖς λουπαῖς εἰσόδοις ἔφευγον. ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες τῶν εὐνοούντων διαγγειλάντες τῷ Περτίνακι τὴν ἔφοδον συνεβούλευον φυγεῖν [4] τῇ τε τοῦ δήμου βοηθείᾳ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι, ὃ δὲ [καὶ] τοῖς συμβουλευουσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὠφέλιμα μὴ πεισθεῖς, ἀπρεπῇ δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερα βασιλείας τε ἀνάξια καὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων αὐτῷ καὶ προπεπραγμένων νομίσας, φεύγειν μὲν ἢ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ὁμόσε δὲ χωρήσας τῷ πράγματι προῆλθεν ὡς διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς ἐλπίσας πείσειν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ παύσειν τῆς ἀλόγου [5] ὀρμῆς. καὶ δὴ τοῦ δωματίου προελθὼν, ὑπαντῶμενος αὐτοῖς πυνθάνεσθαι τε ἐπειράτο τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ὀρμῆς πείθειν τε ἐπεχείρει μὴ ἐνθουσιᾶν, μένων καὶ τότε ἐν σώφρονι καὶ σεμνῷ σχήματι καὶ τηρῶν τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξίωμα, οὐδέν τι κατεπτηχότος οὐδὲ ἀποδειλιῶντος καὶ ἱκετεύοντος σχῆμα ἐνδεικνύμενος.

[6] τὸ μὲν ἐμέ ἔφη πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι οὐδέν τι μέγα ἢ βαρὺ πρεσβύτῃ ἐς μακρὸν γῆρας ἐνδόξως ἐλάσαντι. παντὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων βίῃ ἀνάγκη τέλος ἐπιτεθῆναι· τὸ δὲ ὑμᾶς φύλακας καὶ φρουροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν κινδύνους ἀπείργοντας αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι φονεῖς καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐμφυλῖα ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείῳ μιᾶναι τὰς δεξιὰς αἵματι, ὁρᾶτε, μὴ πρὸς τὸ νῦν ἀνόσιον καὶ ὕστερον ὑμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον ᾗ.

[7] οὐ γάρ τι ἑμαυτῷ σύνοιδα λυπήσαντι ὑμᾶς. εἰ δὲ [καὶ] ἐπὶ τῇ Κομόδου τελευτῇ δυσχεραίνετε, οὐδὲν παράδοξον, ἄνθρωπον ὄντα εἰ τελευτῇ κατέλαβεν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς οἶσθε γεγενῆσθαι, οὐκ ἐμὸν τὸ

ἀμάρτημα· ἵστε γὰρ ἔξω πάσης ὄντα <με> ὑποψίας καὶ οὐδὲν <ἦττον> ὑμῶν ἀγνοοῦντα τὰ τότε πεπραγμένα, ὥς εἴ τι [8] ὑποπτεύετε, ἑτέροις ἐπιφέρειν τὸ ἔγκλημα. ἀλλ' ὅμως κἀκεῖνου τελευτήσαντος οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν εὐπρεπῶς καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι με ἢ ἀρπάζειν <δοθῆναι δυναμένων> ἐνδείξει.

τοιαῦτά τινα λέγειν αὐτοῖς πειρώμενος ἤδη τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ πείσειν ἔμελλε, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι γε ἀποστραφέντες ἀνεχώρουν σεμνοῦ βασιλέως γῆρας αἰδούμενοι· ἔτι δὲ λαλοῦντα τὸν πρεσβύτην <οἱ θρασύτεροι> ἐπιπεσόντες φονεύουσι. [9] δράσαντες τε οὕτως ὦμὸν ἔργον, δέει τῶν τετολμημένων φθάσαι θέλοντες τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἔφοδον ἐπισταμενοί τε, ὅτι χαλεπῶς ὁ δῆμος διοίσει τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον δρόμῳ ἀναχωρήσαντες πάσας πύλας τε καὶ εἰσόδους ἀποκλείσαντες ἐντὸς τείχους ἔμενον φρουρὰς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καταστήσαντες, ὥς ἀμύνοντο, εἰ τῷ τείχει προσβάλλοι ὁ δῆμος. τέλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε τὸν Περτίνακα χρησάμενον βίῃ καὶ προαιρέσει ὥς προεῖρηται.

SECTION 6

[1] ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσις, ταραχὴ τε καὶ πένθος πάντας κατεῖχε διέθρονόν τε ἐνθουσιῶσιν ἐοικότες κίνησιν τε ἄλλοις κατεῖχε τὸν δῆμον ζητούντων τοὺς δράσαντας, μήτε δὲ εὐρεῖν μήτε [2] ἀμύνασθαι δυναμένων. μάλιστα τε δεινῶς ἔφερον τὸ πεπραγμένον καὶ συμφορὰν κοινὴν ἐποιοῦντο οἱ τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν νέμοντες πατέρα τε ἥπιον καὶ χρηστὸν προστάτην ἀποβαλόντες. πάλιν τε τυραννίδος ἦν δέος, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ χαίρειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤλπιζον.

[3] μιᾷς δὲ πού καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας διαδραμούσης οἱ μὲν δημόται ἕκαστος τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν δεδιὼς ὑπανεχώρει οἱ τε ἐν ἀξιώσεσιν ὄντες ἐς τὰ πορρωτάτω τῆς πόλεως κτήματα ἀπεδίδρασκον, ὥς ἂν μή τι δεινὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐσομένης [4] ἀρχῆς παρόντες πάθοιεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπεὶ τὸν τε δῆμον ἡσυχάζοντα ἔγνωσαν μήτε τινὰ τολμῶντα ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως αἵματι, ἔμενον μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατακλείσαντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἀναγαγόντες δὲ τοὺς εὐφωνοτάτους ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος προεκήρυττον ὄνιον τὴν βασιλείαν, τῷ τε πλέον ἄργύριον δώσονται ἐγχειριεῖν ὑπισχνοῦντο τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν [5] ἀδεῶς ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κήρυγμα διεφοίτησεν, οἱ μὲν σεμνότεροί τε καὶ εὐσταθέστεροι τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὅσοι τε εὐπατρίδαι ἢ ἔτι πλούσιοι, λείψανα ὀλίγα τῆς Κομόδου τυραννίδος, οὔτε προσῆλθον τῷ τείχει οὔτε ἀπρεπῆ καὶ ἐπονείδιστον χρήμασι κτήσασθαι [6] τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠθέλησαν. Ἰουλιανῷ δὲ τινι, ἥδη μὲν τὴν ὑπατον τετελεκότι ἀρχήν, δοκοῦντι δὲ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ χρημάτων εἶναι, ἐστιωμένῳ [δὴ] περὶ δέϊλιν ἐσπέραν διηγγέλη τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κήρυγμα παρὰ μέθην καὶ κραιπάλην· ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ βίῳ μὴ σώφροσι διαβεβλημένων.

[7] πείθουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν ἢ τε γυνὴ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ τό τε τῶν παρασίτων πλῆθος ἀναθορόντα τοῦ σκίμποδος δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα μαθεῖν, παρὰ [τε] πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν συμβουλευόντες ἐρριμμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπάσαι, ἀφειδῶς δὲ χρημάτων ἔχοντα μεγαλοδορίᾳ [8] ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλὲν, εἰ καὶ τινες ἀμφισβητοῖεν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τῷ τείχει προσῆλθεν, ἐβόα [τε] πάντα δώσειν ὅσα βούλονται ὑπισχνούμενος, παρεῖναι τε αὐτῷ ἀμπλειαστὰ χρήματα καὶ θησαυροὺς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεπληρωμένους ἔλεγε. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Σουλπικιανός, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ τῶν ὑπατευκότων, ἑπαρχός τε τῆς πόλεως γενόμενος (πατὴρ δὲ ἦν τῆς Περτίνακος γυναικός), [9] ἦκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠνούμενος. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὐ προσήκαντο φοβηθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν

πρὸς τὸν Περτίνακα συγγένειαν, μή τις ἄρα δόλος εἴη ἐς τὸ ἐκδικηθῆναι τὸν ἐκείνου φόνον· καθέντες δὲ κλίμακα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεβίβασαν. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας ἤθελον πρὶν ἢ τὴν ποσότητα μαθεῖν [10] τῶν δοθησομένων χρημάτων. ὁ δ' ἀνελθὼν τὴν τε Κομμόδου μνήμην αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἃς ἡ σύγκλητος καθεῖλεν, ἀνανεώσεσθαι ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πάντων δώσειν ἐξουσίαν ὧν εἶχον ἐπ' ἐκείνου, ἐκάστῳ τε στρατιῳτῇ τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον ὅσον μῆτε αἰτῆσαι μῆτε λήψεσθαι προσεδόκησαν· τὰ δὲ χρήματα μὴ μελλήσειν, [11] ἀλλ' οἴκοθεν ἤδη μεταπέμψεσθαι. τούτοις ἀναπεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ταύταις ἀρθέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν αὐτοκράτορά τε τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναγορεύουσι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ οἰκείῳ καὶ ἐκ γένους ὀνόματι Κόμοδον ἀξιούσιν ἀποκαλεῖσθαι. τὰ τε σημεῖα ἄραντες, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου εἰκόνας [12] ἀποκαταστήσαντες, προπέμπειν ἐπειρῶντο. θύσας δὲ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς τὰς νενομισμένας καὶ βασιλείους ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θυσίας, προήγετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν πλέον τι τῆς συνηθείας δορυφορούμενος· ἅτε γὰρ βία καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τε αἰσχυρὰς καὶ ἀπρεποῦς διαβολῆς ὦνησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰκότως ἐδεδίει τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐναντιωσόμενον.

[13] ἀναλαβόντες οὖν τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ φράζαντες αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται ἐς φάλαγγος σχῆμα ὡς, εἰ δέοι, καὶ πολεμήσοντες, ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωροῦντες τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, μὴ που καὶ λίθων τις βολὴ ἀπὸ τῶν δωμάτων ἐπὶ τῇ πομπῇ γένοιτο, ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, μηδενὸς τῶν δημοτῶν μῆτε ἀντιστῆναι τολμῶντος μῆτε μὴν εὐφημοῦντος ὥσπερ εἰώθασι προπέμπειν τοὺς βασιλέας· τοῦναντίον δὲ καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐστῶτες ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ κακῶς ἠγόρευον ἅτε χρημάτων ἀντικαταλλαζόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν.

[14] τότε δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ὑποδιεφθάρη τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἦθη, καὶ χρημάτων ἐδιδάχθησαν ἅπληστον καὶ αἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν καταφρόνησίν τε τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας αἰδοῦς. τὸ γὰρ μῆτε τοῖς οὕτως ὠμῶς τετολμημένοις ἐν φόνῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐπεξέναι τινά, μῆτε τὴν οὕτως ἀπρεπῶς ἐπὶ χρήμασι κηρυχθεῖσαν καὶ πραθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸν κωλύοντα, ἀρχηγὸν καὶ αἴτιον ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ἀπειθοῦς καταστάσεως καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐγένετο, αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλοχρηματίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταφρονήσεως καὶ μέχρις αἵματος αὐξηθείσης.

SECTION 7

[1] ὁ δ' οὖν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπεὶ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, τρυφαῖς εὐθέως καὶ κραιπάλαις ἐσχόλαξε, τῇ μὲν τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιμελείᾳ ῥαθύμως προσφερόμενος, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀβροδίαiton καὶ ἄσεμνον ἐπιδιδούς ἑαυτόν. εὐρίσκετό τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ψευδόμενος καὶ ἀπατήσας τῷ μὴ [2] δύνασθαι ἀποπληρῶσαι ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ οἰκοθεν ἦν αὐτῷ τοσαῦτα χρήματα ὅσα ἡλαζονεύσατο, οὔτε μὴν οἱ δημόσιοι τι θησαυροὶ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ πάντα προκεκένωτο τῇ Κομόδου ἀσωτία καὶ ἀφειδέσι καὶ ἀκρίτοις ἀναλώμασιν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς τόλμης καὶ τῆς αἰτίας οἱ τε στρατιῶται σφαλέντες τῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπηγανάκτουν, ὃ τε δῆμος αἰσθόμενος τῆς γνώμης τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶχον «αὐτὸν» ἐν καταφρονήσει, ὡς προϊόντα τε κακῶς ἀγορεύειν, ἐπ' αἰσχυραῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιβόλοις ἡδοναῖς σκώπτειν.

[3] ἔς τε τὸν ἱππόδρομον, ὅπου μάλιστα τὸ πλῆθος συνιὼν ἐκκλησιάζει, τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐβλασφήμουν, ἀρωγὸν δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ σεμνῆς βασιλείας προστάτην Νίγρον ἐπεκαλοῦντο, βοηθεῖν τε αὐτὸν τὴν ταχίστην ἡξίουσαν ὡς ἐφύβριστα πάσχουσιν.

[4] ἦν δ' ὁ Νίγρος τῶν μὲν πρὸ πολλοῦ ὑπατευσάντων, καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν τὰ προειρημένα ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπράττετο, Συρίας ἡγεῖτο πάσης. πολλὴ δὲ ἦν καὶ μεγίστη ἀρχὴ τότε, τοῦ τε Φοινίκων ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ τῆς μέχρις [5] Εὐφράτου γῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Νίγρου ὄντων ἐξουσία. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ἤδη μετρίως προβεβηκώς, εὐδοκιμήσας δὲ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις πράξεσι. φήμη τε περὶ αὐτοῦ διεφοίτα ὡς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ δεξιῶς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Περτίνακος βίον ζηλοῦντος· ὅφ' ὧν μάλιστα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπείθοντο. ἐκάλουν τε αὐτὸν συνεχῶς «ἐν» ταῖς τοῦ δήμου συνόδοις, καὶ βλασφημοῦντες τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν παρόντα ἐκείνον βασιλικαῖς φωναῖς εὐφήμουν ἀπόντα.

[6] διαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων γνώμης καὶ τῆς ἐπαλλήλου ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις βοῆς, εἰκότως ὁ Νίγρος ἀναπεισθείς, ῥᾶστά τε αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ὑπακούσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιωτῶν ἀμελεῖσθαι διότι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις οὐκ ἐπλήρου τῶν χρημάτων, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καταφρονεῖσθαι ὡς ἀνάξιον ἥς ἐώνητο ἀρχῆς, ἐπιδίδωσιν [7] αὐτὸν τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγους ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ χιλιάρχους τοὺς τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέχοντας οἰκαδε μεταπεμπόμενος διελέγετο καὶ ἀνέπειθε, τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης δηλούμενα φανερά ποιῶν, ὡς ἂν διαθέουσα ἡ φήμη ἔκπυστα καὶ γνώριμα ποιῇ τοῖς τε

στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀνθρώποις· [8] οὕτω γὰρ ῥᾶστα ἤλπιζε πάντας αὐτῷ προσχωρήσειν, πυνθανομένους ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς μνᾶται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ καλούμενος καὶ βοηθήσων ἅπεισι Ῥωμαίοις δεομένοις. ἀνεπτόηντο δὲ πάντες καὶ μηδὲν μελλήσαντες προσέκειντο, ἐκλιπαροῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι [9] τῶν πραγμάτων. φύσει δὲ κοῦφον τὸ Σύρων ἔθνος, ἐς καινοτομίαν τε τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐπιτήδειον. ἐνῆν δέ τις αὐτοῖς καὶ πόθος τοῦ Νίγρου, ἡπίως τε ἄρχοντος «ἐν» ἅπασι, τὰ πλεῖστά τε αὐτοῖς συμπανηγυρίζοντος. φιλέορτοι δὲ φύσει Σύροι· ὧν μάλιστα οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατοικοῦντες, μεγίστην πόλιν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, σχεδὸν παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐορτάζουσιν ἔν [10] τε τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ τὰ προάστεια. θέας τοίνυν αὐτοῖς συνεχῶς ἐπιτελῶν ὁ Νίγρος, περὶ ᾧς μάλιστα ἐσπουδάκασι, καὶ διδοὺς ἄνεσιν ἐς τὸ ἐορτάζειν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι, ἅτε ποιῶν κεχαρισμένα, εἰκότως ἐτιμᾶτο.

SECTION 8

[1] ἄπερ εἰδώς, καλέσας τοὺς τε πανταχόθεν στρατιώτας ἐς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ πλήθους συνελθόντος, βήματος αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντος ἔλεξε τοιάδε ἀνελθών·

[2] τῆς μὲν ἐμῆς γνώμης τὸ πρᾶον καὶ πρὸς τὰ μεγάλα τῶν τετολμημένων εὐλαβὲς ἴσως ἐστὶν ὑμῖν πάλαι γνώριμον· οὐδ' ἂν νῦν ἐς ὑμᾶς παρῆλθον ταῦτα δημηγορήσων, εἰ ἐκ μόνης προαιρέσεως ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλόγου ἐλπίδος ἢ μείζονος [ἐλπίδος] ἐπιθυμία ἀνεπειθόμην. ἀλλ' ἐμὲ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ συνεχῶς βοῶντες ἐπείγουσιν ὀρέξαι τε χεῖρα σωτήριον καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἔνδοξον καὶ ἐνάρετον ἀπὸ προγόνων ἄνωθεν ἀρχὴν μὴ περιδεῖν [3] αἰσχροῦς ἐρριμμένην. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐπιτολμᾶν οὐκ οὔσης εὐλόγου προφάσεως προπετὲς καὶ θρασύ, οὕτως καὶ τὸ πρὸς καλοῦντας καὶ δεομένους ὀκνηρὸν ἀνανδρίας ἅμα καὶ προδοσίας φέρει διαβολήν. διὸ παρῆλθον πεισόμενος ὑμῶν τίνα γνώμην ἔχοιτε καὶ <τί> πρακτέον ἡγοῖσθε, συμβούλους τε ὑμῖν καὶ κοινωνοὺς χρησόμενος περὶ τῶν καθεστώτων· τὸ γὰρ ἀποβησόμενον εἰ εὐτυχηθεῖ, κοινὴν ἐμοί τε καὶ ὑμῖν τὴν [4] ἀπόλαυσιν παρέξει. οὐ φαῦλαι δὲ οὐδὲ κοῦφαι καλοῦσιν ἐλπίδες, ἀλλ' ὃ τε Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὃ τὴν δεσποτείαν τῶν ἀπάντων ἔνειμαν θεοὶ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἣ τε ἀρχὴ σαλεύουσα καὶ παρὰ μηδενὶ πῶ βεβαίως ἰδρυμένη. ὅθεν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀσφαλές, ἔκ τε τῆς τῶν καλούντων γνώμης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδένα εἶναι τὸν ἀνθεστῶτα [5] μηδὲ κωλύοντα, ὑπάρξει· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τὰ ἐκεῖθεν ἀγγέλλοντές φασι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ χρημάτων ἀπέδοντο, πιστοὺς εἶναι [φρουροὺς] ὑπηρέτας, μηδὲ πληρώσαντος ἐκείνου ἃ ὑπέσχετο. τίνα τοίνυν ἔχετε γνώμην, δηλώσατε.

[6] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, εὐθέως τὸ στρατιωτικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ συνειλεγμένον πλῆθος αὐτοκράτορά τε ἀνείπε καὶ σεβαστὸν προσηγόρευσε· τὴν τε βασιλείον πορφύραν ἐπιβαλόντες, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς σεβασμίου τιμῆς ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου παρασκευῆς ἀθροίσαντες, καὶ προπομπεύοντος τοῦ πυρός, ἔς τε τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὸν Νίγρον ἄγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν καθιστᾶσιν, οὐκέτι αὐτὴν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλείον αὐλὴν νομίζοντες, πᾶσι κοσμήσαντες ἔξωθεν βασιλικοῖς συμβόλοις.

[7] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ ὁ Νίγρος πάνυ τὴν ψυχὴν ηὐφραίνετο, ὥχυρῶσθαί τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡγεῖτο διὰ τε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὥς γὰρ διυπταμένη ἡ φήμη πάντα ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνη ὅσα

τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἡπειρον τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικεῖ, οὐδεὶς τε ἦν ὅστις οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐς τὸ ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ ἠπείγετο, πρεσβεῖαί τε ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν [8] ὥς πρὸς βασιλέα ὁμολογούμενον ἐστέλλοντο. οἱ τ' ἐπέκεινα Τίγριδος καὶ Εὐφράτου σατράπαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπέστελλον συνηδόμενοι αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ δέοιτο, βοηθείας ὑπισχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ δώροις τε αὐτοὺς μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἡμεῖβετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι χάριν γινώσκων ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖσθαι συμμάχων· τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαίως ὠχυρῶσθαι, ἀναιμωτί τε ἄρξαι.

[9] ταύταις ἐπαιρόμενος ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὑπτίαζε τε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίατον ἀνειμένος τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσι συνευφραίνετο, ἑορταῖς [τε] καὶ θεαῖς ἐπιδιδούς ἑαυτόν. τῆς τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφόδου, [10] ἐφ' ἣν μάλιστα ἐχρῆν σπεύδειν, ἡμέλει. τοῖς τε Ἰλλυρικοῖς στρατεύμασι δέον ἐπιφοιτῆσαι τὴν ταχίστην καὶ φθάσαι οἰκειωσάμενον αὐτά, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν πραττομένων τι αὐτοῖς ἐδήλου, ἐλπίζων τοὺς ἐκεῖ στρατιώτας, εἴ ποτε καὶ μάθοιεν, ὁμογνώμονας ἔσεσθαι τῇ τε Ῥωμαίων εὐχῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν στρατοπέδων γνώμῃ.

SECTION 9

[1] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διατυποῦντος καὶ κούφαις καὶ ἀδήλοις ἐπαιωρουμένου ἐλπίσι, διηγέλλετο τὰ πραττόμενα ἔς τε Παίονας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκεῖσε στρατιωτικόν, ὃ ταῖς ὄχθαις Ἰστρου τε καὶ Ῥήνου ἐπικείμενον, ἀπεῖργον τοὺς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρους, φρουρεῖ τὴν [2] Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Παίωνων πάντων (ὑπὸ μιᾷ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξουσίᾳ) Σεβῆρος, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος Λίβυς, ἔς δὲ πραγμάτων διοίκησιν γενναῖος ἅμα καὶ θυμοειδής, σκληρῷ τε βίῳ καὶ τραχεῖ ἐνειθισμένος, πόνοις τε ἀντέχων ῥᾶστα, νοῆσαι τε ὀξὺς καὶ τὸ νοηθὲν ἐπιτελέσαι [3] ταχύς. οὗτος τοίνυν παρὰ τῶν ἀγγελλόντων πυθανόμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μετέωρον φερομένην (τὸν Νίγρον καὶ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν) ἀρπάσαι, καταγνοὺς τοῦ μὲν ῥαθυμῖαν τοῦ δὲ ἀνανδρίαν, ... «ἐπιθέσθαι» τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἀνέπειθε δὲ αὐτὸν ὀνειράτα τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐλπίδα ὑποσημαίνοντα, χρησμοὶ τε καὶ ὅσα ἔς πρόγνωσιν τῶν μελλόντων σύμβολα φαίνεται· ἅπερ πάντα ἀψευδῇ καὶ ἀληθῇ τότε πιστεύεται ὅταν ἔς τὴν ἀπόβασιν [4] εὐτυχηθῇ. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ ἰστόρησεν αὐτός τε συγγράψας ἐν τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν βίῳ καὶ δημοσίαις ἀνέθηκεν εἰκόσι· τὸ δ' οὖν τελευταῖον καὶ μέγιστον, ὅπερ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ὑπέφαινεν ὄναρ, οὐδ' ἡμῖν παραλείπτεον.

[5] κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν ὃν ἀπηγγέλη Περτίναξ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν, μετὰ τὸ προελθεῖν καὶ θῦσαι καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Περτίνακος βασιλείας ὄρκον ἀφοσιώσασθαι ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐπανελθὼν ἔς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης ἔς ὕπνον κατηνέχθη, μέγαν δὲ καὶ γενναῖον ἵππον βασιλικοῖς φαλάροις κεκοσμημένον ᾤκηθη βλέπειν, φέροντα τὸν Περτίνακα ἐποχούμενον διὰ μέσης τῆς ἐν [6] Πρώμῃ ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο, ἔνθα ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πρότερον ὁ δῆμος συνιὼν ἐκκλησίαζεν, [ᾤκηθη] τὸν ἵππον ἀποσεῖσασθαι μὲν τὸν Περτίνακα καὶ ῥῖψαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἄλλως ἐστῶτι ὑποδῦναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀράμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς νότοις φέρειν τε ἀσφαλῶς καὶ στήναι βεβαίως ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, ἔς ὕψος ἄραντα τὸν Σεβῆρον ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ὀρᾶσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι. μένει δὲ καὶ ἔς ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ [7] ἡ τοῦ ὀνειράτος εἰκὼν μεγίστη, χαλκοῦ πεποιημένη. οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ Σεβῆρος ἀρθεὶς τὴν γνώμην, ἐλπίζων τε θεία προνοία ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν [αὐτὸν] καλεῖσθαι, ἀπόπειραν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν γνώμης, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγους ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ χιλιάρχους τοὺς τε ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐξέχοντας οἰκειούμενος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλεγόμενος, ὡς παντάπασιν

ἔρριπται οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ γενναίως ἢ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτὴν διοικοῦντος.

[8] διέβαλλε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας ὡς ἀπίστους καὶ βασιλείῳ καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ αἵματι μίαναντας τὸν ὄρκον, ἔλεγε τε δεῖν ἐπαμῦναι καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ Περτίνακος φόνῳ. ἤδει δὲ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν [9] στρατιώτας μεμνημένους τῆς Περτίνακος ἡγεμονίας· ὑπὸ γὰρ Μάρκῳ βασιλεύοντι πολλὰ ἐγείρας σὺν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Γερμανῶν τρόπαια, στρατηγὸς τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν κατασταθείς, ἀνδρείαν μὲν πᾶσαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεδέδεικτο, εὖνοιαν δὲ καὶ χρηστότητα μετὰ σώφρονος καὶ ἐπεικουῦς ἐξουσίας τοῖς ἀρχομένοις παρέσχητο, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μνήμην τιμῶντες ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτως ὡμῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ τετολμημένοις ἠγανάκτουν.

[10] ταύτης δὴ τῆς προφάσεως λαβόμενος ὁ Σεβήρος εὐμαρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἃ ἐβούλετο ὑπηγάγετο, προσποιούμενος οὐχ οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν μνᾶσθαι, ὡς θέλει ἐπεξελθεῖν τοιούτου βασιλέως [11] αἵματι. ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ σώματα οἱ ἐκεῖσε ἄνθρωποι γενναιοτάτοί τε καὶ μεγάλοι εἰσὶ καὶ πρὸς μάχας ἐπιτήδαιοι καὶ φονικώτατοι, οὕτω καὶ τὰς διανοίας παχεῖς καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως συνεῖναι δυνάμενοι, εἴ τι μετὰ πανουργίας ἢ δόλου λέγοιτο ἢ πράττειτο. πιστεύσαντες γοῦν τῷ Σεβήρῳ προσποιούμενῳ χαλεπαίνειν καὶ θέλειν ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ Περτίνακος φόνῳ ἐπέδοσαν αὐτούς, ὡς αὐτοκράτορά [12] τε ἀποδείξαι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρίσαι. ὁ δ' ὡς ἔγνω τὴν τῶν Παιόνων γνώμην, διέπεμπε καὶ ἐς τὰ γειννιῶντα ἔθνη καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ὑπ' ἄρκτῳ Ῥωμαίοις δουλευόντων ἐθνῶν, μεγάλαις τε πάντα ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἀναπείθων ῥαδίως ὑπηγάγετο.

[13] ἱκανώτατος δ' ἦν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα προσποιήσασθαι τε καὶ πιστώσασθαι εὖνοιαν, μήτε ὅρκου φειδόμενος, εἰ δέοι τούτου καταφρονῆσαι, ψευδόμενος πρὸς τὸ χρειῶδες, διὰ τε γλώττης προΐετο ὅσα μὴ ἔφερεν ἐπὶ γνώμης.

SECTION 10

[1] θεραπεύσας οὖν διὰ γραμμάτων πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν ... ἅμα καὶ ἄρχοντας, προσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς. ἀθροίσας δὲ τοὺς πανταχόθεν στρατιώτας, Σεβήρῳ τε Περτίνακα ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας, ὅπερ οὐ μόνον ἡλπιζε τοῖς Ἰλλυρικοῖς εἶναι κεχαρισμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην, συγκαλέσας τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ βήματος αὐτῷ ἀρθέντος ἀνελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[2] τὸ πιστὸν ὑμῶν καὶ πρὸς τε θεοὺς σεβάσμιον, οὓς ὁμνυτε, πρὸς τε βασιλέας τίμιον, οὓς αἰδεῖσθε, δεδηλώκατε δι' ὧν ἀγανακτεῖτε ἐφ' οἷς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην στρατιῶται, πομπῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρείας ὑπηρεταί, ἐτόλμησαν. κάμοι δὲ δι' εὐχῆς ἐστί, πρότερον μὲν οὐδέποτε ἀντιποιησαμένῳ τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος (ἴστε γάρ μου τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας πειθήνιον), νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τέλος τε ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ἀνύσαι ταῦτα ἅπερ ὑμῖν ἐστί κεχαρισμένα, [3] τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μὴ περιδεῖν ἐρριμμένην, ἢ πρότερον μὲν μέχρι Μάρκου σεμνοπρεπῶς διοικουμένη σεβάσμιος ἐφαίνετο, ἐς Κόμοδον δὲ μεταπεσοῦσα, εἰ καὶ τίνα ὑπ' ἐκείνου διὰ νεότητα ἐπλημμελεῖτο, ἀλλ' οὖν τῇ εὐγενείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμῃ ἐπεσκιάζετο· καὶ πλέον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐλεούμενον ἐφ' οἷς ἐσφάλλετο ἢ τὸ μισούμενον, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν γινομένων οὐκ ἐς ἐκείνον ἀνεφέρομεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν κόλακάς τε καὶ οὐ πρεπόντων ἔργων ὁμοῦ συμβούλους τε καὶ ὑπηρετάς.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς σεμνὸν πρεσβύτην, οὗ τῆς ἀνδρείας τε καὶ χρηστότητος ἔτι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἡ μνήμη ἐνέστακται, περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα φόνῳ ἀπεσκευάσαντο. τὴν δὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν ὠνησάμενός τις αἰσchrῶς πρὸς τε τοῦ δήμου, ὡς ἀκούετε, μεμίσηται, πρὸς τε τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατιωτῶν, [5] οὓς ἐψεύσατο, οὐκέτι πιστεύεται. ὧν, εἰ καὶ ἔμελλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρατάξασθαι μετ' εὐνοίας, καὶ πλήθει σύμπαντες καὶ καθ' ἓνα εὐανδρία προύχετε, ἀσκήσει τε πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἐγγεγύμνασθε ὑμεῖς μὲν αἰεὶ βαρβάρους ἀντιταττόμενοι, καὶ φέρειν πόνους πάντας, κρούς τε καὶ θάλπους καταφρονεῖν, ποταμούς τε πηγνυμένους πατεῖν, καὶ πίνειν ὀρυττόμενον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνιμώμενον ὕδωρ εἰθισμένοι. θήραις τε ἐγγεγύμνασθε, καὶ πάντως ὑμῖν ἐς ἀνδρείαν ὑπάρχει γενναῖα ἐφόδια, ὡς μηδὲ εἰ βουληθεῖ [6] τις, δύνασθαι ὑμῖν ἀντιστῆναι. δοκίμιον δὲ στρατιωτῶν κάματος, ἀλλ' οὐ τρυφή, ἥπερ ἐκείνοι ἐγκραιπαλῶντές τε καὶ ἐναυξηθέντες οὐδ' ἂν τῆς βοῆς ὑμῶν ἀνάσχοιντο, οὔτι

γε τῆς μάχης. εἰ δέ τινες τὰ κατὰ Συρίαν ὑποπτεύουσι πράγματα, ἐντεῦθεν ἂν τεκμήραιντο ἀσθενῇ τε ὄντα καὶ φαύλας ἔχοντα τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὅπου μὴδὲ προελθεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἐτόλμησαν, μὴδέ τι περὶ τῆς ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφόδου βουλευσασθαι ἐθάρρησαν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐκεῖ μένοντες, καὶ τὴν ἐφήμερον τρυφὴν κέρδος [7] τῆς οὐπὼ βεβαίας ἀρχῆς νομίζουσιν. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ χαριέντως καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἀποσκῶσαι ἐπιτήδειοι Σύροι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν οἰκοῦντες, «οὓς» φασὶ περὶ τὸν Νίγρον ἐσπουδακέναι· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔθνη καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις μέχρι νῦν τῷ μὴδένα εὐρίσκεσθαι τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον, σπάνει τοῦ μετὰ ἀνδρείας καὶ σῶφρονος διοικήσεως ἄρξοντος ἐκείνῳ δῆλον ὅτι [8] προσποιῶνται ὑπακοῦειν. εἰ δὲ τὴν τε Ἰλλυρικὴν δύναμιν ἅμα χειροτονήσασαν μάθοιεν, τό τε ἡμέτερον ὄνομα πύθοιντο οὐκ ἄγνωστον οὐδ' ἄσημον παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχον ἐξ ὧν ἡγεμονεύσαντες ἐκεῖσε διωκῆσamen, εὖ ἴστε, οὔτε ἐμοῦ ῥαθυμίαν ἢ ἀδρανίαν καταγνώσκονται, οὔτε τὸ ὑμέτερον γενναῖον καὶ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐμβριθὲς ὑποστῆναι αἰρήσονται, καὶ σωμάτων μεγέθεσι καὶ πόνων ἀσκήσεσιν» [καὶ] ἐν τῇ συστάδῃ μάχῃ πολὺ ὑμῶν ἀπολείποντες.

[9] φθάσωμεν οὖν τὴν Ῥώμην προκαταλαβόντες, ἔνθα ἡ βασιλείος ἔστιν ἐστία· κάκειθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὰ λοιπὰ εὐμαρῶς διοικήσομεν, θεαίαις τε προρρήσεσι πιστεύοντες καὶ τῇ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀνδρείᾳ ὅπλων τε καὶ σωμάτων.

τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα τὸν Σεβῆρον εὐφημήσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται, καλοῦντες Σεβαστὸν καὶ Περτίνακα, πᾶσαν ἐνεδείκνυντο

SECTION 11

[1] προθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν. ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος μηδένα διδοὺς καιρὸν ἀναβολῆς, συσκευάσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα εὐστελέεστατα ἐκέλευσε, τὴν τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔξοδον ἐπήγγειλε· νομάς τε αὐτοῖς διαδοὺς καὶ ἐφόδια τῆς ὁδοιπορίας εἶχετο. συντόνῳ δὲ σπουδῇ καὶ γενναίοις πόνοις τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπετάχυνε, μήτε που ἐνδιατρίβων, μήτε διδοὺς καιρὸν ἀναπαύλης, εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὀλίγον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναπνεύσαντας ἔχεσθαι [2] τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκοινώνει δὲ τῶν καμάτων αὐτοῖς, σκηνῇ τε χρώμενος εὐτελεῖ, καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ προσφερόμενος οἷα καὶ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν ἡπίστατο· οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τρυφὴν ἐνεδείκνυτο βασιλικήν. ὅθεν καὶ μείζονα παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐνοίαν ἐπιστάσαστο· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτὸν συμπονοῦντα ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καμάτων ἄρχοντα οἱ στρατιῶται αἰδούμενοι μετὰ προθυμίας πάντα ἔπραττον.

[3] ὁ δὲ τὴν Παιονίαν διαδραμὼν ἐπέστη τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄροις, καὶ τὴν φήμην φθάσας πρότερον ὥφθη τοῖς ἐκεῖσε παρὼν βασιλεὺς ἢ ἀφιζόμενος ἠκούσθη. δέος τε μέγα τὰς Ἰταλιώτιδας πόλεις κατελάμβανε πυνθανομένης τοσοῦτου ἔφοδον στρατοῦ. οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄνθρωποι, ὅπλων καὶ πολέμων πάλαι ἀπηλλαγμένοι, γεωργία [4] καὶ εἰρήνῃ προσεῖχον. ἐς ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ δημοκρατίας τὰ Ῥωμαίων διφεκίτο καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ πολεμικὰ στρατηγήσοντας, ἐν ὅπλοις Ἰταλιῶται πάντες ἦσαν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκτίσαντο, Ἑλλησι πολεμήσαντες καὶ βαρβάρους· οὐδέ τι ἦν γῆς μέρος ἢ κλίμα [5] οὐρανοῦ ὅπου μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξέτειναν. ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἐς τὸν Σεβαστὸν περιῆλθεν ἡ μοναρχία, Ἰταλιώτας μὲν πόνων ἀπέπαυσε καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐγύμνωσε, φρούρια δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδα τῆς ἀρχῆς προυβάλετο, μισθοφόρους ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς σιτηρεσίοις στρατιώτας καταστησάμενος ἀντὶ τείχους τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς· ποταμῶν τε μεγέθεσι καὶ τάφρων ἢ ὀρῶν προβλήμασιν ἐρήμῳ τε γῇ καὶ δυσβάτῳ [6] φράξας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠχυρώσατο. ὅθεν τὸν Σεβῆρον προσιόντα πυνθανόμενοι τότε μετὰ τοσοῦτου στρατοῦ εἰκότως ἐταράττοντο τῷ ἀήθει τοῦ πράγματος· οὔτε δὲ ἀντιστῆναι ἢ κωλύσαι ἐτόλμων, ὑπήντων δὲ δαφνηφοροῦντες καὶ πύλαις ἀναπεπταμέναις ἐδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀνεπαύετο ὅσον καλλιερῆσαι τε καὶ τοὺς δήμους προσεπειῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο.

[7] ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀπηγγέλλετο, ἐν ἐσχάτῃ ἀπογνώσει ἦν, τοῦ μὲν Ἰλλυρικοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀκούων, οὔτε δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πιστεύων, ἐπεὶ μεμίσητο, οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις θαρρῶν, οὓς ἔψευστο.

χρήματα δὴ πάντα ἀθροίζων τά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων, καὶ εἴ τινα ἦν, ἐκ δημοσίων καὶ ἱερῶν τόπων λαμβάνων, τοῖς στρατιώταις διανέμειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὥς ἀνακτήσαιοτο [8] τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν. οἱ δέ, καίτοι μεγάλα λαμβάνοντες, χάριν οὐκ ἥδεσαν· ὄφλημα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποτίνειν ἄλλ’ οὐ δωρεὰν διανέμειν ἐλογίζοντο.

ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανός, καίτοι συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τὰ στενὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων προκαταλαβεῖν - μέγιστα ἐκεῖνα ὄρη, καὶ οἷα οὐκ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ καθ’ ἡμᾶς γῇ, ἐν τείχους σχήματι περικείται καὶ προβέβληται Ἰταλίας, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας παρασχούσης τῆς φύσεως Ἰταλιώταις, ἔρυμα ἄρρηκτόν τε καὶ .. αὐτῶν προβεβλῆσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκτώας θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλέπουσαν [9] διῆκον. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως προελθεῖν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐτόλμα· διέπεμπέ τε, τῶν στρατιωτῶν δεόμενος ὀπλίζεσθαι τε καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι πρό τε τῆς πόλεως τάφρους διορύττειν. καὶ τὴν πρὸς Σεβῆρον μάχην ὥς ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιησόμενος παρεσκεύαζε· τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας πάντας, οἱ ἐς πομπὴν ὑπηρετοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις, πύργους καὶ ἄνδρας φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν νώτων ἐπαίδευεν, οἰόμενος οὕτως ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς, καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἵππον διαταράξειν ὅψει καὶ μεγέθει θηρίων μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἑωραμένων. τότε δὴ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ὅπλα εἰργάζετο καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

SECTION 12

[1] μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἔτι καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἔτοιμα ποιούντων, ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Σεβήρος ἤδη προσίων. καὶ πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος μέρος διασκεδάσας ἐκεῖνος κελεύει παρεισδύεσθαι ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πάσας ὁδοὺς διανείμαντες αὐτούς, πολλοὶ ... δ' ἐς Ῥώμην νύκτωρ λανθάνοντες εἰσήεσαν, τὰ ὄπλα ὑποκρύπτοντες, [2] ἐν ἰδιωτῶν σχήματι. καὶ ἤδη οἱ πολέμιοι ἔνδον ἦσαν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι ὑπτιάζοντος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ἀγνοοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διάπυστα τῷ δήμῳ ἐγένετο, ἐν ταραχῇ πολλῇ πάντες ἦσαν, καὶ δεδιότες τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Σεβήρου τὰ ἐκείνου φρονεῖν προσεποιοῦντο, τοῦ μὲν Ἰουλιανοῦ καταγινώσκοντες ἀνανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ Νίγρου μέλλῃσιν τε καὶ ῥαθυμίαν· τὸν δὲ Σεβήρον [3] ἀκούοντες ἤδη παρόντα ἐθαύμαζον. ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς πολλῇ καταλαμβανόμενος ἀφασίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ, ὅπως χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐκ εἰδώς, ἀθροισθῆναι κελεύσας τὴν σύγκλητον καταπέμπει γράμματα, δι' ὧν ἐσπένδετο δὴ πρὸς τὸν Σεβήρον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀναδείξας κοινωὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐποιεῖτο. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσατο μὲν ταῦτα, ὀρῶντες δὲ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀποδειλιῶντα καὶ ἐν ἀπογνώσει ὄντα, τῷ Σεβήρῳ πάντες ἤδη προσετίθεντο.

[4] δύο δὲ που ἡ τριῶν ἡμερῶν παραδραμουσῶν, ἐπεὶπερ ἤδη τὸν Σεβήρον καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἐπιστησόμενον ἤκουον, καταφρονήσαντες τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ συνίασιν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ὑπάτων κελευσάντων, οἱ τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης διοικεῖν εἰώθασιν ὁπνίκα ἂν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας μετέωρα [5] ἦ. συνελθόντες τοῖνυν περὶ τῶν πρακτέων ἐσκέπτοντο, τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ καὶ τὰς παρούσας ὁδυρομένου τύχας, ἰκετεύοντός τε «καὶ μέλλοντος» ἐξομόσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ παραχωρῆσαι πάσης τῆς δυναστείας τῷ Σεβήρῳ.

[6] ὥς δὲ ἔμαθεν ἡ σύγκλητος τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν οὕτως κατεπτηχότα, τὴν δὲ δορυφόρων φρουρὰν διὰ δέος τοῦ Σεβήρου αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλιποῦσαν, ψηφίζεται τὸν μὲν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἀποδειχθῆναι δὲ μόνον αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Σεβήρον· πρεσβείαν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσιν διὰ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων τῆς βουλῆς, πάσας [7] αὐτῷ προσφέρειν τὰς σεβασμίους τιμὰς. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν εἰς τῶν χλιαρχούντων ἀναπέμπεται, ἀποκτενῶν ἄνανδρον καὶ ἄθλιον πρεσβύτην, ἰδίῳις χρήμασιν ὠνησάμενον οὕτω πονηρὸν τέλος.

SECTION 13

[1] ὁ μὲν οὖν εὐρεθεὶς ἔρημός τε καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων καταλειφθεὶς, αἰσχροῶς ὀλοφυρόμενος ἐφονεύθη· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐδηλώθη τῷ Σεβήρῳ ἢ τε τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀναίρεσις, ἦρθη καὶ ἐς μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἐλπίδα, καὶ σοφίσματι ἐχρήσατο, ὥς ἂν χειρώσαιο καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τὸν Περτίνακα ἀνηρηκότας λάβοι. ἐπιστέλλει δὲ καὶ ἰδία μὲν λανθάνοντα γράμματα τοῖς τε χιλιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχοις ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλα, ὅπως πείσειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας ὑπακούειν εὐπειθῶς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβήρου κελευομένοις· [2] ἐκπέμπει δὲ καὶ κοινὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, κελεύων καταλιπεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ «τὰ ὅπλα» πάντα, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐξελθεῖν «ἐν» εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι θύοντος ἢ ἐορτάζοντος βασιλέως προπομπεύειν, ὁμόσαι τε ἐς τὸ Σεβήρου ὄνομα, καὶ μετ' ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἐλθεῖν ὡς μέλλοντας τὸν Σεβήρον δορυφορήσειν.

[3] πιστεύσαντες δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις, πεισθέντες τε ὑπὸ τῶν χιλιάρχων, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα κατέλιπον πάντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν μόναϊς ταῖς πομπικαῖς ἐσθῆσι δαφνηφοροῦντες ἠπείγοντο. ὡς δὲ πρὸς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἐγένοντο, ἠγγέλσαν τε ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸ πεδίον, οὗ αὐτοὺς ὁ Σεβήρος συνελθεῖν κελεύει ... ὡς [4] δὴ δεξιωσόμενος καὶ προσαγορεύσων. ὡς δὲ ἀνελθόντα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προσῆλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφημήσοντες, πάντες ὑφ' ἐνὶ συνθήματι συλλαμβάνονται· προεῖρητο γὰρ τῷ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατῷ, ὅπηνίκα ἂν στῶσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀποβλέποντες μετέωρόν τε τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντες, κυκλώσασθαι αὐτοὺς πολεμῷ νόμῳ, καὶ τιτρώσκειν μὲν ἢ παῖειν μηδένα, συνέχειν δὲ καὶ φρουρεῖν φράζοντας ἐν κύκλῳ τοῖς ὅπλοις, τάς τε διβολίας καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐπισείειν, ὡς δέει τοῦ τρωθῆναι γυμνοὶ τε πρὸς [5] ὀπλισμένους καὶ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς μὴ μάχονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ σαγηνεύσας ἐντὸς τῶν ὅπλων δοριαλώτους εἶχε, μεγάλη βοῇ καὶ θυμοειδεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε·

ὅτι μὲν ὑμῶν καὶ σοφία κρείττους ἐσμέν καὶ δυνάμει στρατοῦ καὶ συμμαχῶν πλήθει, ἔργῳ ὀρᾶτε· εἴληφθε γοῦν ῥαδίως, καὶ ἀκονιτί γε ἐάλωκατε. ἔστι δ' ἐν ἐμοὶ ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν ὑμᾶς δρᾶσαι θελήσω, καὶ πρόκεισθε ἤδη θύματα [6] τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐξουσίας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν πρὸς τὰ τετολμημένα τιμωρίαν ζητεῖ τις, οὐδ' ἔστιν εὐρεῖν δίκην τὴν ἐπιτεθησομένην ἀξίαν τῶν πεπραγμένων. σεμνὸν πρεσβύτην καὶ βασιλέα χρηστόν, ὃν ἐχρῆν σῶζειν καὶ δορυφορεῖν, ἐφονεύσατε· τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἑνδοξον οὕσαν ἀεὶ, ἣν καὶ οἱ

πρόγονοι ἢ δι' ἀνδρείας ἐναρέτου ἐκτήσαντο ἢ δι' εὐγένειαν διεδέξαντο, ταύτην αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἀτίμως ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν κειμηλίων ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ [7] κατηλλάξασθε. ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτόν, ὃν οὕτως ἄρχοντα εἴλεσθε, φυλάξαι ἢ σῶσαι ἐδυνήθητε, ἀνάνδρως δὲ προυδώκατε. ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις δὴ ἁμαρτήμασί τε καὶ τολμήμασι μυρίων ἄξιοι θανάτων, ἣν τις ὀρίσαι θέλῃ τὴν ἄξιαν τιμωρίαν, ἐστέ. ἀλλὰ τί μὲν χρὴ παθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὁρᾶτε· ἐγὼ δὲ φείσομαι μὲν ὑμῶν ὥς μὴ φονεῦσαι, οὐδὲ [8] τὰς ὑμετέρας χεῖρας μιμήσομαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ μήτε ὅσιον μήτε δίκαιον ἔτι βασιλέα ὑμᾶς δορυφορεῖν καὶ ἐς τὸν ὄρκον ἀσεβήσαντας καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ καὶ βασιλικῷ αἵματι τὰς δεξιὰς μιάναντας τὴν τε πίστιν καὶ τὸ ἐχέγγυον τῆς φρουρᾶς προδόντας, τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα δῶρον τῆς ἐμῆς φιланθρωπίας ἔξετε, τοῖς δὲ περιειληφόσιν ὑμᾶς στρατιώταις κελεύω ἀποζῶσαί τε ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀποδύσαντας εἴ τινας περὶκεισθε ἐσθῆτας στρατιωτικὰς, γυμνοὺς ἀποπέμπειν.

[9] παραγγέλλω τε ὑμῖν ἀπιέναι ὥς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀπειλῶ τε καὶ δίδομνυμι καὶ προαγορεύω κολασθῆσεσθαι κεφαλικῶς, εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἐντὸς ἑκατοστοῦ σημείου ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης φανείῃ.

[10] ταῦτα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, προσδραμόντες οἱ Ἰλλυρικοὶ στρατιῶται τά τε ξιφίδια περιαιροῦσιν αὐτῶν ἃ παρηώρηντο [τῷ] ἀργύρῳ καὶ [τῷ] χρυσῷ ἐς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένα, τὰς τε ζώνας καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ εἴ τι σύμβολον ἔφερον στρατιωτικόν, ἀφαρπάσαντες γυμνοὺς ἐξέπεμπον.

[11] οἱ δὲ ὑπεῖκον προδεδομένοι καὶ σοφίσματι ἐαλωκότες· τί γὰρ ἐνὴν δρᾶσαι γυμνοῖς πρὸς ὠπλισμένους καὶ ὀλίγοις πρὸς πολλούς; ἀπῆεσαν δὴ ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ἠγάπων μὲν τὴν δοθεῖσαν σωτηρίαν, μετεγίνωσκον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνόπλους ἐλθεῖν, αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἐφυβρίστως [12] ἐαλωκότες. ἐκέχρητο δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ ὁ Σεβῆρος σοφίσματι· δεδιὼς γὰρ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ τὸ ἀποζωσθῆναι ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι ἀναδράμωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλάβωσι, πρὸυπεμψε λογάδας ἐπιλέκτους τε καὶ ὅσους γενναιοτάτους ἠπίστατο, δι' ἐτέρων ὁδῶν καὶ ἀτραπῶν, ὥς λαθόντες τὸ τε στρατόπεδον ἐπεισέλθοιεν ἀνδρῶν κενόν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καταλαβόντες, εἰ ἐπίοιεν, ἀποκλείσαιεν αὐτούς.

δίκην μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδοσαν οἱ τοῦ Περτίνακος φονεῖς·

SECTION 14

[1] ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος σὺν παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ὥπλισμένῳ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικνεῖται, ἔκπληξιν τε καὶ δέος ἅμα τῷ ὀφθῆναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέβαλε τοῖς οὕτω τετολμημένοις τε καὶ εὐτυχηθεῖσιν ἔργοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος δαφνηφοροῦντες ὑπεδέχοντο πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων καὶ βασιλέων ἀναιμωτί τε καὶ ἀκονιτὶ τοσαῦτα [2] κατωρθώkota. πάντα γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐθαυμάζετο, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ ἀγχίνουν τῆς γνώμης τό τε τῶν πόνων γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἐς τὰ τολμώμενα ἅμα τῷ θαρραλέῳ εὐελπί. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ τε δῆμος αὐτὸν ὑποδεξάμενος εὐφήμησεν ἢ τε σύγκλητος ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως εἰσόδους προσηγόρευσεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος καὶ θύσας, ἔν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱεροῖς νόμῳ βασιλικῷ καλλιερήσας, ἀνῆλθεν ἐς [3] τὰ βασίλεια. τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους ἐπεικεῖς πάνυ καὶ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων μεστοὺς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς πάντας, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ δεξιούμενος, λέγων ἦκειν μὲν ἔκδικος τοῦ Περτίνακος φόνου, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν παρέξειν «ἀφορμὴν» καὶ εἴσοδον ἀριστοκρατίας, μήτε δὲ ἄκριτόν τινα φονευθήσεσθαι ἢ δημευθήσεσθαι, μήτε συκοφαντοῦντος ἀνέξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βαρυτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις παρέξειν, καὶ πάντα πράξειν ἐς ζῆλον τῆς Μάρκου ἀρχῆς, ἔξειν δὲ τοῦ Περτίνακος οὐ μόνον τοῦνομα [4] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνώμην. τοιαῦτά τινα λέγων ὑπηγάγετο τοὺς πλείστους ἐς εὐνοίαν καὶ πίστιν ὧν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γνωριζόντων αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, οἱ προύλεγον λανθάνοντες, ὅτι ἄρα εἴη ἀνὴρ πολύτροπός τις καὶ μετὰ τέχνης εἰδὼς προσφέρεσθαι πράγμασιν, ὑποκρίνασθαι τε καὶ προσποιήσεσθαι πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἱκανώτατος, ἔτι δ' ἀνύσαι καὶ τὸ χρειῶδες καὶ τὸ λυσιτελὲς αὐτῷ· ὅπερ καὶ ὕστερον ἔργῳ δέδεικται.

[5] διατρίψας οὖν ὀλίγον χρόνον ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ νομὰς ἐπιδούς τῷ δήμῳ μεγαλοφρόνως, «θέας» τε ἐπιτελέσας, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις πολλὰ δωρησάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς τὸ δορυφόρους εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας τόπῳ τῶν ἀπαζωσμένων, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν [6] ἠπείγετο· ἔτι γὰρ μέλλοντος καὶ ὑπτιάζοντος τοῦ Νίγρου, τῇ τε Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐντρυφῶντος, ἐπιστῆναι μηδὲ προσδοκώμενος ἠθελεν, ὅπως ἀπαράσκευον αὐτὸν λάβοι. τοὺς τε οὖν στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, συνεκρότει τε καὶ πανταχόθεν στράτευμα, ἔκ τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεων νεανίας μεταπεμπόμενος καὶ στρατεύων, εἴ τέ τι ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λείψανον, κατελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκην ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ [7] συντυχεῖν.

ἐξήρτυε δὲ καὶ στόλον ναυτικόν, καὶ πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τριήρεις
ὀπλιτῶν πληρώσας ἐξέπεμπε. πολλή τε αὐτῷ καὶ παντοδαπὴ δύναμις μεγίστῳ
τάχει συνεσκευάσθη· ἦδει γὰρ οὐ μικρᾶς δυνάμεως δεόμενος πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν
ἀντικειμένην ἥπειρον Εὐρώπῃ τὰ Νίγρου φρονοῦσαν.

SECTION 15

[1] τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενναίως εὐτρέπιζεν, ἅτε δὲ ἀνὴρ προμηθῆς τε καὶ νήφων ὑπώπτευε τὴν ἐν Βρεττανία δύναμιν πολλήν τε οὕσαν καὶ μεγίστην ἀνδρῶν τε μαχιμωτάτων. ἦρχε δ' αὐτῆς πάσης Ἀλβίνος, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου εὐπατριδῶν, ἐν [2] πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ τρυφῇ ἐκ πατέρων ἀνατραφεὶς. τοῦτον τοίνυν ἠθέλησεν ὁ Σεβήρος σοφίσματι προλαβὼν οἰκειώσασθαι, μή πως ἄρα τοιαῦτα ἔχων ἐναύσματα ἐς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν, θαρρῶν [ῆ] πλούτῳ καὶ γένει δυνάμει τε στρατοῦ γνώσει τε τῇ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπιθῆται τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐ πολὺ τι ἀφεστῶσαν ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀσχοληθέντος ὑποποιήσεται.

[3] τιμῇ τοίνυν προσποιήτῳ δελεάζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ὄντα τὴν γνώμην χαῦνον καὶ ἀπλοϊκώτερον, τότε δὲ καὶ πολλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμόσαντι τῷ Σεβήρῳ πιστεύσαντα. Καίσαρα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύει, φθάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῇ τῆς ἐξουσίας [4] κοινωνίᾳ. ἐπιστέλλει δὲ αὐτῷ φιλικώτατα γράμματα δῆθεν, ἰκετεύων ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς φροντίδα· δεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς καὶ τοιοῦτου τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἔτι ἀκμάζοντος αὐτὸν ὄντα πρεσβύτην καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου ἀρθρίτιδος ἐνοχλούμενον, τῶν τε παίδων αὐτῷ ὄντων πάνυ νηπίων. οἷς πιστεύσας ὁ Ἀλβίνος τὴν τιμὴν ὑπεδέξατο ἀσπαστῶς, ἀγαπήσας ἄνευ μάχης καὶ κινδύνου [5] λαβεῖν ταῦτα ὧν ὠρέγετο. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος καὶ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνενεγκών, ὥς ἂν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐς πίστιν ὑπαγάγοιτο, νομίσματά τε αὐτοῦ κοπῆναι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσεις ταῖς τε λοιπαῖς τιμαῖς τὴν δοθεῖσαν χάριν ἐπιστώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλβίνον διὰ σοφίας ἀσφαλῶς εἶχεν, οὐδέ τι δέος ἦν ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας, τό τε Ἰλλυρικὸν στράτευμα σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶν εἶχε, διωκῆσθαι νομίζων πάντα λυσιτελῶς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Νίγρον ἠπείγετο.

[6] τῆς μὲν οὖν ὁδοιπορίας τοὺς σταθμούς, καὶ τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν αὐτῷ λεχθέντα, καὶ σημεῖα θεία προνοία δόξαντα πολλάκις φανῆναι, χωρία τε ἕκαστα καὶ παρατάξεις, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν πεσόντων ἀριθμὸν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἱστορίας τε πολλοὶ συγγραφεῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ μέτρῳ πλατύτερον συνέταξαν, ὑπόθεσιν ποιούμενοι πάσης τῆς πραγματείας τὸν Σεβήρου βίον.

[7] ἐμοὶ δὲ σκοπὸς ὑπάρχει ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα πράξεις πολλῶν βασιλέων συντάξαντι γράψαι, ἃς αὐτὸς οἶδα. τὰ κορυφαιώτατα τοίνυν καὶ συντέλειαν

ἔχοντα τῶν κατὰ μέρος πεπραγμένων Σεβήρω ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς διηγέσομαι, οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς χάριν ἐς ὕψος ἐξαίρων, ὥσπερ ἐποίησαν οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνον γράψαντες, οὔτε παραλείπων εἴ τι λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον.

BOOK III.

SECTION 1

Τὸ μὲν δὴ Περτίνακος τέλος καὶ <ή> Ἰουλιανοῦ καθαίρεσις, ἥ τε Σεβήρου ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄφιξις, ἥ τε ἐπὶ Νίγρον ἔξοδος, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι δεδῆλωται· ὁ δὲ Νίγρος, ἐπεὶ ἡγγέλη αὐτῷ μηδέν τι τοιοῦτον προσδεχομένῳ κατελιφὼς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Σεβήρος, ὑπὸ τε τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναδειχθεὶς, ἄγων δὲ πάντα ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰλλυρικὸν στρατὸν πεζὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν ἄλλην, ἐν μεγίστῃ ταραχῇ ἦν, διέπεμπέ τε κατὰ ἔθνη πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους, τάς τε εἰσόδους [2] πάσας καὶ λιμένας φυλάττεσθαι κελεύων. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Παρθυαίων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ἀττηνῶν, συμμάχους αἰτῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρμένιος ἀπεκρίνατο μηδετέρῳ συμμαχήσειν, ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ φυλάξειν ἥδη προσιόντος Σεβήρου· ὁ δὲ Παρθυαῖος ἐπιστελεῖν ἔφη τοῖς σατράπαις δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν· οὕτω γὰρ εἶωθεν, ὀπηνίκα ἂν δεηθῇ στρατὸν συλλέγειν, τῷ [3] μὴ ἔχειν μισθοφόρους καὶ συνεστὸς στρατιωτικόν. Ἀττηνοὶ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ τοξόται σύμμαχοι, πέμπσαντος Βαρσημίου, [4] ὃς τῶν τόπων ἐβασίλευε. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἡθροίζεν ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατοπέδων· πᾶμπλειστοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, μάλιστα ὑπὸ κουφότητος νεανίαὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Νίγρον σπουδῆς, ἐπέδосαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς στρατείαν, προπετῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμπείρως τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους τὰ στενὰ καὶ κρημνῶδη διαφράττεσθαι γενναίοις τείχεσσι τε καὶ ἐρύμασι, πρόβλημα ὀχυρὸν νομίζων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ὁδῶν τὸ δύσβατον τοῦ ὄρους· ὁ γὰρ Ταῦρος μεταξὺ ὧν Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Κιλικίας διακρίνει τὰ [5] τε τῇ ἄρκτῳ καὶ τὰ τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἔθνη προσκείμενα. προὔπεμψε τε καὶ στρατιὰν προκαταληγομένην τὸ Βυζάντιον, πόλιν τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστην τότε καὶ εὐδαίμονα, πλήθει τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἀκμάζουσαν· κειμένη γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ στενωτάτῳ τῆς Προποντίδος πορθμῷ προσόδοις ταῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τελῶν τε καὶ ἀλείας μεγάλως ὠφελεῖτο, γῆν τε πολλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα κεκτημένη ἐξ [6] ἑκατέρου τῶν στοιχείων πλεῖστα ἐκέρδαιεν. ὅθεν αὐτὴν οὖσαν δυνατωτάτην ὁ Νίγρος προκαταλαβεῖν ἠθέλησε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐλπίζων δύνασθαι κωλύειν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν διάβασιν. περιτετείχιστό τε γενναίῳ τε καὶ μεγίστῳ ἢ πόλιν τείχει, πεπονημένῳ μυλίου λίθου ἐς τετράγωνον εἰργασμένου, τοσαύτη τε συναφεία καὶ κολλήσῃ ὥς μηδένα οἶεσθαι τὸ ἔργον σύνθετον, ἐνὸς δὲ λίθου πᾶν πεποιθῆσθαι.

[7] ἔτι γοῦν καὶ νῦν τὰ μένοντα αὐτοῦ ἐρείπια καὶ λείψανα ἰδόντι θαυμάζειν

ἔστι καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασκευασάντων καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ὕστερον καθηρηκότων.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Νίγρος οὕτως ἐξήρτυε τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν προμηθέστατα

SECTION 2

[1] καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα, ὡς ᾤετο· ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἠπειγέτο, μηδὲν ῥαθυμία μηδ' ἀναπαύλῃ νέμων. μαθὼν δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιον προκατελιμμένον, καὶ εἰδὼς ὀχυρώτατα τετειχισμένον, ἐπὶ [2] Κύζικον τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε διαβαίνειν. ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Αἰμιλιανός, ᾧ τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ στρατηγίαν ὁ Νίγρος ἐγκεχειρίκει, μαθὼν ἐπιόντα τὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Κύζικον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτράπετο, ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν, ἣν αὐτὸς συνείλεκτο καὶ ἣν ὁ Νίγρος ἐπεπόμφει. ὡς δὲ συνέβαλεν ἐκατέρωθεν τὰ στρατεύματα, μάχαι καρτεραὶ γίνονται κατ' ἐκείνα τὰ χωρία, καὶ κρατεῖ τὸ Σεβήρου στράτευμα, φυγὴ τε καὶ τροπὴ καὶ φόνος πολὺς τῶν τοῦ Νίγρου στρατιωτῶν γίνεται, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀνατολικῶν εὐθέως θραῦσαι τὴν ἐλπίδα, τῶν δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐπιρρῶσαι.

[3] φασὶ δὲ τινες προδοθέντα τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου πράγματα ὑπὸ Αἰμιλιανοῦ εὐθέως ἐν ἀρχῇ διαφθαρῆναι. διττὴν δὲ λέγουσι τῆς τοιαύτης προαιρέσεως τοῦ Αἰμιλιανοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φθονοῦντα τῷ Νίγρῳ ἐπιβουλευσαι, ἀγανακτοῦντα ὅτι δὴ διάδοχος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι κρείττων ἅτε βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης, οἱ δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀναπεισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἐπιστειλάντων καὶ δεηθέντων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας, οὓς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ εὐρὼν ὁ Σεβήρος συλλαβὼν εἶχεν ἐν φρουρᾷ. ἐχρήσατο γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ σοφίσματι [4] προμηθεστάτῳ. ἔθος ἦν τῷ Κομμόδῳ κατέχειν τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεμπομένων ἡγεμόνων, ὡς ἔχοι ὁμηρα τῆς τε εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως. εἰδὼς τοίνυν τοῦτο ὁ Σεβήρος, ἅμα τῷ βασιλεὺς ἀναδειχθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι περιόντος, πέμψας λάθρα διὰ φροντίδος ἔσχε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκκλαπέντας [5] μὴ εἶναι ἐν ἐτέρου ἐξουσίᾳ. αὐτὸς δ' ἅμα τῷ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιβῆναι συλλαβὼν πάντας τοὺς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἢ τῶν ὀτιδὴ πραττόντων κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν, φρουρᾷ δούς εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ, ὅπως ἢ πόθῳ τῆς τῶν παίδων σωτηρίας οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὰ Νίγρου προδίδοιεν, ἢ μένοντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας φθάσωσί τι κακὸν παθεῖν διὰ τῆς τῶν παίδων ἀναιρέσεως ἢ δράσωσιν αὐτοί.

[6] γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἥττης κατὰ τὴν Κύζικον ἔφευγον οἱ τοῦ Νίγρου, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο σπεύδοντες, οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὰς ὑπωρείας τῆς Ἀρμενίας, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Γαλατίας τε καὶ Ἀσίας, φθάσαι θέλοντες τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβῆναι, ὡς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐρύματος γένοιτο. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς περαιωθεὶς διὰ τῆς Κυζικηνῆς χώρας διαβάς τε ἐπὶ τὴν Βιθυνίαν ὁμορον οὗσαν ἠπειγέτο.

[7] ὥς δὲ διέδραμε^{ον} ἡ φήμη τῆς Σεβήρου νίκης, εὐθὺς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις στάσις καὶ διάφορος γνώμη ἐνέπεσε ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐχ οὕτως τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας βασιλέας ἀπεχθεία τινὶ ἢ εὐνοίᾳ ὥς ζήλῳ καὶ ἔριδι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας φθόνῳ τε καὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν [8] ὁμοφύλων. ἀρχαῖον τοῦτο πάθος Ἑλλήνων, οἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάζοντες αἰεὶ καὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχειν δοκοῦντας καθαιρεῖν θέλοντες ἐτρύχωσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνων γηράσαντα καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλοις συντριβέντα Μακεδόσιν εὐάλωτα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δοῦλα γεγένηται· τὸ δὲ πάθος τοῦτο τοῦ ζήλου καὶ φθόνου μετέτληθεν ἐς τὰς [9] καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκμαζούσας πόλεις. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Βιθυνίαν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Κυζίκῳ Νικομηδεῖς μὲν Σεβήρῳ προσέθεντο καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, τὴν τε στρατιὰν ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ πάντα παρέξιν ὑπισχνούμενοι, Νικαεῖς δὲ τῷ πρὸς Νικομηδέας μίσει τάναντία ἐφρόνουν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ Νίγρου ὑπεδέχοντο, εἴ τέ τινες ἐκ τῶν φυγόντων κατέφευγον πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας [10] ὑπὸ τοῦ Νίγρου φρουρεῖν Βιθυνίαν. ἐκατέρωθεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὥς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδων ὁρμώμενοι συνέβαλον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης πολὺ περιεγένοντο οἱ τοῦ Σεβήρου. φυγόντες δὲ οἱ τοῦ Νίγρου κάκειθεν, ὅσοι περιελείφθησαν, ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ Ταύρου ἠπείγοντο, ἀποκλείσαντές τε τὸ ἔρυμα ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Νίγρος φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν τοῦ ἐρύματος, ὥς ᾤετο, αὐτάρκη, ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἠπείγετο, στρατὸν ἀθροίζων καὶ χρήματα.

SECTION 3

[1] ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς περαιωθεὶς διὰ τε Βιθυνίας καὶ Γαλατίας, ἐμβάλων ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, προσκαθεζόμενος τὸ ἔρυμα ἐπολιόρκει, πράγματά τε εἶχεν οὐ μικρὰ δυσβάτου διὰ στενότητα καὶ τραχύτητα οὔσης τῆς ὁδοῦ, βαλλόντων τε αὐτοὺς ἄνωθεν λίθοις καὶ γενναίως ἀπομαχομένων τῶν ἐφεστῶτων ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι τοῦ τείχους.

[2] ῥαδίως δὲ ὀλίγοι πολλοὺς ἐκώλυνον· τῆς γὰρ ὁδοῦ στενῆς οὔσης τὸ μὲν ἕτερον μέρος ὕψιστον ὅρος σκέπει, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ κρημνὸς βαθὺς τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν συρρέουσιν ὕδασι πόρος γίνεται· ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ πᾶν παραπέφρακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Νίγρου τοῦ πανταχόθεν κωλύεσθαι ἔνεκα τὴν δίοδον τοῦ στρατοῦ.

[3] κατὰ μὲν δὴ Καππαδοκίαν ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, ἐστασίασαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ αὐτῷ ζήλῳ καὶ [μίσει] Λαοδικεῖς μὲν κατὰ Συρίαν Ἀντιοχέων μίσει, κατὰ δὲ Φοινίκην Τύριοι Βηρυτίων ἔχθει· μαθόντες τε τὸν Νίγρον πεφευγότα τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἐκείνου καθελεῖν ἐπειράθησαν, [4] τὸν δὲ Σεβῆρον εὐφήμησαν. ὥς δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ταῦτα ὁ Νίγρος ἐπέθηκετο, ἄλλως μὲν τὸ ἦθος πρότερον χρηστὸς ὢν, ἀγανακτήσας δὲ τότε εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει αὐτῶν καὶ ὕβρει, ἐπιτέμπει ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις Μαυρουσίους τε ἀκοντιστὰς οὓς εἶχε καὶ μέρος τοξοτῶν, φονεύειν τε τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας κελεύσας καὶ διαρπάζειν τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, αὐτάς [5] τε ἐμπιπράναι. οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι ὄντες φονικώτατοι, καὶ διὰ τὸ θανάτου καὶ κινδύνων ῥαδίως καταφρονεῖν πάντα τολμῶντες μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως, ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς Λαοδικεῦσιν οὐ προσδοκῶσι παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλυμήναντο, ἐκεῖθ' ἐν τε σπεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Τύρον πᾶσάν τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ φόνον εἰργάσαντο.

[6] Τούτων κατὰ Συρίαν γινομένων καὶ στρατοῦ ὑπὸ Νίγρου ἀθροιζομένου, ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς προσκαθεζόμενος τὸ ἔρυμα ἐπολιόρκει. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμία καὶ ἀπογνώσει ὀχυροῦ τε ὄντος καὶ [7] δυσμάχου καὶ πεφραγμένου ὅρει τε καὶ κρημνῷ. ἤδη δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ Σεβήρου ἀπειρηκότων, τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων ἀμέριμνον ἔχειν τὴν φρουρὰν οἰομένων, νύκτωρ αἰφνιδίως ὄμβρων μεγίστων καταρραγέντων χιόνος τε πολλῆς (δυσχεῖμερος γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ Καππαδοκία, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ὁ Ταῦρος) μέγας καὶ σφοδρὸς χειμάρρους καταραχθεὶς, ἐμποδισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ συνήθους δρόμου καὶ τοῦ ἐρύματος ἐπισχόντος τὸ ρεῖθρον πολὺς καὶ βίαιος γενόμενος, τῆς τε φύσεως νικώσης τὴν τέχνην μὴ δυναμένου τοῦ τείχους ἀντέχειν τῷ ρέματι,

διέστησε τῷ ὕδατι κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀρμογάς, ὑποχωρούντων <δὲ> τῶν θεμελίων τῷ ρείθρῳ ἅτε διὰ σπουδῆς καὶ οὐ μετ' ἐπιμελείας κατασκευασθέντων πᾶν ὥφθη, τὸν δὲ τόπον [8] ὁ χειμάρρους ἀνοίξας ὥδοποίησεν. ὅπερ ἰδόντες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρύματος φύλακες, φοβηθέντες μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ἐκπεριελθόντων αὐτοῦς τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμάρρου ἀπόρροϊαν μηκέτι ὄντος τοῦ κωλύοντος, καταλιπόντες τὴν φρουρὰν φεύγουσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς ἤσθεις τῷ γενομένῳ, τὰς τε ψυχὰς ἐπιρρωσθεῖς ὡς προνοία θεία ὀδηγούμενος, συνεῖς δὲ ἀποδεδρακότας τοὺς φύλακας, εὐμαρῶς τε καὶ ἀκωλύτως διαβάς τὸν Ταῦρον ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ἡπείγετο.

SECTION 4

[1] ὁ δὲ Νίγρος μαθὼν τὰ συμβάντα, πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας, πλὴν ἄπειρον μάχης καὶ πόνων, μετὰ σπουδῆς τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο· πολὺ γάρ τι πλῆθος καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ νεολαία τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐς στρατείαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον ἐπέδωκεν αὐτήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρόθυμον τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ, τοῦ δὲ ἐμπείρου [2] καὶ γενναίου πολὺ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀπέλειπον. συνέρχεται δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐς τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον πεδίων πλατύτατόν τε καὶ ἐπιμηκέστατον, ὃ περικείται μὲν λόφος ἐς θεάτρου σχῆμα, αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγιστος ἐκτείνεται, ὥσπερ τῆς [3] φύσεως εἰργασμένης στάδιον μάχης. ἐκεῖ φασὶ καὶ Δαρεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν ὑστάτην καὶ μεγίστην μάχην συμβαλόντα ἡττηθῆναι τε καὶ ἀλῶναι, τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτῶν μερῶν καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς νενικηκότων. μένει δὲ ἔτι νῦν τρόπαιον καὶ δεῖγμα τῆς νίκης ἐκείνης, πόλις ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου Ἀλεξάνδρεια καλουμένη, ἄγαλμά τε χαλκοῦν οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν ὁ τόπος φέρει.

[4] συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Σεβήρου τε καὶ «τοῦ» Νίγρου μὴ τὴν σύνοδον μόνον κατ' ἐκεῖνο γενέσθαι τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὁμοίαν τῆς μάχης. ἀντιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν περὶ ἐσπέραν, πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν φροντίσιν ἑκάτεροι καὶ δέει διαγρηγορήσαντες, ἅμα ἡλιῷ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἠπείγοντο, παρορμώντων ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν στρατηγῶν. προθυμία δὴ πάσῃ ἐνέπιπτον ὥς ὑπὲρ λοιπῆς καὶ τελευταίας ἐκείνης μάχης, κάκεῖ τῆς τύχης διακρινούσης τὸν [5] βασιλέα. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν διαγωνισαμένων πολλοῦ τε ἐργασθέντος φόνου, ὥς καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα τῶν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ποταμῶν ρεόντων αἵματος πλεῖον ἢ ὕδατος κατάγειν ἐς θάλασσαν, τροπὴ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν γίνεται. ἐκβιασάμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν παρακειμένην θάλασσαν τιτρώσκοντες ἐξωθοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς λόφους διώκοντες αὐτοὺς τε φονεύουσι καὶ πολὺ τι πλῆθος ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὅπερ ἔκ τε τῶν περικειμένων πόλεων καὶ ἀγρῶν ἦθροιστο, ὥς ἀπ' ἀσφαλοῦς τοῦ τόπου τὰ γινόμενα θεάσιντο.

[6] ὁ δὲ Νίγρος ἵππῳ γενναίῳ ἐποχούμενος φεύγει μετ' ὀλίγων, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικνεῖται. καταλαβὼν δὲ φεύγοντα τὸν λοιπὸν δῆμον, εἰ «τέ» τις καταλέλειπτο, οἰμωγὴν τε καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ πόλει παῖδάς τε καὶ ἀδελφοὺς θρηνούντων, γενόμενος ἐν ἀπογνώσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀποδιδράσκει. καὶ ἔν τινι προαστείῳ κρυπτόμενος, εὔρεθεις τε ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἱππέων καὶ συλληφθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη.

[7] τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ὁ Νίγρος ἐχρήσατο, μελλήσεως καὶ βραδυτῆτος δούς δίκας, τὰ ἄλλα, ὥς φασι, γενόμενος μὴ φαῦλος ἄνθρωπος, μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ιδιώτης· ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος καθελὼν τὸν Νίγρον, τοὺς μὲν φίλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τινες οὐ μόνον ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνάγκης προσέθεντο αὐτῷ, πάντας ἀφειδῶς ἐκόλασε, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας, ὅσοι διαδεδράκεσαν, πυνθανόμενος περαιουμένους τὸν Τίγριδα ποταμὸν διὰ τε τὸ ἐκ Σεβήρου δέος ἀπιόντας πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, «ἐπαν»ήγαγε [8] δούς ἀμνηστίαν, «οὐ πάντας δέ». πολὺ γὰρ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν ἀλλοδαπήν. ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστα αἴτιον ἐγένετο μαχιμώτερα ὕστερον γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν συστάδην μάχην Ῥωμαίων τὰ τῶν ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρων. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τοξεύειν μόνον ἵπποις ἐποχούμενοι ἦδυσαν, μήτε πανοπλία φράσσοντες αὐτοὺς μήτε τῇ διὰ δοράτων καὶ ξιφῶν θαρροῦντες μάχῃ, κούφαις δὲ καὶ παρηωρημέναις ἐσθῆσι κοσμούμενοι· τὰ πλεῖστα γοῦν [9] φεύγοντες ἐς τοῦπίσω τε τοξεύοντες ἐμάχοντο. τῶν δὲ φυγάδων στρατιωτῶν, πολλῶν τε ἐν αὐτοῖς τεχνιτῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ βίον ἐλομένων, οὐ μόνον χρῆσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ὅπλα ἐδιδάχθησαν.

SECTION 5

[1] διοικήσας δὲ ὁ Σεβήρος τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὡς ᾔετο, ἄριστα καὶ ἑαυτῷ λυσιτελεστάτα, ἠθέλησεν εὐθέως ὀρμῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀτρινῶν βασιλέα ἕξ τε τὴν Παρθυαίων γῆν διαβῆναι· ἐνεκάλει γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις φιλίαν Νίγρου. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἕξ ὕστερον ἀνέθετο, πρῶτον δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίων ἕξ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μεταγαγεῖν [2] καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι ἠθέλησε. καθηρημένου γὰρ τοῦ Νίγρου ὀχληρὸς καὶ περιττὸς αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀλβίνος ἐνομίζετο· ἔτι τε καὶ ἤκουεν αὐτὸν βασιλικώτερον ἐντρυφῶντα τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀνόματι, πολλοὺς τε, μάλιστα τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, ἰδίᾳ καὶ κρύβδην ἐπιστέλλοντας αὐτῷ, ἕξ τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν πείθοντας ἀπόντος καὶ ἀσχολουμένου τοῦ Σεβήρου. ἤρουντο γὰρ οἱ εὐπατρίδαι ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον ἄρχοντα, ἅτε ἐκ προγόνων εὖ γεγονότα [3] καὶ χρηστὸν τὸ ἦθος εἶναι λεγόμενον. ἅπερ πυνθανόμενος ὁ Σεβήρος φανεράν μὲν εὐθὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν ἄρασθαι καὶ πόλεμον ἐγεῖραι πρὸς ἄνδρα μηδεμίαν εὐλογον παρεσχημένον αἰτίαν παρητήσατο· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπόπειραν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ δύναιτο ἀποσκευάσασθαι λαθῶν [4] καὶ ἐξαπατήσας αὐτόν. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν εἰωθότων τὰ βασιλικά γράμματα διακομίζειν, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐντολὰς [ἀπορρήτων.] εἰ γένοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ, τὰ μὲν γράμματα δημοσίᾳ ἀποδοῦναι, ἀξιῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδιαιτερον ἀποστάντα ἐπακοῦσαι ἀπορρήτων ἐντολῶν, πεισθέντι δὲ δορυφόρων ἐρήμῳ ἐπιπεσεῖν [5] αἰφνιδίως καὶ φονεῦσαι. ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ δηλητήρια φάρμακα, ὅπως τινὰς πείσαιεν, εἰ δυνθεῖεν, ἢ τῶν ὀσποιοῶν ἢ τῶν πρὸς ταῖς κύλιξι, λαθεῖν καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ ὑποπτευόντων, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων [6] συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ φυλάττεσθαι ἄνδρα ἀπατεῶνα σοφόν τε πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν· διαβεβλήκεσαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἦθος αἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ Νίγρου πράξεις· πείσας γὰρ αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν παιδῶν, ὡς προεῖρηται, προδοῦναι τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου πράγματα, μετὰ τὸ ἀποχρήσασθαι αὐτῶν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ καὶ κατορθῶσαι πάντα ἃ ἐβούλετο ἀνεῖλεν αὐτούς τε καὶ «τοὺς» παῖδας. τὸ οὖν ὕπουλον [7] αὐτοῦ ἦθος μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἐδηλοῦτο. διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλβίνος καὶ φρουρᾷ μείζονι ἔφραττεν ἑαυτόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἀφικνουμένων ἄλλως προσήει, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἀποθέμενος ὅπερ περιέκειτο ξίφος στρατιωτικὸν ἐρευνηθεῖς τε, μὴ τι φέροι [8] ὑπὸ κόλπον. ὡς δ' οὖν ἀφίκοντο οἱ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἀγγελιαφόροι, τά τε γράμματα δημοσίᾳ ἀποδόντες ἠξίουσαν αὐτὸν ἀποστάντα ἐπακοῦσαι τινῶν ἀπορρήτων, ὑποπτεύσας

ὁ Ἀλβῖνος συλληφθῆναι κελεύει αὐτούς, ἰδίᾳ τε βασανίσας πᾶσαν μανθάνει
τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κολάζει, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἤδη ὥς πρὸς ὁμολογούμενον
ἐχθρὸν

SECTION 6

[1] παρεσκευάζετο. γνούς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεβήρος, καὶ πάντα μὲν ἐκθύμως πράττων, ὀργῆς δὲ ἥτων ὦν φύσει, οὐκέτι τὴν ἔχθραν ἔκρυπτεν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας πᾶν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε·

μήτε κουφότητά τις ἢ μετάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖτω, μήτ' ἄπιστον «ἐμὲ» ἢ ἀγνώμονα [2] πρὸς τὸν νομισθέντα φίλον ἡγείσθω. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν πάντα ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ, βεβαίας βασιλείας κοινωνία, πράγματος οὐ μόλις τις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς γνησίοις μεταδίδωσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ὑμεῖς ἐχειροτονήσατε, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐνειμάμην. μεγάλων τέ μοι κατατεθεισῶν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀχαρίστους τὰς ἀμοιβὰς Ἀλβῖνος [3] ἀποδίδωσιν. ὅπλα καὶ στρατὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευάζεται, καταφρονήσας μὲν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀνδρείας, ἀμελήσας δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ πίστεως, ἀπλήστῳ τε ἐπιθυμίᾳ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν μετὰ κινδύνων οὐ τὸ μέρος εἶχεν ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ μάχης, οὔτε θεοὺς αἰδεσθεῖς, οὓς πολλάκις ὤμοσεν, οὔτε τῶν ὑμετέρων καμάτων φεισάμενος, οὓς μετὰ τοσαύτης [4] δόξης τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκάμετε. ἐν γὰρ οἷς κατωρθώσατε, κἀκεῖνος τὸ μέρος ἐκαρπούτο· ἔσχε δ' ἂν τι καὶ μείζον, εἰ καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐτήρει, τῆς ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν παρ' ὑμῶν μεμερισμένης τιμῆς. ὥσπερ δὲ ἄδικον τὸ ἄρχειν ἔργων πονηρῶν, οὕτως ἄνανδρον τὸ μὴ ἀμύνεσθαι προαδικούμενον. καὶ Νίγρῳ μὲν πολεμοῦντες οὐχ οὕτως εὐλόγους εἶχομεν αἰτίας ἔχθρας ὥς ἀναγκαίης· οὐ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν προϋπάρχουσιν ἀρχὴν ὑφαρπάζων μεμίσητο, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἐρριμμένην καὶ ἀμφήριστον οὔσαν ἐκάτερος ἡμῶν ἐξ ἰσοτίμου φιλοτιμίας ἐς αὐτὸν [5] ἀνθεῖλκεν· Ἀλβῖνος δὲ σπονδῶν καὶ ὄρκων καταφρονήσας, καὶ τούτου παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχὼν οὐ μόνῳ τις υἱῷ γνησίῳ μεταδίδωσιν, ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἀντὶ φίλου πολέμιος δὲ ἀντὶ οἰκείου γενέσθαι προήρηται. ὥσπερ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐεργετοῦντες πρότερον τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ ἐκοσμήσαμεν, οὕτως καὶ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄπιστον καὶ ἄνανδρον τοῖς ὅλοις [6] ἐλέγξωμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομενεῖ ὁ ἐκεῖνου στρατὸς ὀλίγος ὦν καὶ νησιώτης τὴν ὑμετέραν δύναμιν. οἱ γὰρ μόνοι καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς προθυμία καὶ ἀνδρεία τοσοῦταις μάχαις ἐνίκησατε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνατολὴν ὑπετάξατε, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν, προσελθούσης ὑμῖν τοσαύτης συμμάχου δυνάμεως, σχεδόν τε παντὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος, ῥᾶστα κρατήσετε ὀλίγων τε ὄντων καὶ μηδὲ ὑπὸ γενναίῳ [7] καὶ νήφοντι ἀνδρὶ στρατηγουμένων; τίς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀβροδιαίτον οὐκ οἶδεν, ὥς χοροῖς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀρμόζειν τὸν βίον ἢ φάλαγξιν; ἴωμεν οὖν τῇ συνήθει χρώμενοι

προθυμία τε καὶ ἀνδρεία γενναίως ἐπ' αὐτόν, θεοὺς τε ἔχοντες βοηθοὺς, ἐς οὓς ἐπιорκήσας ἡσέβησε, τρόπαιά τε ἃ πολλάκις ἡγείραμεν, ὧν ἐκεῖνος κατεφρόνησεν.

[8] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντος τοῦ Σεβήρου ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας τὸν μὲν Ἀλβῖνον πολέμιον ἀνηγόρευσεν, εὐφημήσαντες δὲ τὸν Σεβήρον, πᾶσάν τε προθυμίαν διὰ τῆς βοῆς ὑποσχόμενοι, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον παρώρμησαν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὰς τε ὑπέφηναν τὰς ἐλπίδας. ὁ δὲ ἐπιδούς αὐτοῖς μεγαλοφρόνως [9] δωρεάς, τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὁδοῦ εἶχετο. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὸ Βυζάντιον πολιορκήσοντας· ἔμενε γὰρ ἔτι κεκλεισμένον, τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ Νίγρου ἐκεῖσε καταφυγόντων. ὅπερ ἐάλω ὕστερον λιμῶ, πᾶσά τε ἡ πόλις κατεσκάφη, καὶ θεάτρων τε καὶ λουτρῶν παντός τε κόσμου καὶ τιμῆς ἀφαιρεθὲν τὸ Βυζάντιον κώμη δουλεύειν Περινθίοις δῶρον ἐδόθη, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια Λαοδικεῦσιν. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα ἐς ἀνοικισμὸν τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἦν λυμηνάμενος ὁ Νίγρου στρατός.

[10] αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶχετο, μηδεμίαν ἀνοχὴν ἀναπαύλης διδοὺς μήτε ἑορταῖς μήτε καμάτοις, κρύους καὶ θάλπους ὁμοίως καταφρονῶν. πολλάκις γοῦν διὰ τῶν δυσχειμέρων καὶ ὑψηλοτάτων ὁρῶν τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ποιούμενος ὑπὸ νιφετοῖς καὶ χιόσιν ἀκαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ ὠδοιπόρει, προθυμίας καὶ ἀνδρείας τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔργῳ διδοὺς, ὡς μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς φόβῳ καὶ νόμῳ ἀντέχειν πρὸς τοὺς καμάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμήσει καὶ ζήλῳ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸν «μετὰ» δυνάμεως τὸν τὰ στενὰ τῶν Ἄλπεων καταληψόμενον καὶ φρουρήσοντα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰς εἰσβολάς.

SECTION 7

[1] ὥς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Ἀλβίνῳ μὴ μέλλων ὁ Σεβήρος ἀλλ' ἤδη παρεσόμενος, ὑπτιάζοντι καὶ τρυφῶντι μεγάλην ταραχὴν ἐνέβαλε. περαιωθεὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίας εἰς τὴν ἀντικειμένην Γαλλίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἔπεμψέ τε εἰς πάντα τὰ γειννιῶντα ἔθνη, τοῖς τε ἡγουμένοις ἐπέστειλε χρήματά τε πέμπειν καὶ τροφὰς τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν πεισθέντες ἔπεμψαν ὀλεθρίως· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐκολάσθησαν· ὅσοι δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν, εὐτυχῶς μᾶλλον γνόντες ἢ εὐβούλως ἐσώθησαν. ἡ γὰρ ἀπόβασις καὶ ἡ τύχη τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἐκατέρων γνώμας ἔκρινεν.

[2] ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς τοῦ Σεβήρου δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Γαλλίαν γεγόνاسι μὲν τινες ἀκροβολισμοὶ καθ' ἕτερα χωρία, ἡ δὲ τελευταία περὶ Λουγδοῦνον, μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, ἐν ἣ κατακλείσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἀλβίνος ἔμενε, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξέπεμψε. γενομένης δὲ συμβολῆς καρτερᾶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν ἰσόρροπος ἔμενεν ἐκατέροις τῆς νίκης ἡ τύχη. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Βρεττανοὶ ἀνδρεία τε καὶ θυμῷ φονικῷ οὐδὲν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀπολείπονται· γενναίων οὖν στρατῶν μαχομένων, οὐδετέρων [3] ῥαδία ἦν ἡ τροπή. ὥς δὲ τινες τῶν τότε ἱστόρησαν, οὐ πρὸς χάριν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες, πολὺ τι ὑπερέσχευ ἡ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀλβίνου στρατοῦ, καθ' ὃ μέρος τέτακτο ὁ Σεβήρος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατός, ὥς φυγεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀπορρίψαντα δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα τὴν βασιλικὴν λαθεῖν. ἤδη δὲ διωκόντων καὶ παιωνιζόντων τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὥς δὴ νενικηκότων, ἐπιφανῆναι Λαῖτον, στρατηγὸν ὄντα Σεβήρου, σὺν τῷ στρατῷ οὗ ἦρχεν, ἀκμητὶ τε ὄντι καὶ ἔξω μάχης γεγονότι.

[4] διαβάλλουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ὥς καταδοκῆσαντα τὴν ἀπόβασιν τῆς μάχης καὶ ἐκόντα βραδύναντα, τὸν δὲ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατὸν ἀκμητα τηρήσαντα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῷ μνόμενον, τότε ἐπιφανῆναι ὅτε ἔμαθε τὸν Σεβήρον πεπτωκότα. πιστοῦται δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν ταύτην ἢ ἀπόβασις· ὕστερον γὰρ ὁ Σεβήρος, μετὰ τὸ πάντα κατορθῶσαι καὶ εἶναι ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ βίῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας στρατηγούς αὐτοῦ μεγάλως ἡμείψατο, τὸν δὲ Λαῖτον μόνον, [5] ὥς εἰκός, μνησικακήσας διεχρήσατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δ' οὖν, ὥς προεῖρηται, τοῦ Λαίτου ἐπιφανέντος σὺν νεαρῷ στρατῷ οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σεβήρου ἐπερρώσθησαν, τὸν τε Σεβήρον τοῦ ἵππου ἐπεβίβασαν [6] καὶ τὴν χλαμύδα περιέθεσαν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλβίνου οἰόμενοι ἤδη νενικηκέναι καὶ ἀτακτότεροι εὐρεθέντες, αἰφνιδίως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσούσης γενναίας καὶ οὐ προηγωνισμένης

δυνάμεως, ἐπ’ ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντες εἶξαν, τροπῆς τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς φονεύοντες οἱ Σεβήρου, μέχρις οὗ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέβαλον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνηρημένων ἢ ἀλόντων, ὡς ἕκαστος [7] ἐβουλήθη τῶν τότε συγγραψάντων, ἰστόρησεν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου τὴν τε Λουγδοῦνον διαρπάσαντες καὶ ἐμπρήσαντες, τὸν τε Ἀλβῖνον συλλαβόντες καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόντες, κομίσαντες αὐτὴν τῷ Σεβήρῳ δισσὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἡγείραν τρόπαια, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὸ δ’ ὑπ’ ἄρκτῳ, ὡς μηδὲν ταῖς Σεβήρου μάχαις ἢ νίκαις παραβάλλεσθαι μήτε πλῆθι δυνάμεως μήτε ἔθνων κινήσεσιν ἀριθμῷ τε παρατάξων ὁδοιπορίας τε μήκει καὶ τάχει.

[8] μεγάλοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αἱ Καίσαρος πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐκατέρωθεν στρατοπέδων Ῥωμαϊκῶν μάχαι, καὶ αὖ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἢ τοὺς Πομπήιου παῖδας, εἴ τέ τι πρότερον Σύλλα ἢ Μαρίῳ ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ Ῥωμαϊκαῖς μάχαις ἢ ἄλλοις πέπρακται· ἓνα δὲ ἄνδρα τρεῖς καθελόντα βασιλέας ἤδη κρατοῦντας, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατοῦ σοφία περιγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐτῇ καθηρηκέναι «εὐτυχήσαντα», τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ κρατοῦντα πάλοι καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα κληθέντα, τὸν δὲ ἐν Καίσαρος τιμῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ γεγονότα χειρωσάμενον ἀνδρεία, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον ῥαδίως εἰπεῖν.

τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ὁ Ἀλβῖνος ἐχρήσατο, πρὸς ὀλίγον

SECTION 8

[1] ἀπολαύσας ὀλεθρίου τιμῆς· ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ εὐθέως πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλους αὐτοῦ ἐχρήτο. καὶ πέμψας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἀλβίνου δημοσίᾳ ἀνασταυρωθῆναι κελεύει· γράμμασί τε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν νίκην ἑαυτοῦ δηλώσας ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ τοῦτο προσέθηκε, πεπομέναι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ περίοπτον, ἵνα

[2] οἷόν περ καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ... διοικήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ Βρεττανίαν καὶ διελὼν ἐς δύο ἡγεμονίας τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξουσίαν, τὰ τε κατὰ τὰς Γαλλίας, ὡς ᾤετο, ἄριστα διαθεῖς, πάντας τε τοὺς Ἀλβίνου φίλους εἴτε ἐκουσίως εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῷ γνωρισθέντας φονεύσας, τὰς τε οὐσίας αὐτῶν δημεύσας, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο, ἄγων ἅπαντα τὸν στρατὸν σὺν αὐτῷ, ὡς φανεῖν φοβερώτερος.

[3] ἀνύσας δὴ πολλῷ τάχει τὴν ὁδοιορίαν, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος αὐτῷ, χαλεπαίνων πρὸς ἔτι περιόντας τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσῆλασεν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτὸν δαφνηφορῶν μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς καὶ εὐφημίας ὑπεδέξατο, ἥ τε σύγκλητος προσηγόρευσαν, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν μεγίστῳ δέει καθεστῶτες, λογιζόμενοι ὅτι αὐτῶν οὐ φείσεται, φύσει μὲν ὢν ἐχθρὸς χαλεπώτατος καὶ μικρᾶς προφάσεως δεόμενος ἐς τὸ ἀδικῆσαι, τότε δὲ δοκῶν καὶ εὐλόγους [4] ἔχειν αἰτίας. ὁ δ' οὖν Σεβῆρος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἀνελθὼν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τελέσας ἱερουργίας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις μεγίστας νομάς. τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἐπέδωκε χρήματα πλεῖστα, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνεχώρησεν ἃ μὴ πρότερον [5] εἶχον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ σιτηρέσιον πρῶτος ἠΐξῃσεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς χρήσασθαι ἐπέτρεψε γυναῖξί τε συνοικεῖν, ἅπερ ἅπαντα σωφροσύνης στρατιωτικῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐτοίμου τε καὶ εὐσταλοῦς ἀλλότρια ἐνομίζετο. καὶ πρῶτός γε ἐκεῖνος τὸ πάνυ αὐτῶν ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς διαίτης τό τε εὐπειθὲς πρὸς τοὺς πόνους καὶ εὐτακτον μετ' αἰδοῦς πρὸς ἄρχοντας ἐπανέτρεψε, χρημάτων τε ἐπιθυμεῖν διδάξας καὶ μεταγαγὼν ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον.

[6] διοικήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ὡς ᾤετο, ἄριστα, κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν, ἀνελθὼν τε ἐς τὸν βασίλειον θρόνον, πικρῶς κατηγόρησε τῶν Ἀλβίνου φίλων, ὧν μὲν ἐπιστολὰς προκομίζων ἀπορρήτους, ἃς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου ἀποθέτοις εὔρε γράμμασιν, οἷς δὲ δῶρα ὀνειδίζων πεμφθέντα ἐκεῖνον πολυτελέστερα· ἄλλοις δὲ ἄλλας ἐπιφέρων αἰτίας, τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνθρώποις φιλίαν «Νίγρου» τοῖς [7] δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα γνῶσιν Ἀλβίνου, πάντας τοὺς

ἐξέχοντας τότε τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς κατὰ ἔθνη πλούτῳ ἢ γένει
ὑπερέχοντας ἀφειδῶς ἀνῆρει, ὥς μὲν προσεποιεῖτο, χαλεπαίνων πρὸς ἐχθροὺς,
τὸ δ' ἀληθές, ὑπερβαλλούσης ἐν αὐτῷ φιλοχρηματίας· οὐδεὶς γοῦν βασιλέων
[8] οὕτω χρημάτων ἡττήθη. ὥς γὰρ καρτερία ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνεξικακία πόνων
διοικήσει τε στρατιωτικῶν πραγμάτων οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπαινουμένων
ἀπελείπετο, οὕτως ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπλήθυνε τὸ φιλοχρήματον ἐξ ἀδικίας, φονῶν ἐκ
τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας. φόβῳ γοῦν ἤρξε μᾶλλον τῶν ἀρχομένων [9] ἢ εὐνοίᾳ. τῷ
μέντοι δήμῳ ἐπειρᾶτο ποιεῖν κεχαρισμένα· καὶ γὰρ θέας πολυτελεῖς καὶ
παντοδαπὰς συνεχῶς ἐπετέλει, καὶ θηρίων ἑκατοντάδας ἀνεῖλε πολλάκις τῶν
ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς ἡμετέρας τε καὶ βαρβάρου, νομάς τε μεγαλοφρόνως ἐπεδίδου.
ἐπετέλεσε δὲ καὶ ἐπινίκιον ἀγῶνα, τοὺς πανταχόθεν μούσης τε ὑποκριτὰς καὶ
ἀνδρείας [10] μαθητὰς μεταπεμψάμενος. εἶδομεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ θέας τινῶν
παντοδαπῶν θεαμάτων ἐν πᾶσι θεάτροις ὁμοῦ, ἱερουργίας τε καὶ παννυχίδας
ἐπιτελεσθείσας ἐς μυστηρίων ζῆλον· αἰωνίους δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκάλουν οἱ τότε,
ἀκούοντες τριῶν γενεῶν διαδραμουσῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. κήρυκες γοῦν κατὰ τε
τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεφοίτων καλοῦντες ἥκειν καὶ θεάσασθαι πάντα
ἃ μήτε εἶδον μήτε ὄψονται. οὕτως ὁ μεταξὺ χρόνος τῆς παρελθούσης ἐορτῆς
καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἐδηλοῦτο, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερβαίνων.

SECTION 9

[1] διατρίψας δὲ ἱκανοὺς χρόνους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοὺς τε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ κοινωνοὺς τῆς βασιλείας καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἀποδείξας, βουλόμενος δόξαν ἄρασθαι νίκης μὴ μόνον ἐμφυλίου τε καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐφ' ἧ καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι ἠδέσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐγείραι τρόπαια, πρόφασιν ποιοῦμενος τὴν Βαρσημίου τοῦ Ἀττηνῶν βασιλέως πρὸς Νίγρον φιλίαν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ [2] τὴν ἀνατολήν. παρὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καταδραμεῖν ἠθέλησε· φθάσας δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς χρήματά τε αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα ὁμήρους τε ἱκετεῦων ἐπεμψε, σπονδὰς καὶ εὖνοιαν ὑπισχνούμενος. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ προχωρούντων κατὰ γνώμην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττηνῶν ἠπείγετο. προσέφυγε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλεὺς Αὐγάρος, τοὺς τε παῖδας ὁμηρεῦειν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν πίστεως ἐξέδωκε, τοξότας τε πλείστους συμμαχοὺς ἤγαγεν.

[3] ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος διαβάς τὴν τῶν ποταμῶν μέσσην τήν τε [καὶ] Ἀδιαβηνῶν χώραν, ἐπέδραμε καὶ τὴν εὐδαίμονα Ἀραβίαν· φέρει γὰρ πόας εὐώδεις, αἷς ἀρώμασι καὶ θυμιάμασι χρώμεθα. πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ πόλεις πορθήσας τήν τε χώραν λεηλατήσας, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀττηνῶν [4] χώραν, προσκαθεζόμενος τὰς Ἄτρας ἐπολιόρκει. ἦν δὲ πόλις ἐπ' ἄκρας ὑψηλοτάτης ὄρους, τεῖχει μεγίστῳ καὶ γενναίῳ περιβλημένη, πλήθει τε ἀνδρῶν τοξοτῶν ἀκμάζουσα. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς προσκαθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει παντὶ σθένει, πειρώμενος τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν· μηχαναὶ τε παντοδαπαὶ προσήγοντο τῷ τεῖχει, καὶ οὐδὲν [5] παρελείπετο εἶδος πολιορκίας. οἱ δὲ Ἀττηνοὶ γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο, τόξοις τε καὶ λίθοις ἄνωθεν βάλλοντες οὐ μικρῶς ἐλύπουν τὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατόν. σκεύη τε κεράμου πεποιημένα πληροῦντες πτηνῶν, μικρῶν μὲν ἰοβόλων δὲ θηρίων, ἐπέβαλλον αὐτοῖς· τὰ δὲ ἐμπίπτοντα ταῖς ὄψεσι, καὶ εἴ τί που παραγεγύμνωτο τοῦ σώματος, λανθάνοντα καὶ παρεισιόντα τιτρώσκοντά τε αὐτοὺς [6] ἐλυμαίνετο. καὶ μὴ φέροντες τὸ πνιγῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ ἡλίου πῦρ, νόσοις περιπίπτοντες διεφθείροντο, ὥς πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας μᾶλλον ἀπόλλυσθαι ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

[7] ἀπαγορεύοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα, τῆς τε πολιορκίας μὴ προχωρούσης ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον βλαπτομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ κατορθούντων, τὸν στρατόν ὁ Σεβήρος, ὥς μὴ διαφθαρεῖη πᾶς, ἄπρακτον ἐπανήγαγε, δυσφοροῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὥς ἐβούλετο τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας [8] αὐτῷ

προκεχωρηκέναι· νικᾶν γὰρ πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἰθισμένος τὸ μὴ περιγενέσθαι ἤτταν ἡγεῖτο. πλὴν παρεμυθήσατο αὐτὸν ἡ συναιρομένη τότε τοῖς ἐκείνου πράγμασι τύχη· οὐ γὰρ παντάπασιν ἄπρακτος ἐπανῆλθεν, [9] ἀλλὰ μείζονα κατορθώσας ὣν ἥλπισε. καταπλέων γὰρ ὁ στρατὸς ναυσὶ πολλαῖς οὐκ ἐς ἃς ἐβούλετο Ῥωμαίων ὄχθας κατηνέχθη, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγόντος τοῦ ρεύματος προσώκειλε ταῖς Παρθυαίων ὄχθαις, αἱ μὴ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπείχον τῆς ἐς Κτησιφῶντα ἐφόδου, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ βασιλεία τοῦ Παρθυαίου καὶ αὐτὸς διέτριβεν εἰρήνην ἄγων, μηδέν τι προσήκειν νομίζων ἑαυτῷ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀττηνοὺς Σεβήρου μάχας· ἡσύχαζεν [10] οὖν, μηδέν τι δεινὸν προσδεχόμενος. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς ἄκων προσαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ταῖς ἐπέκεινα ὄχθαις, ἀπόβασίν τε ποιησάμενος, τὴν γῆν ἐλεηλάτει, θρέμματά τε τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα ἀπελαύνων, ἔν' ἔχοι τροφάς, καὶ κόμας ἐμπιπράς τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας, κατ' ὀλίγον τε προῖων ἐπέστη Κτησιφῶντι, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ μέγας [11] βασιλεὺς Ἀρτάβανος. προσπεσόντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπαρασκευοῖς τοῖς βαρβάροις, πάντα τε τὸν ἐμπίπτοντα ἐφόνευον καὶ διήρπασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντας τε παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς αὐτοῦ τῶν χρημάτων αἴρουσι, καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ κειμήλια ἀρπάσαντες ἐπανίστανται.

[12] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Σεβήρος, τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ, τῇ κατὰ Παρθυαίων νίκῃ κεκόσμητο· τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ δεξιῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν εὐχὴν προχωρησάντων ἐπέστειλε τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, τὰς τε πράξεις μεγαληγορῶν, τὰς μάχας τε καὶ τὰς νίκας δημοσίαις ἀνέθηκε γραφαῖς. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος πάσας τε <τὰς ἄλλας> τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο αὐτῷ, καὶ προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κεχειρωμένων.

SECTION 10

[1] κατορθώσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπείγετο, ἄγων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐφήβων ἤδη τελούοντας. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι διοικήσας ὡς ἐκάστω ἀπήτει τὸ χρεῖωδες, τὰ τε ἐν Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίοσι στρατόπεδα ἐπελθὼν, νικηφόρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου μετὰ μεγάλης εὐφημίας [2] τε καὶ θρησκείας ὑπεδέχθη, θυσίας τε καὶ ἑορτὰς θεάς τε καὶ πανηγύρεις τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχε· νομάς τε μεγαλοφρόνως ἐπιδοὺς καὶ θεάς τελέσας ἐπινικίους, ἐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διέτριψε, δικάζων τε συνεχῶς καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικῶν, τοὺς τε υἱεῖς παιδεύων καὶ [3] σωφρονίζων. οἱ δέ (ἤδη μειράκια ἦσθιν) ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς καὶ διαίτης τῆς τε περὶ τὰ θεάματα ὑπερβαλλούσης σπουδῆς ἡνιοχείας τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως τὰ ἦθη διεφθείροντο. πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον οἱ ἀδελφοί, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ παιδαριώδους φιλονεικίας δι' ὀρτύγων μάχας καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνων συμβολὰς πάλας τε παίδων [4] ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζοντες. ἢ τε περὶ τὰ θεάματα αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ἀκροάματα σπουδῇ φιλονεικῶς ἐκάστοτε ἐμερίζετο· καὶ οὐδενὶ ἀμφοτέρω ὁμοίως ἠρέσκοντο, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ τῷ ἑτέρῳ φίλον τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐχθρὸν ἦν. συνέκρουον δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ τε κόλακες καὶ οἱ θεράποντες, πρὸς τὸ ἡδὺ τῆς ἡλικίας κολακεύοντες καὶ ἀνθέλκοντες. ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος ταῦτα πυνθανόμενος συνάγειν τε καὶ σωφρονίζειν ἐπειράτο.

[5] τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον, ᾧ γνήσιον μὲν ἦν ὄνομα Βασσιανὸς πρὶν ἐς τὸν βασιλείον οἶκον παρελθεῖν, ὅτε δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμὴν εὐτύχησε, Σεβῆρος Ἀντωνῖνον ὠνόμασε, Μάρκου θελήσας αὐτὸν προσηγορίαν φέρειν· ἡγάγετό τε αὐτῷ γυναῖκα, γάμῳ σωφρονίσαι θέλων. ἦν δὲ ἐκείνη θυγάτηρ τοῦ ἐπάρχοντος τῶν στρατοπέδων· [6] Πλαυτιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ· τοῦτον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας εὐτελεῖ (τινὲς αὐτὸν καὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι ἔλεγον ἀλόντα ἐπὶ στάσεσι καὶ πολλοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν), ὄντα δὲ πολίτην ἑαυτοῦ (Λίβυς γὰρ κάκεῖνος ἦν), ὡς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον, πρὸς γένους αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι μᾶλλον διέβαλλον, ἀκμαζούσῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενον παιδικά, πλὴν ἄλλ' ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς τύχης ἐς μεγάλην προήγαγεν ἐξουσίαν, πλούτῳ τε ὑπερβάλλοντι ἐκόσμησε, τῶν ἀναιρουμένων χαριζόμενος τὰς οὐσίας, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἄλλ' ἢ μερισάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν [7] τὴν ἀρχήν. ἦπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀποχρώμενος οὔτε ὠμότητος οὔτε βίας ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔπραττεν ἀπείχετο, φοβερώτερος τῶν πώποτε ἀρχόντων γενόμενος. τούτου τὴν θυγατέρα ζεύξας ὁ Σεβῆρος τῷ υἱῷ τὸν οἶκον ἥνωσεν.

[8] ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος οὐ πάνυ τι ἡδόμενος τῷ γάμῳ, ἀνάγκη δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ προαιρέσει συνεζευγμένος, ἀπεχθῶς πάνυ πρὸς τὴν κόρην διέκειτο καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς, ὥς μήτε εὐνῆς μήτε ἐστίας κοινωνεῖν, μυσάττεσθαί τε τὴν κόρην, ἀπειλεῖν τε ἐκάστοτε ἀποκτενεῖν καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν πατέρα, ἐπὰν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατὴς γένηται μόνος. ταῦτα δὴ ἡ κόρη ἐκάστοτε ἀπήγγελλε τῷ πατρί, καὶ τοῦ γάμου τὸ μῖσος διηγουμένη παρώξυνεν αὐτόν.

SECTION 11

[1] ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς ὁρῶν τὸν μὲν Σεβῆρον πρεσβύτην τε ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου συνεχῶς ἐνοχλούμενον, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον ἐμβριθῆ καὶ θρασὺν νεανίαν, δεδιώς τε αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀπειλάς, δρᾶσαι τι μᾶλλον φθάσας ἢ παθεῖν ἀναμείνας [2] ἠθέλησεν. ἔτι τε αὐτὸν καὶ πολλὰ ἦν τὰ πρὸς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναπείθοντα, πλούτου τε περιβολὴ ἢ μὴ πρότερόν τινι ιδιωτεύοντι ἐγένετο, στρατιωτῶν τε θεραπείαι, τιμαί τε αἱ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων, σχῆμά τε ὃ προήει· ἡμφίεστο γὰρ τήν τε πλατύσημον ἐσθῆτα, ἐν τε τοῖς δεύτερον ὑπατεύουσιν ἐτέτακτο, παρηώρητό τε τὸ ξίφος, καὶ παντὸς ἀξιώματος σχῆμα ἔφερε μόνος.

[3] προϊὼν δὲ φοβερὸς ἦν, ὥς μήτε τινὰ προσίεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπαντωμένους ἀναστρέφειν· οἱ τε προϊόντες αὐτοῦ ἐκήρυττον μηδένα παρεστάναι μηδ' ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἀλλ' ἀποστρέφεσθαι καὶ κάτω βλέπειν.

οἷσπερ καὶ ὁ Σεβῆρος ἀγγελλομένοις οὐ πάνυ τι ἡρέσκετο, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθῆς ἤδη καὶ βαρὺς κάκεινῳ ἐγένετο, ὥς καὶ περιελεῖν τινὰ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸν Σεβῆρον], καὶ πειρᾶσθαι κολουεῖν τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἀλαζονείας.

[4] ἃ δὴ μὴ φέρων ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιβουλευσαὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. Σατορνῖνος ἦν εἷς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ χιλιάρχουντων. οὗτος ὑπερβαλλόντως τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ἐθεράπευε· καὶ πάντων μὲν τοῦτο ποιούντων, ἐκεῖνος δὲ πλείονι θρησκείᾳ ὤκειωτο αὐτόν. τοῦτον πιστότατον ἡγούμενος καὶ μόνον οἷόν τε φυλάξαι καὶ πληρῶσαι ἀπορρήτους ἐντολάς, περὶ δειλὴν μεταπεψᾶμενος [5] πάντων ἀνακεχωρηκότων νῦν σοι καιρὸς ἔφη τέλος γενναῖον ἐπιθεῖναι εὐνοία τε καὶ ὑπηρεσία ἦν πρὸς με ἐπεδείξω, ἐμοί τε ἀμείψασθαί σε κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν χάριν ἀποδοῦναι. πρόκειται δέ σοι αἴρεσις ἢ τοῦ εἶναι ὅπερ ἐμὲ νῦν ὁρᾷς ὄντα, καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἐξουσίαν παραλαβεῖν διαδεξάμενόν με, ἢ τεθνάναι [6] αὐτίκα ἀπειθείας ὑποσχόντα τιμωρίαν. μηδὲ σε τοῦ ἔργου τὸ μέγεθος ἐκπληττέτω, μηδὲ τὸ τῶν βασιλέων ὄνομα ταραπτέτω. εἰσῆναι [τε] γὰρ μέχρι τοῦ δωματίου ἔνθα. ἀναπαύονται δύνασαι μόνος, ἅτε τὴν νυκτερινὴν φρουρὰν ἐκ περιόδου ἐγκεχειρισμένος. ὅ τι δ' ἂν μέλλης πράττειν, λανθάνων ἀκωλύτως ἐς τέλος ἄξεις, ἐπεὶ μήτ' ἐμὲ ἔτι τοιαῦτα κελεῦσαι προσδόκα μήτε σὲ ὑπακοῦσαι.

[7] ἄνελθε δὴ ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλήν, καὶ ὥς τινὰς ἀγγελίας ἐπειγούσας καὶ ἀπορρήτους παρ' ἐμοῦ φέρων ἐπείσελθὼν αὐτοῖς ἀπόκτεινον. ἀνὴρ δὲ γενναῖος γενοῦ, ῥαδίως κατεργασάμενος πρεσβύτην τε καὶ παιδάριον.

μετασχών γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῶν κινδύνων, μεθέξεις καὶ τῶν μεγίστων τῆς κατορθώσεως τιμῶν.

[8] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ χιλιάρχης ἐξεπλάγη μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἐταράχθη δὲ τὴν γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἅτε ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν καθεστώς (καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῷ γενεὶ Σύρος, δριμύτεροι δ' ὥς πρὸς τὰς ἐννοίας οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἄνθρωποι) τὸν θυμὸν ὀρῶν ἐνθουσιῶντα τοῦ κελεύοντος καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰδώς οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν, ὥς μὴ παρ' αὐτὰ κολασθεῖη, προσποιησάμενος δὲ εὐκταῖα καὶ ἀσπαστὰ ἀκούειν, προσκυνήσας τε ὥς ἤδη βασιλέα, γραμματεῖον [9] ἤτησε τοῦ φόνου φέρον τὰς ἐντολάς. ἔθος γὰρ τοῦτο τυραννικόν, εἴ τινα ἐκπέμποιεν ἐπὶ φόνον ἄκριτον, ἐντέλλεσθαι τοῦτο διὰ γραμμάτων, ἵνα μὴ γινόμενον ἦ ἀκατασήμενον. ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς τυφλώτων τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ γραμματεῖον, καὶ ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπὴν ἀμφοτέρους διαχρήσεται, πρὶν διαβόητον γενέσθαι τὸ πραχθὲν πέμψαι τοὺς καλέσοντας αὐτόν, ἵνα ὀφθῇ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἢ ἀκουσθῇ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβών.

SECTION 12

[1] ἐπὶ ταύταις δὴ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀνελθὼν ὁ χιλιάρχος εἰσῆλθε μὲν διὰ πάσης τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἀκωλύτως· εἰδὼς δὲ ἀδύνατον ὂν δύο διαχειρίσασθαι βασιλέας, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν διαφόροις οἴκοις διατρίβοντας, ἐπιστάς τῷ δωματίῳ τοῦ Σεβήρου, καλέσας τοὺς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θαλάμου φύλακας, ἡξίωσεν εἰσαχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῷ τινὰ ἀγγελῶν. οἱ δὲ δηλώσαντες τῷ Σεβήρῳ, καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, [2] τὸν χιλιάρχον εἰσήγαγον. ὁ δὲ εἰσελθὼν ἦκω σοι ἔφη, ὦ δέσποτα, ὡς μὲν ὁ πέμψας οἴεται, φονεὺς καὶ δῆμιος, ὡς δ' αὐτὸς εὐχομαί τε καὶ βούλομαι, σωτήρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης. Πλαυτιανὸς γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύων τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐντεταίχαι μοι φόνον σὸν τε καὶ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμασι· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ γραμματεῖον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπεσχόμην μὲν, ὅπως μὴ ἐμοῦ τὸ ἔργον παραιτησαμένου ἄλλῳ ἐγχειρισθῇ· σοὶ δὲ ταῦτα δηλώσω [3] ἦκω, ὡς ἂν μὴ λάθῃ τὰ τολμώμενα. τοιαῦτά τινα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δακρύνοντος οὐκ εὐθέως ὁ Σεβήρος ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολὺ ἔχων ἐν τοῖς στέρνοις τὸ Πλαυτιανοῦ φίλτρον, συσκευὴν τινα καὶ σκηνὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπώπτευσεν, ἡγεῖτό τε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἔχθαι τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ καὶ μίσει τῆς ἐκείνου θυγατρὸς εὐρηκῆναι τινὰ τέχνην κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διαβολὴν θανατηφόρον.

[4] μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἡτιάτο ὡς τοιαῦτα συσκευάζοντα κατὰ ἀνδρὸς εὖνου καὶ οἰκείου. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπώμνυτο, μὴδ' εἰδέναι φάσκων τὰ λεγόμενα· ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ χιλιάρχου καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον δεικνύντος παρεθάρσυνέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ προύτρεπεν ἐς τοὺς ἐλέγχους ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος. ὁ δὲ χιλιάρχος ὁρῶν ἐς ὅσον κίνδυνον ἦκει, δεδιὼς τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου εὖνοιαν, ἐπιστάμενός τε ὡς, εἰ λάθοι ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ μὴ ἐλεγχθεῖν, ὀλεθρος αὐτῷ οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν [5] ἐπήρηται, καὶ τίνα ἔφη, ὦ δέσποτα, ἔλεγχον μείζονα βούλεσθε, ἢ ποῖαν ἀπόδειξιν φανερωτέραν; ἐπιτρέψατε γὰρ δὴ μοι ἔφη προελθόντι τῶν βασιλείων διὰ τινος τῶν ἐμοὶ πιστῶν δηλῶσαι ὅτι δὴ τὸ ἔργον κατείργασται. ὁ δὲ ἀφίξεται πιστεύσας, καὶ οἰόμενος ἔρημα τὰ βασίλεια καταλήψεσθαι. ὅταν δὲ ἀφίκηται, ὑμέτερον ἤδη ἔργον εὐρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ἡσυχίαν δὲ εἶναι πολλὴν ἀνὰ τὰ βασίλεια κελεύσατε, ὅπως μὴ τὸ πραττόμενον προγινώσκῃ ἀνατραπῇ.

[6] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐντέλλεται τινὶ τῶν πιστοτάτων ἑαυτῷ ἀγγεῖλαι Πλαυτιανῷ ἥκειν τὴν ταχίστην· κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἔνδον εἶναι πρὶν ἔκπυστα τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι, ὡς ἂν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως

κατελιμμένης καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἰδρυμένης ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες πάντες ὑπακούοιεν οὐκ ἐσομένῳ βασιλεῖ ἀλλ' [7] ἤδη ὄντι. τούτοις πιστεύσας ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς ἤδη περὶ δείλῃν ἐσπέραν, ἄρθεις ταῖς ἐλπίσι, θώρακα μὲν ἀμφιέννυται τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας χάριν, κρύψας δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ λοιπῇ ἐσθῇτι, ἐπιβάς ὀχήματος αἰφνιδίως ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ἠπείγετο, ὀλίγων αὐτὸν παραπεμπόντων, οἱ παρῆσαν οἰόμενοι κεκλησθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τινα [8] ἐπέιξαντα. ὥς δ' ἐπέστη τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ, ἀκωλύτως τε εἰσῆλθεν ἀγνοούντων τὸ πραττόμενον τῶν φυλάκων, ὑπαντώμενος ὁ χιλιάρχος ἐνεδρεύων τε προσεῖπεν αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ δῆθεν συνήθως λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον εἰσήγαγεν, ἔνθα ἔφασκεν ἐρριφθαι τὰ τῶν [9] βασιλέων σώματα. ἤδη δὲ παρεσκευάκει ὁ Σεβήρος νεανίας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν σωματοφυλάκων, οἱ συλλήψονται αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντα. ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς ἐφ' ἐτέραις εἰσελθὼν ἐλπίσιν ὀρᾷ τοὺς βασιλέας ἀμφοτέρους ἐστῶτας, συλληφθεὶς τε κατείχετο· καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ πράγματι ἐδεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει. ἀπελογεῖτό τε, φάσκων πάντα ψευδῇ εἶναι καὶ συσκευὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δρᾶμα ἐσκευάσθαι.

[10] πολλὰς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Σεβήρου ὀνειδίζοντος εὐεργεσίας τε καὶ τιμὰς, τοῦ δὲ πίστεως τε καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ἄνωθεν ὑπομιμνήσκοντος, ἡρέμα πως ὁ Σεβήρος ὑπήγετο πειθοῖ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ λεγομένων, ἔστε δὴ ὑπεφάνη τοῦ θώρακος μέρος καταραχθείσης τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐσθῆτος. ὅπερ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, «ἄτε» νέος θρασὺς θυμοειδής [11] τε καὶ φύσει μισῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δύο ἔφη ταῦτα τί ἂν ἀποκρίναι; ἤκεις πρὸς βασιλέας ἐσπέρας μὴ κελεύσαντας· ὃ τε θώραξ σοι τί βούλεται; τίς γὰρ ἐς ἐστίασιν ἢ κῶμον ὠπλισμένος ἔρχεται; καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει τῷ χιλιάρχῃ τοῖς τε παροῦσι σπασαμένοις τὰ ξίφη φονεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς ὁμολογουμένως πολέμιον.

[12] οἱ δὲ μὴ μελλήσαντες κελεύσαντι τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ πείθονται, ἀναιροῦσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ρίπτουσιν ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον, ὡς ἂν πᾶσι φανερόν γένοιτο καὶ ὑπὸ <τῶν> μισούντων ὑβρισθεῖν.

τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ τέλει Πλαυτιανὸς ἐχρήσατο, ἀπλήστῳ τε παραφρονήσας πάντων ἐπιθυμία, καὶ χρησάμενος ἐν

SECTION 13

[1] τῷ τέλει ἀπίστω ὑπηρεσίᾳ· ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος τοῦ μὲν λοιποῦ ἐπάρχοντας δύο τῶν στρατοπέδων κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ βίου διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς προαστείοις καὶ τοῖς παραλίοις τῆς Καμπανίας χωρίοις, δικάζων τε καὶ πολιτικὰ διοικῶν. ἀπάγειν γὰρ ἤθελε τοὺς παῖδας τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης, χρηστῆς <δὲ> ἀπολαύειν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς ἑώρα περὶ τὰ θεάματα ἐσπουδακότας [2] ἀπρεπέστερον ἢ βασιλεῦσιν ἤρμοζεν. ἢ τε περὶ ἐκεῖνα σπουδὴ καὶ φιλονεικία, διάφορον ἔχουσα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αἰετὴν τὴν γνώμην, τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐτάραττε τὰς ψυχάς, ἐναύσματά τε ἔριδος καὶ ἔχθρας παρεῖχε. μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀφόρητος ἦν ἀποσκευασάμενος τὸν Πλαυτιανόν. ἡδεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο τῇ τε θυγατρὶ μὲν ἐκείνου γυναικὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ παντὶ τρόπῳ θάνατον ἐμηχανᾶτο.

[3] ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος αὐτὴν τε ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἐς Σικελίαν ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτάρκῃ δούς περιουσίαν ἐς τὸ διαβιοῦν δαψιλῶς, μιμησάμενος τὸν Σεβαστόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοῖς Ἀντωνίνου παισὶ, πολεμίου γενομένου, οὕτως ἐχρήσατο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συνάγειν αἰετὴν τοὺς παῖδας ἐς φιλίαν καὶ προτρέπειν ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συμφωνίαν, μύθων τε ἀρχαίων καὶ δραμάτων ὑπερίμνησεν, αἰετὴν βασιλέων ἀδελφῶν συμφορὰς ἐκ στάσεως διηγούμενος.

[4] θησαυροὺς τε καὶ νεῶς, πάντας ἐδείκνυ χρημάτων πλήρεις, πλουτόν τε καὶ δύναμιν <τοιαύτας οἷας μὴ> ἔσσεσθαι ἔξωθεν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, τοσαύτης μὲν οὔσης οἱκοι περιουσίας ὥς ἀφειδῶς καὶ δαψιλῶς τοῖς στρατιώταις χορηγεῖν, τῆς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνάμεως αὐτῆς τετραπλασιασθείσης, καὶ στρατοπέδου τοσούτου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυθέντος ὥς μηδεμίαν μεῖναι δύναμιν ἔξωθεν ἐχέγγυον μὴδ' ἀντίπαλον <μήτε> πλήθει στρατοῦ μήτε μεγέθει σωμάτων [5] μήτε χρημάτων περιουσίᾳ. πλὴν οὐδὲν ὄφελος τούτων πάντων ἔλεγε στασιαζόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῦ τε πολέμου ἔνδον ὄντος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαυτὰ τινα λέγων ἐκάστοτε, ποτὲ μὲν λιπαρῶν ποτὲ δὲ ἐπιπλήττων, σωφρονίζειν αὐτοὺς ἄμα καὶ συνάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο· οἱ δ' οὔτι γε ἐπείθοντο, ἀφηνιάζον δὲ καὶ ἐπεδίδοσαν ἐς τὸ χεῖρον.

[6] ἅτε δὲ νεανίας σφριγῶντας καὶ ὑπὸ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐς πάσας ἡδονῶν ὀρέξεις ἀπλήστως ὀρμωμένους ἕκαστοι τῶν κολακευόντων ἀνθεῖλκον πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐ μόνον ὑπηρετούμενοι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰ αἰσχιστα σπουδαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰετὴν καὶνὸν ἐξευρίσκοντες, δι' οὗ εὐφρανοῦσι μὲν ὃν ἐκολάκευον, λυπήσουσι δὲ τὸν ἀδελφόν. ἤδη γοῦν τινὰς καὶ λαβὼν ἐπὶ

τοιαύταις ύπηρεσίαις ό Σεβήρος έκόλασεν.

SECTION 14

[1] ἀσχάλλοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ βίῳ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεάματα ἀπρεπεῖ σπουδῇ ἐπιστέλλει ὁ τῆς Βρεττανίας ἡγούμενος, στασιάζειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ βαρβάρους φάσκων, καὶ κατατρέχοντας τὴν χώραν λείαν τε ἀπάγειν καὶ πορθεῖν τὰ πλεῖστα· δεῖσθαι τοίνυν χειρὸς πλείονος πρὸς βοήθειαν τοῦ τόπου ἢ βασιλικῆς ἐπιδημίας.

[2] ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος ἀσμένως ταῦτα ἀκούσας, φύσει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως φιλόδοξος ὑπάρχων, καὶ μετὰ τὰς ὑπὸ ἀνατολαῖς καὶ ἄρκτῳ νίκας καὶ προσηγορίας βουλόμενος καὶ κατὰ Βρεττανῶν ἐγείρει τρόπαια, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Ῥώμης θέλων, ὥς ἂν ἀνανήψειεν ἐν στρατιωτικῷ βίῳ καὶ σῶφρονι ἀπαχθέντες τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς καὶ διαίτης, ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἔξοδον, πρεσβύτης τε ἤδη ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρθρίτιδος νόσου κάμνων· ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔρρωτο ὑπὲρ πάντα [3] νεανίαν. τὰ πλεῖστα γοῦν καὶ φοράδην φερόμενος τῆς ὁδοιπορίας εἶχετο, οὐδὲ πώποτε ἐπὶ πολὺ μένων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἐλπίδος θᾶπτον, τὸν ὠκεανὸν διαπλεύσας Βρεττανοῖς ἐπέστη, τοὺς τε πανταχόθεν στρατιώτας ἀθροίσας καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν ἀγείρας τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

[4] οἱ δὲ Βρεττανοὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπλαγέντες αἰφνιδίῳ ἐπιδημίᾳ, δύναμιν τε ἀκούσαντες παμπλείστην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀθροισθεῖσαν, πρεσβείας ἔπεμπον περὶ τε εἰρήνης διελέγοντο, ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε ἐβούλοντο πρὸς τὰ [5] προημαρτημένα. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος διατριβάς τε χρόνου ζητῶν, ὥς ἂν μὴ πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπείγοιτο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος προσκτήσασθαι τὴν κατὰ Βρεττανῶν νίκην τε καὶ προσηγορίαν, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἀπράκτους <ἀπ>έπεμψεν, εὐτρέπιζε δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην. μάλιστα δὲ γεφύραις ἐπειρᾶτο διαλαμβάνειν τὰ ἐλώδη χωρία, ὥς ἂν ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς βαίνοντες οἱ στρατιῶται ῥαδίως τε αὐτὰ διατρέχοιεν καὶ ἐπ' ὀχυροῦ βήματος [6] ἐδραῖως ἐστῶτες μάχοντο. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῆς Βρεττανῶν χώρας ἐπικλυζόμενα ταῖς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ συνεχῶς ἀμπώτισιν ἐλώδη γίνεται· οἷς ἔθος τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις ἐννήχεσθαι τε καὶ διαθεῖν βρεχομένοις μέχρις ἰζύος· γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὄντες τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἰλῦος [7] καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐσθῆτος ἴσασι χρῆσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν λαπάρας καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους κοσμοῦσι σιδήρῳ, καλλώπισμα τοῦτο καὶ πλούτου σύμβολον νομίζοντες ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν οἱ λοιποὶ βάρβαροι, τὰ δὲ σώματα στίζονται γραφαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ζῶων

παντοδαπῶν εἰκόσιν· ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἵνα μὴ σκέπωσι τοῦ σώματος [8] τὰς γραφάς. εἰσὶ δὲ μαχιμώτατοί τε καὶ φονικώτατοι, ἀσπίδα μόνην στενὴν προβεβλημένοι καὶ δόρυ, ξίφος δὲ παρηρτημένοι «ἐκ» γυμνοῦ σώματος. θώρακος δὲ ἢ κράνους οὐκ ἴσασι χρῆσιν, ἐμπόδια νομίζοντες πρὸς τὴν διόδον τῶν ἐλῶν, ἐξ ὧν τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως καὶ παχύτητος ὁ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν ἀὴρ ζοφώδης αἰεὶ φαίνεται. πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐξήρτυεν ὅσα συνοίσειν ἔμελλε τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, λυπήσειν δὲ καὶ ἐμποδιεῖν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ὁρμὴν.

[9] ὥς δὲ αὐτάρκως ὥφθη αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εὐτρεπίσθαι, τὸν μὲν νεώτερον τῶν υἱῶν, τὸν Γέταν καλούμενον, κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἔθνει δικάσοντά τε καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσοντα, δοὺς αὐτῷ συνέδρους τῶν φίλων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἠπείγετο.

[10] ὑπερβάντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὰ προβεβλημένα ρεύματά τε καὶ χώματα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς συμβολαὶ καὶ ἀκροβολισμοὶ πολλάκις ἐγίνοντο τροπαὶ τε τῶν βαρβάρων. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ῥαδίᾳ ἦν ἡ φυγή, καὶ διελάνθανον ἐν τε δρυμοῖς καὶ ἔλεσι καὶ τῇ τῶν χωρίων γνώσει, ἅπερ πάντα Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα ἐναντία πλείονα παρέσχε τῷ πολέμῳ

SECTION 15

[1] τὴν διατριβὴν· τὸν δὲ Σεβῆρον γηραιὸν ὄντα ἤδη νόσος ἐπιμηκεστέρα καταλαμβάνει, ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν ἠναγκάζεται μένειν οἶκοι, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπειρᾶτο ἐκπέμπειν διοικήσοντα τὰ στρατιωτικά. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μετρίως ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ οἰκείουσθαι τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πάντας ἀνέπειθεν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν μόνον, ἐμνᾶτο τε παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν μοναρχίαν, [2] διαβάλλων τὸν ἀδελφόν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐπὶ πολὺ νοσῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον βραδύνων ἐπαχθὴς αὐτῷ καὶ ὀχληρὸς ἐφαίνετο· ἀνέπειθέ τε ἰατροὺς καὶ ὑπηρέτας κακουργῆσαι τι περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ γέροντος, ὥς ἂν θᾶπτον αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλαγείη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ μόλις ποτὲ Σεβῆρος, λύπη τὸ πλεῖστον διαφθαρεῖς, ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ βίου, ἐνδοξότατα βιώσας, ὅσον πρὸς τὰ πολεμικά, τῶν [3] πώποτε βασιλέων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐμφύλια κατ' ἐχθρῶν οὔτε ξένα κατὰ βαρβάρων τοσαῦτά τις πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἤγειρε τρόπαια. βασιλεύσας δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ παισὶ νεανίαις διαδόχοις ἀνεπαύσατο, χρήματά τε αὐτοῖς καταλιπὼν ὅσα μηδεὶς πώποτε, καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτῶν ἀνανταγώνιστον.

[4] ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος λαβόμενος ἐξουσίας, εὐθύς ἀφ' ἐστίας πάντας φονεύειν ἤρξατο, τοὺς τε ἰατροὺς ἀνελών, οἳ μὴ ὑπήκουσαν αὐτῷ κελεύσαντι κακουργῆσαι καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐπέξειαι τοῦ γέροντος, τοὺς τε τροφεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπειδὴ προσέκειντο λιπαροῦντες αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας· οὐδένα δὲ εἶασε περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐν τιμῇ γενομένων ἢ θεραπεία τοῦ γέροντος.

[5] ἰδίᾳ τε δώροις καὶ μεγάλαις ὑποσχέσεσι τοὺς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγουμένους ἐθεράπευεν, ὅπως ἀναπέσειαν τὸν στρατὸν ἀποδεῖξαι μόνον «αὐτὸν» αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐζήτει. οὐ μὲν ἔπειθε τὸ στρατιωτικόν· μεμνημένοι δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου, καὶ ὅτι ἀμφοτέρους ἴσους «ἴδοιεν ἐκείνον γεγονότας, ἴσους» δὲ ἐκ παίδων παραθρέψειαν, ἴσῃν αὐτοῖς ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ εὐνοίαν [6] παρείχοντο. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, ἐπεὶ μὴ προεχώρει αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, σπείσάμενος πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, δούς τε εἰρήνην τά τε πιστὰ λαβὼν, ἐξῆι τε τῆς βαρβάρου πρὸς τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἤδη καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἠπείγετο. ὥς δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο, συνάγειν αὐτοὺς ἢ μήτηρ ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀξιώσει ὄντες καὶ σύνεδροι [7] πατρῷοι φίλοι. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, πάντων αὐτῷ πρὸς ᾧ ἐβούλετο ἐναντιουμένων, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν ἐπίπλαστον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθῆ

περιήγετο. οὕτως δὴ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφοτέρω διιοικούντες ἐν ὁμοτίμῳ ἀρχῇ ἀπᾶραι τῆς Βρεττανίας ἠθέλησαν, ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγοντο κομίζοντες τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λείψανα· τὸ γὰρ σωματίον πυρὶ παραδόντες, τὴν τε κόνιν σὺν ἀρώμασιν ἐς κάλπιν ἀλαβάστρου ἐμβαλόντες, ἀπεκόμιζον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐς τὰ βασιλέων ἀποθησόμενοι [8] ἱερὰ μνήματα. αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν στρατὸν παραλαβόντες νικηφόροι δὴ κατὰ Βρεττανῶν ἐς τὴν ἀντικειμένην Γαλλίαν, διαβάντες τὸν ὠκεανόν, ἀφίκοντο.

ὅπως μὲν δὴ Σεβῆρος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο, ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ δεδήλωται.

BOOK IV.

SECTION 1

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πραχθέντα Σεβήρῳ βασιλεύσαντι ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου βιβλίῳ δεδήλωται· οἱ δ' υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἥδη νεανίαι, ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείγοντο, ἥδη μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν στασιάζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οὔτε γὰρ καταγωγαῖς ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐχρῶντο οὔτε συνεισιδῶντο ἀλλήλοις· πολὺ δ' ἦν τὸ ὑποπτον ἐν ἅπασιν ἐδέεσμάς τε καὶ πόμασι, μὴ τις αὐτῶν προλαβὼν καὶ λαθὼν, ἢ τινας ἀναπείσας τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, δηλητηρίῳ ^[2] χρήσεται φαρμάκῳ. ταύτῃ γοῦν καὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἥπειγον, ἀδεέστερον ἐκάτερος βιώσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, εἰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γένοιτο καὶ τὰ βασίλεια διελόμενοι ἐν πλατείᾳ καὶ πολλῇ οἰκήσει καὶ πάσης πόλεως μείζονι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκάτερος διάγοι ὡς βούλοιτο.

^[3] ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὃ τε δῆμος αὐτοὺς δαφνηφορῶν ὑπεδέξατο ἢ τε σύγκλητος προσηγόρευσεν. ἡγοῦντο δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν τὴν βασίλειον φέροντες πορφύραν, εἶποντο δ' ὅπισθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν τότε διέποντες, κάλπιν φέροντες ἔνθα ἦν τὰ Σεβήρου λείψανα. οἱ τε προσαγορεύοντες τοὺς νέους αὐτοκράτορας παριόντες ^[4] καὶ τὴν κάλπιν προσεκύνουν. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν παραπέμπσαντες, καὶ προπομπεύσαντες αὐτῆς, ἀπέθεντο ἐν τῷ νεῷ ἔνθα Μάρκου τε καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἱερὰ μνήματα δεῖκνυται· ἐπιτελέσαντες δὲ τὰς νενομισμένας ἱερουργίας ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς εἰσόδοις ἀνῆλθον ἐς τὰ ^[5] βασίλεια. διελόμενοι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκάτερος ὥκει, παραφράττοντές τε πάσας εἰσόδους, εἴ τινες ἦσαν λανθάνουσαι, μόναις δὲ ταῖς δημοσίαις καὶ αὐλείαις ἀνέδην χρώμενοι, φρουράς τε ἐπιστήσαντες ἰδίᾳ ἐκάτερος, οὐδὲ συνιόντες εἰ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὅσον δημοσίᾳ, εἴ ποτε, ὀφθῆναι. ἐπετέλεσαν δὲ πρὸ ἀπάντων τὴν ἐς τὸν πατέρα τιμὴν.

SECTION 2

[1] ἔθος γάρ ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκθειάζειν βασιλέων τοὺς ἐπὶ παισὶ [ἡ] διαδόχοις τελευτήσαντας· τὴν τε τοιαύτην τιμὴν ἀποθέωσιν καλοῦσι. μεμιγμένον δέ τι πένθος ἑορτῇ [2] καὶ θρησκείᾳ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν δείκνυται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ τελευτήσαντος πολυτελεῖ κηδεῖα καταθάπτουσιν ἀνθρώπων νόμῳ· κηροῦ δὲ πλασάμενοι εἰκόνα πάντα ὁμοίαν τῷ τετελευτηκότῃ ἐπὶ μεγίστης ἐλεφαντίνης κλίνης, ἐς ὕψος ἀρθείσης, προτιθέασιν ἐν τῇ τῶν βασιλείων εἰσόδῳ, χρυσοῦφεῖς στρωμνὰς ὑποστρωννύντες. ἢ δ' εἰκὼν ἐκείνη ἐν σχήματι νοσοῦντος πρόκειται ὡχρῶσα.

[3] τῆς δὲ κλίνης ἐκατέρωθεν καθέζονται ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν μὲν τῷ λαιῷ μέρει πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος, μελαίναις ἐφεστῖσι χρώμενοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι ὅσαι ἀνδρῶν ἢ πατέρων ἀξίωμα τιμῆς ἐνδόξου μεταδίδωσιν. οὔτε δὲ χρυσοφοροῦσά τις αὐτῶν ὁράται οὔτε περιδεραίοις κοσμουμένη, ἀλλὰ λιτὰς ἐσθῆτας λευκάς [4] ἀμφιεννύμεναι σχῆμα παρέχουσι λυπουμένων. ἑπτὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμερῶν τὰ εἰρημμένα ἐπιτελεῖται· ἰατροὶ τε εἰσιόντες ἐκάστοτε προσίασι τῇ κλίνῃ, καὶ δῆθεν ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὸν νοσοῦντα χαλεπώτερον ἔχειν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἐκάστοτε. ἐπὰν δὲ δόξη τετελευτηκέναι, τὴν μὲν κλίνην ἀράμενοι τοῦ τε ἵππικοῦ τάγματος εὐγενέστατοι καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπίλεκτοι νεανῖαι κατακομίζουν διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, ἕς τε τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν προτιθέασιν, ἔνθα οἱ Ῥωμαίων [5] ἄρχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπόμνυνται. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ βάθρα τινὰ σύγκειται ἐν κλίμακος σχήματι, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν θατέρου μέρους τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ εὐπατριδῶν χορὸς ἔστηκε παίδων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει εἶναι δοκουσῶν· ἄδουσι δὲ ἐκάτεροι ὕμνους τε καὶ παιᾶνας ἐς τὸν τετελευτηκότα, σεμνῷ μέλει καὶ θρηνῶδει [6] ἔρρυθμισμένους. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο βαστάσαντες τὴν κλίνην φέρουσιν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρεως πεδῖον, ἔνθα κατεσκευάζεται ἐν τῷ πλατυτάτῳ τοῦ πεδίου τόπῳ τετράγωνόν τι [καὶ] ἰσόπλευρον, ἄλλης μὲν ὕλης οὐδεμιᾶς μετέχον, ἐκ μόνης δὲ συμπίξεως ξύλων μεγίστων [7] ἐς σχῆμα οἰκήματος. πᾶν δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔνδοθεν μὲν φρυγάνων πεπλήρωται, ἔξωθεν δὲ χρυσοῦφέσι στρωμαῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις τε ἀγάλμασι γραφαῖς τε ποικίλαις κεκόσμηται. ἐπ' ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ ἕτερον, σχήματι μὲν καὶ κόσμῳ παραπλήσιον, μικρότερον <δ'> ἐπίκειται, πυλίδας ἔχον καὶ θύρας ἀνεφγυίας. τρίτον τε καὶ τέταρτον, αἰὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου μείον, ἐς τελευταῖον βραχύτατον περατοῦται.

[8] ἀπεικάσαι τις ἂν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κατασκευάσματος φρυκτωρίοις, ἃ τοῖς

λιμέσιν ἐπικείμενα νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ πυρός ἐς ἀσφαλεῖς καταγωγὰς τὰς ναῦς χειραγωγεῖ· φάρους τε αὐτὰ οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν. ἐς δὴ τὸ οἶκημα τὸ δεύτερον ἀνακομίσαντες τὴν κλίνην τιθέασιν, ἀρώματά τε καὶ θυμιάματα πάντα ὅσα γῆ φέρει, εἴ τέ τινες καρποὶ ἢ πόαι χυμοὶ τε συμβαλλόμενοι πρὸς εὐωδίαν, ἀνακομίζονται [9] καὶ σωρηδὸν χέονται· οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος οὔτε πόλις τις οὔτε τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει ἢ τιμῇ ἔστιν ὃς μὴ δῶρα ταῦτα ὕστατα πέμπει φιλοτίμως ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπὰν δὲ μέγιστον χῶμα ἀρθῇ τῶν ἀρωμάτων πᾶς τε ὁ τόπος πληρωθῇ, ἵππασία περὶ τὸ κατασκευάσμα ἐκεῖνο γίνεται, πᾶν τε τὸ ἵππικὸν τάγμα περιθεῖ κύκλῳ μετὰ τινος εὐταξίας καὶ ἀνακυκλώσεως πυρριχίῳ δρόμῳ καὶ [10] ῥυθμῷ. ἄρματά τε περιέρχεται ὁμοίᾳ εὐταξίᾳ, φέροντα τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἡμφιεσμένους μὲν τὰς περιπορφύρους ἐσθῆτας, προσωπεῖα δὲ περικειμένους εἰκόνας ἔχοντα ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐνδόξως ἐστρατήγησαν ἢ ἐβασίλευσαν. τούτων δὲ συντελεσθέντων λαβὼν λαμπάδα ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος προσφέρει τῷ οἰκήματι, οἱ τε λοιποὶ πανταχόθεν πῦρ περιτιθέασιν· πάντα δὲ ῥᾶστα ἀνάπτεται «καὶ» εὐμαρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, φρυγάνων τε πλήθους καὶ [11] θυμιαμάτων ἐπινηθέντος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ βραχυτάτου κατασκευάσματος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινος ἐπάλξεως, ἀετὸς ἀφίεται σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελευσόμενος ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν θρησκευεται.

SECTION 3

[1] ταύτην δὴ τὴν τιμὴν ἐκθειάσαντες οἱ παῖδες τὸν πατέρα ἐπανήλθον ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ «ἤδη φανερώς» ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐμίσουν τε καὶ ἐπεβούλευον· πάντα τε ἔπραττεν ἑκάτερος πειρώμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποσκευάσασθαι [2] ἐς αὐτόν τε μόνον περιαγαγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐμερίζοντο δὲ καὶ πάντων αἱ γινῶμαι, ὅσοι ἐν ἀζιώσει ἢ τιμῇ τινὶ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐπέστελλε τε λανθάνων καὶ ὤκειοτο, μεγάλαις ὑποσχέσεσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθέλκων. καὶ τό γε πλεῖστον μέρος ἐς τὸν Γέταν ἔβλεπε· φαντασίαν γάρ τινα ἐπικεικίας ἐπεδείκνυτο, μέτριόν τε καὶ πρᾶον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς προσιοῦσι παρεῖχεν, ἐπιτηδεύμασί τε σπουδαιότεροις ἐχρήτο, [3] προσιέμενός τε τοὺς ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ ἐπαινουμένους, ἐσπουδακῶς τε περὶ παλαιστραν καὶ γυμνάσια ἐλεύθερα· χρηστός τε ὢν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος τοῖς συνοῦσι, φήμη καὶ δόξῃ ἀρίστη πλείους ἐς εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν προυκαλεῖτο. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἐμβριθῶς τὰ πάντα καὶ θυμοειδῶς ἔπραττε, [4] πολὺ δὲ ἀπάγων ἑαυτὸν τῶν προειρημένων στρατιωτικοῦ τε καὶ πολεμικοῦ βίου ἐραστής εἶναι προσεποιεῖτο· ὀργῇ τε πάντα πράττων, καὶ ἀπειλῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πείθων, φόβῳ καὶ οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ φίλους ἐκτάτο.

ὥς στασίαζοντας δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἔπραττον, μέχρι τῶν εὐτελεστάτων ἔργων, ἢ μήτηρ συνάγειν [5] ἐπειράτο. καὶ ποτε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα δὴ μὴ μένοντες ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, νείμασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. συναγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς πατρώους φίλους, τῆς τε μητρὸς παρούσης, ἡξίουں διαιρεθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπ' Εὐρώπῃν πάντα ἔχειν τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, τὴν δὲ ἀντικειμένην ἡπειρον Ἀσίαν τε καλουμένην πᾶσαν [6] Γέτα παραδοθῆναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἔλεγον καὶ θεία τινὶ προνοία τὰς ἡπείρους διηρῆσθαι τῷ Προποντίδος ρεύματι. ἤρεσκε δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἰδρῦσαι στρατόπεδον, τὸν δὲ Γέταν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τῆς Βιθυνίας, ὥς ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα φρουροίη τε τὴν ἑκατέρου ἀρχήν καὶ κωλύοι τὰς διαβάσεις. ἐδόκει τε τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοὺς μὲν Εὐρωπαίους πάντας ἀπομεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελθεῖν σὺν τῷ [7] Γέτᾳ. τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀντάρκη ἔσεσθαι ὑποδοχὴν ὁ Γέτας ἔλεγεν ἢ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, οὐ πολὺ τι τῆς Ῥώμης, ὥς ᾤετο, μεγέθει ἀποδεδούσας. τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ μεσημβρία ἐθνῶν Μαυρουσίους μὲν καὶ Νομάδας Λιβύης τε τὰ παρακείμενα Ἀντωνίνῳ παραδοθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα μέχρις ἀνατολῆς προσήκειν [8] τῷ Γέτᾳ. ταῦτα δὴ αὐτῶν διατυπούντων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες

σκυθρωποῖς προσώποις ἐς γῆν ἔνευσαν· ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γῆν μὲν ἔφη καὶ θάλασσαν, ὃ τέκνα, εὐρίσκετε ὅπως νείμῃσθε, καὶ τὰς ἡπείρους, ὥς φατε, τὸ Πόντιον ῥεῖθρον διαιρεῖ· τὴν δὲ μητέρα πῶς ἂν διέλαισθε, καὶ πῶς ἡ ἀθλία ἐγὼ ἐς ἐκάτερον ὑμῶν νεμηθεῖην ἢ τμηθεῖην; πρῶτον δὴ ἐμὲ φονεύσατε, καὶ διελόντες ἐκάτερος παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ μέρος θαπτέτω· οὕτω γὰρ [9] ἂν μετὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐς ὑμᾶς μερισθεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα μετὰ δακρύων καὶ οἰμωγῆς, ἀμφοτέροις τε τὰς χεῖρας περιβάλλουσα καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ἀγκάλας ἄγουσα, συνάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο. πάντας δὲ οἴκτου καταλαβόντος διελύθη τὸ συνέδριον, ἥ τε σκέψις ἀπεδοκιμάσθη, ἐκάτερός τε ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεία ἀνεχώρησε.

SECTION 4

[1] τὸ δὲ μῖσος καὶ ἡ στάσις ἤϋξετο. εἴτε γὰρ ἡγεμόνας ἢ ἄρχοντας ἔδει ποιεῖν, ἑκάτερος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον προάγειν ἤθελεν, εἴτε δικάζοιεν, τὰ ἐναντία ἐφρόνουν, ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν δικάζομένων ἔσθ' ὅτε· πλέον γὰρ ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου τὸ φιλόνεικον. ἐν τε τοῖς θεάμασι [2] περὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐσπούδαζον. πάντα τε εἶδη ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξήρτυον, οἰνοχόους τε καὶ ὀψοποιούς ἀνέπειθον ἐμβαλεῖν δηλητήρια φάρμακα. οὐ ῥαδίως δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδετέρῳ προεχώρει, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ φρουρᾶς διητῶντο. τέλος δὲ μὴ φέρων ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαυνόμενος, διέγνω δρᾶσαί τι ἢ παθεῖν γενναῖον, διὰ ξίφους χωρήσας καὶ φόνου· [3] μὴ προχωρούσης γὰρ τῆς λανθανούσης ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναγκαίαν ἡγήσατο τὴν κινδυνώδη τε καὶ ἀπεγνωσμένην τῆς μὲν διὰ στοργὴν τοῦ δὲ δι' ἐπιβουλήν.

Γέτας μὲν δὴ καιρίως τρωθεὶς, προσχέας τὸ αἷμα τοῖς τῆς μητρὸς στήθεσι, μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον· ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος κατεργασθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ φόνου προπηδᾷ τοῦ δωματίου θεῶν, φερόμενός τε δι' ὅλων τῶν βασιλείων ἐβόα μέγαν [4] κίνδυνον ἐκπεφευγένοι μόλις τε σωθῆναι. τοὺς τε στρατιώτας, οἱ φρουροῦσι τὰ βασίλεια, κελεύει αὐτὸν ἀρπάσαντας ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥς ἂν σωθῇ φυλαχθεὶς ἐκεῖ· μείνας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς ἔλεγεν ἀπολεῖσθαι. πιστεύσαντές τε ἐκεῖνοι, τό τε πεπραγμένον ἔνδον οὐκ εἰδότες, θεόντι αὐτῷ καὶ φερομένῳ συνεξέδραμον πάντες. ταραχὴ τε τὸν δῆμον κατεῖχεν ὁρῶντα περὶ δείλην διὰ μέσης φερόμενον τῆς πόλεως δρόμῳ τὸν [5] βασιλέα. ὥς δὲ εἰσέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἕξ τε τὸν νεῶν, ἔνθα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσκυνεῖται, ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐς γῆν ὁμολόγει τε χαριστήρια ἔθυε τε σωτήρια. ὥς δὲ διηγγέλη τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἤδη περὶ λουτρὰ εἶχον οἱ δὲ [6] ἀνεπαύοντο, πάντες ἐκπλαγέντες συνέθεον. ὁ δὲ προελθὼν τὸ μὲν πραχθὲν εὐθέως οὐχ ὁμολόγησεν, ἐβόα δὲ πεφευγένοι κίνδυνον καὶ ἐπιβουλήν πολεμίου καὶ ἐχθροῦ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν λέγων, μόλις τε καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς μάχης τῶν ἐχθρῶν κεκρατηκέναι, κινδυνευσάντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων κἂν ἓνα ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα τετηρηῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. τοιαῦτα δὴ τινα πλαγίως ἐμφαίνων νοεῖσθαι μᾶλλον [7] ἐβούλετο τὰ πραχθέντα ἢ ἀκούεσθαι. ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ μοναρχίας ἐκάστῳ μὲν στρατιώτῃ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς, προστίθῃσι δὲ τῷ σιτηρεσίῳ ἄλλο τοῦ τελουμένου ἡμισυ. κελεύει τε ἀπελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἤδη ὑποδέχεσθαι ἕκ τε τῶν

ναῶν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν τὰ χρήματα, μιᾶς [τε] ἡμέρας ἀφειδῶς ἐκχέας πάντα ὅσα ἔτεσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὁ Σεβῆρος ἤθροισέ τε καὶ κατέκλεισεν ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων [8] συμφορῶν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοσοῦτον χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀκούσαντες, καὶ συνέντες τὸ πεπραγμένον ἤδη [τε] καὶ τοῦ φόνου διαβοήτου γενομένου ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδοθεν φυγόντων, μόνον τε αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορεύουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Γέταν καλοῦσι πολέμιον.

SECTION 5

[1] ἐπιμείνας δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἐν τῷ νεῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, θαρρήσας τε καὶ ταῖς ἐπιδόσεσιν οἰκειωσάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον κατήλθε μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὥπλισμένου μᾶλλον ἢ ἔθος ἐστὶ βασιλέως προπομπεύειν. εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ θύσας, [2] τοῦ τε βασιλείου ἐπιβὰς θρόνου, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. οὐκ ἄγνωθόν μὲν ὅτι πᾶς οἰκείου φόνος εὐθέως ἀκουσθεὶς μεμίσηται, τό τε ὄνομα ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἅμα τῷ προσπεσεῖν εὐθὺς φέρει χαλεπὴν διαβολήν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δυστυχήσασιν ἔλεος, τοῖς δὲ κρατήσασιν φθόνος παρακολουθεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡττηθὲν «ἐν» τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀδικεῖσθαι, τὸ [3] δὲ νικῆσαν ἀδικεῖν δοκεῖ. πλὴν εἴ τις ὀρθῇ κρίσει καὶ μὴ διαθέσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν πεσόντα τὸ πεπραγμένον λογίζοιτο, τὴν τε αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐξετάζοι, εὖροι ἂν ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐλογον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τὸν μέλλοντα πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ἀμύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπομείναι· τῇ μὲν γὰρ συμφορᾷ τοῦ πεσόντος καὶ ἀνανδρίας ψόγος παρακολουθεῖ, ὁ δὲ κρατήσας ἅμα τῷ σεσῶσθαι καὶ δόξαν [4] ἀνδρείας ἀπηνέγκατο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα, ὅσα διὰ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐνέδρας ἐπεβούλευσέ μοι, ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ διὰ βασάνων χωρήσασι μαθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι, ὅπως εὕρητε τὴν ἀλήθειαν. εἰσὶ δέ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἤδη ἐξετασθέντες, καὶ τῆς ἐξετάσεως ἐπακοῦσαι δύνασθε. τὸ δ' οὖν τελευταῖον ἐπῆλθέ μοι παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ ὄντι ξιφήρεις ἔχων τινὰς ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένους.

[5] ὅπερ ἐγὼ προμηθεῖα πολλῇ καὶ ἀγχινοῖᾳ συνεῖς ἡμυνάμην ὥς πολέμιον, ἐπεὶ μήτε γνώμην ἔτι μήτε ὀρμὴν ἔφερεν ἀδελφοῦ. ἀμύνεσθαί τε τοὺς ἐπιβουλευόντας οὐ μόνον δίκαιον ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺνηθες. αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως κτίστης Πρωμύλος οὐκ ἦνεγκεν [6] ἀδελφὸν ὑβρίσαντα μόνον ἐς τὰ ἐκείνου ἔργα. σιγῶ Γερμανικὸν «τὸν Τιβερίου καὶ Βρεττανικὸν» τὸν Νέρωνος καὶ Τίτον τὸν Δομετιανοῦ. Μάρκος αὐτός, φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἐπιείκειαν προσποιούμενος, Λουκίου τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἦνεγκεν ὄντος γαμβροῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτὸν ἀπεσεύσατο. ἐγὼ δὲ δηλητηρίων παρεσκευασμένων «τε» ξίφους ἐπηρωρημένου τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡμυνάμην· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ [7] τοῦνομα ἐδίδου τὰ ἔργα. ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεοῖς εἰδέναι χάριν ὅτι κἂν τὸν ἕτερον ὑμῖν τῶν βασιλέων ἔσωσαν, παύσασθαι δὲ ἤδη τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας διηρημένους, ἐς ἓνα δὲ βλέποντας ἀμερίμνως βιοῦν. βασιλείαν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἔχει θεῶν μόνος, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐνὶ δίδωσι. τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν μεγάλη βοή, θυμοῦ πεπληρωμένος, βλέμματι δριμεῖ ἀφορῶν ἐς τοὺς

ἐκείνου φίλους, τρέμοντάς τε καὶ ὠχριῶντας τοὺς πλείστους καταλιπών,
ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια.

SECTION 6

[1] εὐθύς δὲ πάντες ἐφονεύοντο οἱ ἐκείνου οἰκεῖοί τε καὶ φίλοι, καὶ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔνθα ἐκεῖνος ᾔκει· ὑπέρεται τε πάντες ἀνηροῦντο· οὐδὲ τις ἦν φειδῶ ἡλικίας, οὐδὲ μέχρι νηπίων. τὰ δὲ πτώματα συρόμενα μεθ' ὕβρεως πάσης ἀμάξαις ἐπιτεθέντα καὶ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κομισθέντα σωρηδὸν κατεπίμπρατο ἢ ὅπως δὴ ἐρρίπτετο. [2] οὐδεὶς δὲ περιεγένετο τῶν κἂν μετρίως ἐκείνῳ γνωσθέντων. ἀθληταὶ δὲ καὶ ἡνίοχοι ὑποκριταὶ τε πάσης μούσης καὶ ὀρχήσεως, πᾶν τε ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος δι' ἡδονῆς ἔσχε θέαμα ἢ ἄκουσμα, διεφθείρετο. τῆς τε συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὅσοι γένει ἢ πλούτῳ ὑπερεῖχον, ἐπὶ βραχυτάταις ἢ οὐδ' ὕφεστώσαις αἰτίαις ἐκ τῆς τυχούσης διαβολῆς, ὥς ἐκείνου [3] φίλοι, ἀνηροῦντο. τὴν τε Κομμόδου ἀδελφὴν, πρεσβυτὴν ἤδη καὶ πρὸς πάντων βασιλέων ὥς Μάρκου θυγατέρα τετιμημένην, ἀπέκτεινεν, αἰτίαν ἐπαγαγὼν ὥς δακρυσάσῃ παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς φόνῳ. τὴν τε γυναῖκα γενομένην ἑαυτοῦ, Πλαυτιανοῦ θυγατέρα, οὔσαν δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τὸν τε ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ Σεβήρῳ τε ὁμώνυμον, καὶ τὸν Περτίνακος υἱόν, τῆς τε Κομμόδου ἀδελφῆς Λουκίλλης υἱόν, καὶ εἴ τι γένος ἦν βασιλικὸν ἢ ἐν συγκλήτῳ ἔξ ἐὺπατριδῶν καταβαῖνον, πᾶν ἐξέκοψεν.

[4] ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη πέμπων, ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ ἐπιτρόπους ὥς ἐκείνου φίλους πάντας διεχρήσατο. πᾶσά τε νῦν ἔφερε φόνους παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων. τὰς τε τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείας ζώσας κατώρυττεν ὥς μὴ φυλαττούσας τὴν παρθενίαν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ μήποτε γενόμενον ἔργον· ἵπποδρομίαν μὲν ἐθέατο, ἀπέσκωψε δὲ τι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἡνίοχον, περὶ ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐσπουδάκει· ὃ δὲ οἰηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑβρίσθαι κελεύει τῷ πλήθει προσπεσεῖν τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπάγειν τε [5] καὶ φονεύειν τοὺς κακῶς τὸν ἡνίοχον εἰπόντας. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τε καὶ ἀρπάζειν λαβόντες ἐξουσίαν, οὐκέτι διακρίνοντες τίνες ἦσαν οἱ προπετέστερον φθεγξάμενοι (καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὐρίσκειν ἀδύνατον ἐν δήμῳ τοσούτῳ μηδενὸς ὁμολογοῦντος), ἀφειδῶς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀπάγοντες ἀνήρουν, ἢ ἀφαιρούμενοι ἅπερ εἶχον ὥσπερ λύτρα μόλις ἐφείδοντο.

SECTION 7

[1] τοιαῦτα δὴ πράττων, ὑπὸ τε τῆς τῶν ἔργων συνέσεως ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει διατριβὴν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων, ἀποδημῆσαι τῆς Ῥώμης ἠθέλησεν ὥς δὴ διοικήσων τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐποψόμενος.

[2] ἀπάρας δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐπὶ τε ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἰστρου γενόμενος, διώκει δὴ τὰ ἀρκτῶα τῆς ἀρχῆς μέρη, γυμνάσια τοῦ σώματος ποιούμενος ἡνιοχίας καὶ θηρίων παντοδαπῶν συστάδην ἀναιρέσεις, δικάζων μὲν σπανίως, πλὴν νοῆσαι τὸ κρινόμενον εὐφυῆς ἦν εὐθίκτως τε πρὸς [3] τὰ λεχθέντα ἀποκρίνασθαι. ὤκειώσατο δὲ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπέκεινα Γερμανούς, ἕς τε φιλίαν ὑπηγάγετο, ὥς καὶ συμμάχους παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἑαυτοῦ φρουρούς ποιήσασθαι, γενναίους τε καὶ ὠραίους ἐπιλεξάμενος. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀποθέμενος χλαμύδα ἡμφιέννυτο τὰ Γερμανῶν περιβλήματα, ἔν τε χλαμύσιν αἷς εἰώθασιν, ἀργύρῳ πεποικιλμέναις, ἑώρατο· κόμας τε τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπετίθετο ξανθὰς καὶ ἔς κουρὰν [4] τὴν Γερμανῶν ἡσκημένας. τούτοις δὴ χαίροντες οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπερηγάπων αὐτόν. ἔχαιρον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεις, αἷς ἀφειδῶς προσεφέρετο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τε πᾶν ὡς στρατιώτης ἔπραττεν, εἴτε ὀρυγμά τι ὀρύττειν ἔδει, σκάπτων πρῶτος, εἴτε ῥεῖθρον γεφυρῶσαι ἢ βάθος χῶσαι· πᾶν θ' ὁ χειρῶν ἢ καμάτου σώματος ἔργον, πρῶτος [5] εἰργάζετο. τράπεζάν τε εὐτελεῖ παρετίθετο, ἔσθ' ὅπῃ καὶ ξυλίνοις ἔς ποτὸν καὶ ἐδέσματα χρώμενος σκεύεσιν. ἄρτον τε προσεφέρετο αὐτοσχέδιον· σῖτον γὰρ ἀλέσας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρί, ὃ ἥρκει μόνῳ, μᾶζάν τε ποιήσας καὶ ἐπ' [6] ἀνθράκων ὀπτήσας ἐσιτεῖτο. καὶ πάντων μὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν ἀπείχετο· ὅσα δὲ εὐτελέστατα καὶ τοῖς πενεστάτοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐμαρῇ, τούτοις ἐχρῆτο. συστρατιώτης τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεὺς καλούμενος χαίρειν προσεποιεῖτο. τὰ πλεῖστά τε αὐτοῖς συνώδευε περιπατῶν, σπανίως ὀχήματος ἢ ἵππου ἐπιβαίνων, τά τε [7] ὅπλα βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων σύμβολα, ἐπιμήκη τε ὄντα καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένα, μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν γενναιοτάτων στρατιωτῶν φερόμενα ἐπιθεῖς τοῖς ὤμοις ἔφερεν αὐτός. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὡς στρατιωτικὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφιλείτο καὶ ὡς γενναῖος ἐθαυμάζετο· καὶ γὰρ ἦν θαύματος ἄξιον ἐν μικρῷ πάνυ τὸ μέγεθος σώματι γενναίων πόνων ἄσκησις τοσαύτη.

SECTION 8

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῷ Ἰστροφ στρατόπεδα διώκησε, κατῆλθέ τε εἰς Θράκην Μακεδόσι γειννῶσαν, εὐθὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν, καὶ τὴν τε μνήμην αὐτοῦ παντοίως ἀνεενώσατο, εἰκόνας τε καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐν πάσαις πόλεσιν ἀναστῆναι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν τε Ῥώμην ἐπλήρωσεν ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων, ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς, τῆς [2] πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συναφείας. ἔσθ' ὅπου δὲ καὶ χλεύης εἶδομεν ἁξίας εἰκόνας, ἐν γραφαῖς ἐνὸς σώματος ὑπὸ περιφερεία κεφαλῆς μιᾶς ὅψεις ἡμιτόμους δύο, Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίνου. προῆει δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Μακεδονικῷ σχήματι, καυσίαν τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φέρων καὶ κρηπίδας ὑποδύμενος. ἐπιλεξάμενός τε νεανίας καὶ στρατεύσας Μακεδονικὴν ἐκάλει φάλαγγα, τοὺς τε ἡγουμένους αὐτῆς φέρειν τὰ τῶν ἐκείνου στρατηγῶν ὀνόματα.

[3] ἀπὸ τε Σπάρτης μεταπεμψάμενος νεανίας Λακωνικὸν καὶ Πιτανάτην ἐκάλει λόχον.

ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, τά τε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι διοικήσας ὡς ἐνεδέχετο, ἐπείχθη ἐς Πέργαμον τῆς Ἀσίας, χρῆσασθαι βουλόμενος θεραπείαις τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ἀφικόμενος δὴ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐς ὅσον ἤθελε τῶν ὄνειράτων ἐμφορηθεῖς, ἤκεν [4] ἐς Ἴλιον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως λείψανα, ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, στεφάνοις τε κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθεσι πολυτελῶς πάλιν Ἀχιλλέα ἐμμεῖτο. ζητῶν δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν τινα ἐποίησέ τι τοιοῦτον. ἦν αὐτῷ τις τῶν ἀπελευθέρων φίλτατος, Φῆστος μὲν ὄνομα, τῆς δὲ βασιλείου μνήμης προεστώς. οὗτος ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον, φαρμάκῳ ἀναιρεθεὶς ἔν' ὡς Πάτροκλος ταφῇ, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι ἔφασκον, νόσῳ [5] διαφθαρεῖς. τούτου κομισθῆναι κελεύει τὸν νέκυν, ξύλων τε πολλῶν ἄθροισθῆναι πυρὰν· ἐπιθεῖς τε αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ζῶα κατασφάζας ὑφῆσέ τε, καὶ φιάλην λαβὼν σπένδων τε τοῖς ἀνέμοις εὐχετο. πάνυ τε ὦν ψιλοκόρησι, πλόκαμον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πυρὶ ζητῶν ἐγέλᾳτο· πλὴν ὧν εἶχε τριχῶν ἀπεκείρατο. ἐπῆναι δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶν μάλιστα Σύλλαν τε τὸν Ῥωμαῖον καὶ Ἀννίβαν τὸν Λίβυν, ἀνδριάντας τε αὐτῶν καὶ εἰκόνας ἀνέστησεν.

[6] ἀπάρας δὲ τῆς Ἰλίου διὰ τε τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας τῶν τε λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν, κάκεισε διοικήσας τὰ πρακτέα, ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκεῖ τε ὑποδεχθεὶς πολυτελῶς καὶ διατρίψας χρόνου τινὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστέλλετο, πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμενος ποθεῖν τὴν ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κτισθεῖσαν

πόλιν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρήσασθαι [7] ὃν ἐκεῖνοι σέβουσιν ἐξαιρέτως· δύο γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπερβαλλόντως προσεποιεῖτο, τὴν τε τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἥρωος μνήμην. ἐκατόμβας τε οὖν κελεύει παρασκευασθῆναι ἐναγισμούς τε παντοδαπούς. ὥς δὲ διηγέλη τῷ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πλήθει, φύσει μὲν ὄντι τὰς γνώμας κουφοτάτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς βραχυτάτοις ῥᾶστα κινουμένῳ, τότε δ' ἐξεπτόηντο τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδὴν [8] τε καὶ εὐνοίαν πυνθανόμενοι. ὑποδοχὴ δὴ παρεσκευάζετο οἷαν μηδενὶ πώποτε βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι φασί· πάσης τε γὰρ μούσης ὄργανα πανταχοῦ διακείμενα ποικίλον ἦχον εἰργάζετο, ἄρωμάτων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἀτμίδες εὐωδίαν παρεῖχον ταῖς εἰσόδοις, δαδουχίαις τε [9] καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ἐτίμων τὸν βασιλέα. ὥς δὲ εἰσήλασεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὸν νεῶν ἀνελθὼν πολλὰς ἐκατόμβας κατέθυσεν λιβάνῳ τε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐσώρευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνημα, τὴν τε χλαμύδα ἣν ἔφερεν ἀλουργῇ, δακτυλίους τε οὓς εἶχε λίθων τιμίων, ζωστήράς τε καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς ἔφερε, περιελὼν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου

SECTION 9

[1] σορῶ. ἃ δὴ ὀρῶν ὁ δῆμος ὑπερέχαιρε, παννυχίζων τε καὶ ἐορτάζων, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως λανθάνουσαν γνώμην· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἐκεῖνος ὑπεκρίνατο βουλόμενος τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν διαφθεῖραι. ἡ δ' αἰτία [2] τοῦ λανθάνοντος μίσους τοιάδε τις ἦν. ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ διατρίβοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔτι, καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περιόντος καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φόνον, ὅτι ἄρα εἶεν πολλὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀποσκώψαντες. πεφύκασι δέ πως εἶναι φιλοσκώμμονες καὶ λέγειν εὐστόχους ὑπογραφάς ἢ παιδιάς, ἀπορριπτοῦντες ἐς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας πολλὰ χαρίεντα μὲν αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα, λυπηρὰ δὲ τοῖς σκωφθεῖσι· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων κνίξει μάλιστα ὅσα ἐλέγχει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων [3] τὴν ἀλήθειαν. πολλὰ τοίνυν ἐκείνων αὐτὸν σκωψάντων ἔς [τε] τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν πρεσβῦτιν Ἰοκάστην καλούντων, ἐκεῖνον δὲ χλευαζόντων ὅτι δὴ μικρὸς ὢν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα γενναιοτάτους καὶ μεγίστους ἥρωας ἐμμεῖτο, τοιαυτὰ τινα παίζειν αὐτῶν δοκούντων, ὀλέθρια καὶ ἐπίβουλα κατ' αὐτῶν σκέψασθαι τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἠνάγκασαν, φύσει ὄντα ὀργίλον καὶ φονικόν.

[4] συμπανηγυρίσας τοίνυν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεορτάσας, ὡς εἶδε πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πλήθους μεγίστου πεπληρωμένην τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης περὶ αὐτὴν χώρας ἐκεῖ συνελθόντων, διὰ προγράμματος πᾶσαν τὴν νεολαίαν ἔς τι πεδῖον κελεύει συνελθεῖν, φήσας ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὴν φάλαγγα βούλεσθαι συστήσασθαι, ὥσπερ Μακεδονικὴν καὶ [5] Σπαρτιατίν, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ ἥρωος ἐπωνύμιους. κελεύει δὴ στιχηδὸν τοὺς νεανίας πάντας διαστήναι, ὡς ἂν ἐπελθὼν ἕκαστον ἴδῃ πῶς τε ἡλικίας ἔχῃ καὶ μεγέθους σώματος καὶ εὐεξίας ἐς στρατείαν ἐπιτηδεῖν. ταύταις αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι πιστεύσαντες οἱ νεανίαί πάντες, εὐκότα τε ἐλπίσαντες διὰ τὴν προϋπάρξασαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τιμὴν, συνῆλθον ἅμα γονεῦσί τε καὶ [6] ἀδελφοῖς συνηδομένοις αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος διεστῶτας αὐτοὺς ἐπιών, ἐκάστου ἐφαπτόμενος καὶ ἄλλου ἄλλο λέγων ἐγκώμιον παρήει, ἔστε αὐτοὺς οὔτε τι ὀρῶντας οὔτε προσδοκῶντας τὸ στρατιωτικὸν πᾶν ἐκυκλώσατο. ὡς δὲ ἐτεκμήρατο ἤδη αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐντὸς τῶν ὅπλων περιειλημμένους καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν δικτύοις σεσαγηνευμένους, [ἐπελθὼν πάντας] αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξέρχεται μεθ' ἧς εἶχε φρουρᾶς περὶ ἑαυτόν, ὑφ' ἐνὶ δὲ σημείῳ προσπεσόντες πανταχόθεν οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν ἐν μέσῳ πᾶσαν νεολαίαν, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλως παρήσαν, παντὶ τρόπῳ φόνων ἀναιροῦσιν, ὀπλισμένοι τε ἀόπλους καὶ [7] πανταχόθεν

περιειληφότες. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐφόνεον οἱ δ' ἔξωθεν ὄρυττον
ὀρύγματα μέγιστα ἔλκοντές τε τοὺς πίπτοντας ἐνέβαλλον, πληροῦντες
σωμάτων· καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπιχέοντες μέγιστον ἡγειραν ταχέως πολυάνδριον.
πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἡμιθνήτες εἰλκύσθησαν, ἔτι τε ἄτρωτοι συνώσθησαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν
καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν [8] οὐκ ὀλίγοι προσαπώλοντο· ὅσοι γὰρ ἔτι ἐμπνέοντες
καὶ δυνάμεως μετρίως ἔχοντες συνωθοῦντο, περιπλεκόμενοι συγκαθεῖλκον
αὐτούς. τοσοῦτος δὲ ἐγένετο φόνος ὥς ρεῖθροις αἵματος διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὰς τε
ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Νείλου μεγίστας οὖσας τόν τε περὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰγιαλὸν πάντα
φοινιχθῆναι. τοιαῦτα δὴ ἐργασάμενος τὴν πόλιν, ἀπάρας ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν
ἀφίκετο.

SECTION 10

[1] ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Παρθικὸς κληθῆναι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστεῖλαι ὥς χειρωσάμενος τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν βαρβάρους, καίτοι γε οὕσης εἰρήνης βαθείας, μηχανᾶται τοιόνδε τι. ἐπιστέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ Παρθυαίων (Ἀρτάβανος δ' ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), πέμπει τε πρεσβείαν καὶ [2] δῶρα πάσης ὕλης τε πολυτελοῦς καὶ τέχνης ποικίλης. τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγεν ὅτι δὴ βούλεται ἀγαγέσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον· ἀρμόζειν δὲ αὐτῷ, βασιλεῖ τε καὶ βασιλέως υἱῷ, μὴ ιδιώτου τινὸς καὶ εὐτελοῦς γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἀγαγέσθαι δὲ βασιλίδα τε καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως θυγατέρα, δύο δὲ ταύτας ἀρχὰς εἶναι μεγίστας, τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὴν Παρθυαίων· ἃς συναχθείσας κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν, μηκέτι ποταμῷ διωρισμένας, μίαν [3] ποιήσιν ἀρχὴν ἀνανταγώνιστον· τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ἔθνη βάρβαρα, ὅσα νῦν ἐπικεῖσθαι ταῖς τούτων βασιλείαις, εὐάλωτα ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ συστήματα ἀρχόμενα. εἶναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν διὰ δοράτων συστάδην μάχην ἀνανταγώνιστον, Παρθυαίοις δὲ ἵππον τε πολλὴν καὶ τὴν διὰ τόξων εὐστοχον [4] ἐμπειρίαν. ταῦτα δὴ συνελθόντα, πάντων τε οἷς πόλεμος κατορθοῦται συμπνεόντων, ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἐνὶ διαδήματι βασιλεύσειν πάσης οἰκουμένης. τά τε παρ' ἐκείνοις φυόμενα ἀρώματα ἢ θαυμαζόμενα ὑφάσματα καὶ <τὰ> παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μεταλλεύόμενα ἢ διὰ τέχνην ἐπαινούμενα μηκέτι μόλις καὶ σπανίζοντα λανθάνοντά τε δι' ἐμπόρων κομισθήσεσθαι, μιᾶς δὲ γῆς οὕσης καὶ μιᾶς ἐξουσίας κοινὴν καὶ ἀκώλυτον ἀμφοτέροις τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἔσεσθαι.

[5] τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν ὁ Παρθυαῖος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντέλεγε, φάσκων οὐχ ἀρμόζειν Ῥωμαίῳ γάμον βάρβαρον. τίνα γὰρ ἔσεσθαι συμφωνίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, μήτε τῆς ἀλλήλων φωνῆς συνειδίσιν, ἔν τε διαίτῃ καὶ σκευῇ διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων; εἶναι δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εὐπατρίδας πολλούς, ὧν τινὸς ἐπιλέξασθαι δύναται· ἂν θυγατέρα, παρὰ τε αὐτῷ Ἀρσακίδας· καὶ μὴ δεῖν μηδέτερον

SECTION 11

[1] γένος νοθεύεσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τοιαῦτά τινα ἐπιστέλλων παρητεῖτο· ἐγκειμένον δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, δώροις τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὄρκοις τὴν πρὸς τὸν γάμον σπουδὴν τε καὶ εὐνοίαν πιστουμένον, πείθεται ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ δώσειν τε ὑπισχνεῖται, καλεῖ τε γαμβρὸν ἐσόμενον. διαδραμούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι εὐτρέπιζον πάντα ἐς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως, [2] ἔχαιρόν τε εἰρήνης αἰωνίου ἐλπίδι· ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος διαβὰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀκωλύτως, εἰσελάσας ἐς τὴν Παρθυαίων γῆν ὡς ἰδίαν ἤδη, πανταχοῦ θυσιῶν αὐτῷ προσαγομένων βωμῶν τε ἐστεμμένων, ἄρωμάτων καὶ θυμιαμάτων παντοίων προσφερομένων, χαίρειν τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων προσεποιεῖτο. ὥς δὲ προχωρήσας τό τε πλεῖστον τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἀνύσας ἤδη τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου ἐπλησίαζεν, οὐκ ἀναμείνας ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ὑπῆντετο αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ, δεξιούμενος [3] νυμφίον μὲν τῆς θυγατρὸς γαμβρὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ. πᾶν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων ἄνθεσι τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις κατεστεμμένον, ἐσθῆτί τε χρυσοῦ καὶ βαφαῖς διαφόροις πεποικιλμένον, ἐώρταζε, πρὸς τε αὐλοὺς καὶ σύριγγας τυμπάνων τε ἤχους ἐσκίρτων εὐρύθμως· χαίρουσι γὰρ τοιαύτην τινὰ ὄρχησιν κινούμενοι, ἐπὶ οἶνον πλείονος [4] ἐμφορηθῶσιν. ὥς δὲ πᾶν συνῆλθε τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν τε ἵππων ἀπέβησαν, φαρέτρας τε καὶ τόξα ἀποθέμενοι περὶ σπονδὰς καὶ κύλικας εἶχον. πλεῖστον δὲ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων ἤθροιστο, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀτάκτως εἰστήκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἄτοπον προσδοκῶντες, σπεύδων δὲ ἕκαστος [5] ἰδεῖν τὸν νυμφίον. τότε ὑφ' ἐνὶ συνθήματι κελεύει ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φονεῦειν τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ τῷ πράγματι, παιόμενοί τε καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι ἐτράποντο. αὐτός τε Ἀρτάβανος ἀρπαγείς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν δορυφόρων ἵππῳ τε ἐπιτεθείς [6] ἀπέδρα μόλις μετ' ὀλίγων. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐκόπτετο τῶν βαρβάρων οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους ἐχόντων, οἷς χρῶνται μάλιστα (ἀποβεβηκότες γὰρ εἰστήκεσαν, ἐκείνους ἀνέντες νέμεσθαι), οὔτε δρόμῳ χρήσασθαι δυναμένων πρὸς φυγὴν, ἐμποδίζούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς περὶ τοῖς ποσὶ [7] χαύνου ἐσθῆτος. φαρέτρας δὲ καὶ τόξα οὐκ εἶχον· τί γὰρ ἔχρηζον αὐτῶν πρὸς γάμους; πολὺν δὲ ἐργασάμενος ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος φόνον τῶν βαρβάρων, λείαν τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτους παμπληθεῖς συλλαβόν, ἀπήει μηδενὸς αὐτῷ ἀνθεστῶτος, κόμας τε καὶ πόλεις ἐμπιπράς, δούς ἐξουσίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀρπάζειν τε ἕκαστον ὃ δύναται καὶ ὃ βούλεται αὐτὸς κτήσασθαι.

[8] τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ πάθει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ βάρβαροι οὐ προσδοκηθέντι· ὁ δὲ Ἄντωνῖνος ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Παρθυαίων γῆς ἐλάσας, ἤδη καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεκμηκότων ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀρπάζειν καὶ φονεύειν, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν. ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος ἐπιστέλλει τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ πᾶσαν ἀνατολὴν κεχειρῶσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐπέκεινα βασιλείας πάντας αὐτῷ παρακεχωρηκέναι.

[9] ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα (λαθεῖν γὰρ ἔργα βασιλέως ἀδύνατον), πλὴν δεῖ καὶ κολακεία ψηφίζονται αὐτῷ πάσας τιμὰς ἐπινικίους. διέτριβε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ὁ Ἄντωνῖνος, ἡνιοχείαις σχολάζων καὶ θηρία παντοδαπὰ ἀναιρῶν.

SECTION 12

[1] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπάρχοντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου δύο, ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος πάνυ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ιδιώτης καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχων, στρατιωτικὸς δὲ γεγενῆσθαι δοκῶν· Ἄδουεντος ὄνομα αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Μακρίνος μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο, τῶν δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὐκ ἀπείρως εἶχε, καὶ μάλιστα νόμων ἐπιστήμης. ἐς τοῦτον οὖν ὡς μὴ στρατιωτικὸν μηδὲ γενναῖον δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις ἀπέσκωπτε, [2] καὶ μέχρις αἰσχρᾶς βλασφημίας· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν αὐτὸν καὶ διαίτη ἐλευθερίῳ χρώμενον καὶ τὰ φαῦλα καὶ ἀπερριμμένα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων καὶ ποτῶν μυσαττόμενον, οἷς ὡς στρατιωτικὸς δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἔχαιρε, χλαμύδιον ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα ἀμφιεσάμενον ἀστειοτέραν ἐς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ θήλειαν νόσον διέβαλλεν, αἰεὶ τε ἀποκτενεῖν ἠπέιλει. ἅπερ οὐ φέρων ὁ Μακρίνος πάνυ ἤσχαλλε.

[3] συνέβη δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον· ἔδει γὰρ ἄρα τέλος λαβεῖν τὸν Ἀντωνίνου βίον. περιεργότατος γὰρ ὢν οὐ μόνον τὰ ἀνθρώπων πάντα εἰδέναι ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ δαιμόνια πολυπραγμονεῖν. αἰεὶ τε πάντας ὑπόπτευεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, χρηστηρίων τε πάντων ἐνεφορεῖτο, τοὺς τε πανταχόθεν μάγους τε καὶ ἀστρονόμους καὶ θύτας μετεπέμπετο· καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐλάνθανε τῶν [4] τὴν γοητείαν ταύτην ὑπισχνουμένων· ὑποπτεύων δ' αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ τάληθῃ αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ πρὸς κολακείαν θεσπίζοντας, ἐπιστέλλει Ματερνιανῷ τινί, τότε πάσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ, πιστοτάτῳ εἶναι δοκοῦντι φίλων καὶ μόνῳ κοινωνῷ τῶν ἀπορρήτων· κελεύει δὲ αὐτῷ μάγων τοὺς ἀρίστους ζητήσαντι νεκυία τε χρησαμένῳ μαθεῖν περὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ βίου [5] αὐτοῦ, καὶ μή τις ἄρα ἐπιβουλεύει τῇ ἀρχῇ. ὁ δὲ Ματερνιανὸς χρησάμενος ἀδεῶς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κελευσθεῖσιν, εἴτε ὄντως αὐτῷ δαιμόνων ταῦτα θεσπισάντων εἴτε ἄλλως συσκευαζόμενος [τὸν Μακρίνον], ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇ ἀρχῇ τὸν Μακρίνον καὶ [6] δεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποσκευάσασθαι. ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα ἀποσημνιάμενος μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ἐπιστολῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος δίδωσι τοῖς διακομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἰδόσιν ἃ φέρουσι. τῷ δὲ συνήθει τάχει τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐκεῖνοι χρησάμενοι ἐφίστανται τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ, ἥδη τε σκευὴν ἡνιόχου ἀνελιφότεν καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπιβαίνοντι προσκομίζουσι πάντα τὸν σύνδεσμον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ τὰ κατὰ [7] Μακρίνου γράμματα. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν ὁρμὴν ἥδη καὶ τὴν γνώμην περὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἔχων, κελεύει τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἀποστάντι καὶ ἰδιάσαντι ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐπεῖγον εἴη, δηλῶσαι αὐτῷ, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτὸν

διοικῆσαι ὡς ἑπαρχον. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦτο κελεύειν ἦν σύνηθες αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα προστάξας [8] εἶχετο τοῦ προκειμένου· ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος καθ' αὐτὸν γενόμενος τάς τε ἄλλας ἐπιλύεται ἐπιστολάς, περितυχὼν δὲ καὶ τῇ καθ' αὐτοῦ θανατηφόρῳ ὁρᾷ προὔπτον κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενον. εἰδὼς τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸ φονικὸν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε γράμμασι, καὶ πρόφασιν αὐτῷ εὐλογον ὑπάρξουσιν, τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ὑφαιρεῖται,

SECTION 13

[1] περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπαγγέλλει ὡς εἶεν συνήθεις. φοβηθεῖς δὲ μὴ καὶ δεύτερον ταῦτα ὁ Μαρτινιανὸς ἐπιστείλῃ, δρᾶσαι τι μᾶλλον ἠθέλησεν ἢ ἀναμείνας παθεῖν. τολμᾷ δὴ <τι> τοιοῦτον. ἦν τις ἑκατοντάρχης, Μαρτιάλιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν Ἀντωνίνου, αἱ παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ. τούτου τὸν ἀδελφὸν πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀνηρῇκει διαβληθέντα μὲν οὐκ ἐλεγχθέντα δέ· αὐτῷ τε τῷ Μαρτιαλίῳ ἐνύβρισεν, ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν καὶ [2] ἀγεννῇ καλῶν καὶ Μακρίνου φίλον. τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Μακρίνος ἀλγοῦντά τε σφοδρῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναιρέσει, μὴ φέροντά τε τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεις, μεταπέμπεται (ἐθάρρει δὲ αὐτῷ θεραπεύοντί τε αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν καὶ πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὐεργετηθέντι), πείθει τε καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον παραφυλάξαντα ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ. ὁ δὲ ταῖς τε ὑποσχέσει τοῦ Μακρίνου ἀναπεισθεῖς, μισῶν τε ἄλλως καὶ τιμωρῆσαι θέλων τῷ ἀδελφῷ, πάντα ποιήσιν ἀσμένως ὑπισχνεῖται καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εὐρόν.

συνέβη δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς σκέψεως ταύτης θελῆσαι [3] τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, διατρίβοντα ἐν Κάρραις τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, προελθεῖν τῆς βασιλείου <αὐλῆς> ἀπελθεῖν τε ἐς τὸν νεῶν τῆς σελήνης, ἦν μάλιστα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσιν. ἀφειστήκει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ νεὸς πολὺ, ὡς ὁδοιπορίας χρῆζειν. σὺν ἱππεῦσιν οὖν ὀλίγοις, ἵνα δὴ μὴ πάντα τὸν στρατὸν σκύλῃ, τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς ἂν θύσας [4] τῇ θεῷ ἐπανεέλθοι. κατὰ δὲ [τὴν] μέσσην ὁδὸν ἐπειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γαστροῦ, ἀποσιτῆναί τε πάντας κελεύσας, ἀνεχώρει σὺν ἐνὶ ὑπηρετῇ ἀποσκευασόμενος τὰ ἐνοχλοῦντα. πάντες τοῖνον ἀπεστράφησαν καὶ ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἀπῆσαν, [5] τιμὴν καὶ αἰδῶ τῷ γινομένῳ νέμοντες. ὁ δὲ Μαρτιάλιος τοὺς καιροὺς πάντας παραφυλάττων, ἰδὼν τε αὐτὸν μεμονωμένον, ὡς δὴ κληθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νεύματι ἐρῶν τι ἢ ἀκουσόμενος, προστρέχει, ἐπιστάς τε αὐτῷ τὰς ἐσθῆτας τῶν μηρῶν κατέλκοντι, ἀπεστραμμένον παῖει ξιφιδίῳ, ὃ μετὰ χειρὸς ἔφερε λανθάνων. καιρίου δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἐπὶ τῆς κατακλειδὸς γενομένης ἀπροσδοκῆτως τε καὶ [6] ἀφυλάκτως ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀνῆρέθη. πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ <ἐμ>πηδήσας ἔπῳ ἔφυγεν ὁ Μαρτιάλιος. Γερμανοὶ δὲ ἱππεῖς, οἷς <ὁ> Ἀντωνῖνος ἔχαιρε φρουροῖς τε τοῦ σώματος ἐχρῆτο, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀφεστῶτες ἐς ὅσον οἱ λοιποὶ, πρῶτοί τε ἰδόντες τὸ γεγόμενον, διώξαντες τὸν Μαρτιάλιον [7] κατηκόντισαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς στρατὸς εἶδε τὸ πραχθέν, πάντες συνέδραμον, καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπιστάς τῷ πτώματι ὀλοφύρεσθαι τε καὶ θρηνεῖν προσεποιεῖτο. ὃ τε στρατὸς

πᾶς χαλεπῶς καὶ δυσφόρως ἤνεγκε τὸ πραχθέν· συστρατιώτην γὰρ καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ βίου, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρχοντα ὄντο ἀποβεβληκέναι. καὶ οὐδεμίαν πω ἐπιβουλὴν ὑπώπτευν ἐκ τοῦ Μακρίνου, ὄντο [8] δὲ τὸν Μαρτιάλιον οἰκείαν ἔχθραν ἀμύνασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕκαστος ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπανῆσαν· ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος πυρὶ παραδοὺς τὸ σωμάτιον, τήν τε κόνιν κάλπει τινὶ ἐμβάλων, ἔπεμψε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ καταθάψαι, ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατριβούσῃ. ἐκείνη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων ὁμοίαις συμφοραῖς εἴτε ἐκοῦσα εἴτε κελευσθεῖσα ἀπεκατέρησε. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ἐχρήσατο ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Ἰουλία, βιώσαντες ὡς προείρηται. πᾶς δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ μόνος ἐβασίλευσεν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐν ἑξ ἔτεσι συνετελέσθη.

SECTION 14

[1] τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀντωνίνου ἐν ἀφασίᾳ τε ἦν ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἀπορία τοῦ πρακτέου· ἔμεινάν τε ἡμερῶν δύο ἀβασίλευτοι, ἐζήτουν τε ὃν ἐπιλέξονται ἄρχοντα. καὶ γὰρ ἠγγέλλετο μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιὼν Ἀρτάβανος, δίκας ἀπαιτήσων τιμωρήσων τε τοῖς ἐν σπονδαῖς [2] καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἀνηρημένοις. αἰροῦνται δὴ βασιλέα πρῶτον μὲν Ἄδουεντον ὡς στρατιωτικόν τε καὶ ἑπαρχον οὐ φαῦλον γενόμενον· ὃ δὲ γῆρας προῖσχύμενος παρητήσατο· μετ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν Μακρίνον, πειθόντων αὐτοὺς χιλιάρχων, οἱ καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου συνωμόται καὶ κοινωνοὶ τοῦ Μακρίνου γεγενῆσθαι ὑποπτεύθησαν. ὕστερον γοῦν ἐκολάσθησαν μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου [3] τελευτήν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν. παρέλαβε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Μακρίνος οὐχ οὕτως εὐνοία καὶ πίστει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς ἀνάγκη καὶ χρεῖα τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ.

τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐφίσταται ὁ Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ μεγίστου πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως, ἵππον τε πολλὴν ἄγων καὶ τοξοτῶν μέγα τι πλῆθος καταφράκτους τε [4] ἀπὸ καμήλων ἔξωθεν μακροῖς δόρασιν. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη προσιών, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Μακρίνος ἔλεξε τοιάδε. ἀλγεῖν μὲν ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐπὶ τοιούτου βασιλείῳ, ἣ ἴνα τάληθῃ λέγοιμι, (συ)στρατιώτου ἀποβολῇ, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· φέρειν δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰ προσπίπτοντα μετρίως ὑπομένειν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον [5] σωφρονούντων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνου μνήμη ἐν τε τοῖς ἡμετέροις στέρνοις ἐγκείμεται, τοῖς τε ἐς ὕστερον παραδοθήσεται [καὶ] δόξαν αἰδίων φέρουσα μεγάλων τε καὶ γενναίων ἔργων ὧν ἔδρασε, φίλτρων τε καὶ εὐνοίας καμάτων τε κοινωνίας τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς. νῦν δὲ καιρός, τιμήσαντας ὡς χρή τὴν μνήμην τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, ἀφοσιωσαμένους τε τὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐπειγόντων.

[6] ὁρᾶτε τὸν βάρβαρον ἐφεστῶτα σὺν παντὶ τῷ τῆς ἀνατολῆς πλήθει, καὶ δοκοῦντα πρόφασιν εὐλογον ἔχθρας ἔχειν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν προυκαλεσάμεθα παρασπονδήσαντες, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθεῖα πόλεμον ἠγείραμεν. ἥρτηται δὲ νῦν πᾶσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀνδρείας τε καὶ πίστεως· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὄρων γῆς οὐδὲ ρεϊθρῶν ποταμῶν ἢ φιλονεικία, περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δέ, πρὸς μέγαν βασιλέα, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ συγγενῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἀδίκως [7] καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους οἴεται ἀνηρῆσθαι. τὰ τε οὖν ὅπλα λαμβάνωμεν, καὶ τῇ συνήθει Ῥωμαίοις εὐκοσμίᾳ ταττώμεθα. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς παρατάξεσι τὸ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἄτακτον πλῆθος καὶ προσκαιρῶς ὠρισμένον αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ ἴσως γένοιτ' ἂν ἐναντίον· τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον εὐτακτόν τε ὃν καὶ συγκεκροτημένον, μετὰ τε

ἐμπειρίας μαχόμενον, ἡμῖν τε ἔσται σωτήριον καὶ κεῖνοις ὀλέθριον. μετ' ἀγαθῆς οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀγωνίζεσθε ὡς Ῥωμαίοις πρέπον καὶ [8] σύνηθες· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τε βαρβάρους ἀπώσεσθε, καὶ δόξης κλέος ἀράμενοι μέγα Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δείξετε, τὴν τε προτέραν νίκην πιστώσεσθε, ὡς μὴ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ παρασπονδήσαντες ἡδικήσατε, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅπλων νικήσαντες ἐκρατήσατε.

τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ πράγματος ὁρῶντες παρετάττοντο κἀν τοῖς

SECTION 15

[1] ὅπλοις ἦσαν. ἅμα δὲ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐφάνη Ἀρτάβανος σὺν μεγίστῳ πλήθει στρατοῦ. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον, ὥς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, οἱ βάρβαροι, μεγίστη τε κλαγγὴ βοήσαντες, ἐπέδραμον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοξεύοντές τε καὶ καθιπεύοντες. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐτάκτως τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς συστήσαντες τὰς φάλαγγας, ἐκατέρωθεν τε τοὺς ἵππεῖς καὶ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους παρατάξαντες, τὰ τε κενὰ πληρώσαντες τῶν κούφως καὶ εὐσταλῶς ἐκτρέχειν δυναμένων, δεξάμενοι [2] τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῷ πλήθει τῶν τόξων τοῖς τε ἐπιμήκεσι δόρασι τῶν καταφράκτων ἀπὸ τε ἵππων καὶ καμήλων τιτρώσκοντες αὐτοὺς ἄνωθεν μεγάλως ἔβλαπτον· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν μὲν συστάδην μαχομένων ῥαδίως ἐκράτουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε ἵππος πολλὴ οὖσα καὶ τὸ τῶν καμήλων πλῆθος ἐλυμαίνετο, προσποιούμενοι ἀναχωρεῖν τριβόλους τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τεχνάσματα σιδηρίων, ὀξυτάτας ἐξοχὰς περικείμενα, ἐρρίπτουν. λανθάνοντα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ψάμμοις καὶ οὐ καθορώμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἢ τῶν καμηλιτῶν [3] ὀλέθρια ἦν αὐτοῖς· πατοῦντες γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι, αἱ τε κάμηλοι μάλιστα, ἔχουσαι ἀπαλὰ τὰ πέλματα, ὠκλαζον καὶ ἐχώλευον, τοὺς τε ἐπιβάτας οὕς ἔφερον ἀπεσείοντο. οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα βάρβαροι ἐς ὅσον μὲν ἐποχοῦνται ἵπποις ἢ καμήλοις, γενναίως μάχονται, ἦν δὲ ἀποβῶσιν αὐτῶν ἢ κατενεχθῶσι, ῥᾶστα ἀλίσκονται, μὴ φέροντες τὴν ἐκ συστάσεως μάχην. πρὸς τε τὸ φυγεῖν ἢ διῶξαι, εἰ δέοι, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἐσθῆτος χαύνως παρηωρημένης ἐμποδίζονται.

[4] πρώτης μὲν οὖν καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ ἐς ἑσπέραν ἐμαχέσαντο, καὶ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε τὰς μάχας, ἐκάτεροί τε ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδα νικᾶν ἀξιοῦντες. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πεδῖον μαχοῦμενοι, ἐπειρῶντο δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι, πολὺ τι τῷ πλήθει ὑπερέχοντες, κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ σαγηνεῦσαι· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκέτι τὰς φάλαγγας ἐς βάθος συνίστασαν, ἐς μῆκος δ' ἐκτείνοντες [5] αἰεὶ τὸ κυκλούμενον ἐνεπόδιζον. πλῆθος δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ κτηνῶν ἐφονεύθη ὥς πᾶν πληρωθῆναι τὸ πεδῖον μεγίστους τε σωροὺς πτωμάτων ἐς ὕψος ἀρθῆναι, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν καμήλων ἐπαλλήλων πιπτουσῶν. πρὸς τε οὖν τὸ διατρέχειν ἐνεποδίζοντο οἱ μαχόμενοι· οὐκέτι δὲ οὐδὲ καθεώρων ἀλλήλους, μεγάλου οἰονεῖ χώματος ἐν μέσῳ καὶ δυσβάτου ὑπὸ τῶν σωμάτων σεσωρευμένου, ὅφ' οὗ κωλυόμενοι [τοῖς] ἀλλήλοις ἐπιέναι ἕκαστοι ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδα.

[6] ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος συνεῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως Ἀρτάβανος ἐκθύμως τε μάχεται καὶ προσμένει ἀλλ' ἢ οἰόμενος Ἀντωνίνῳ μάχεσθαι, εἰωθότων αἰετῶν βαρβάρων ῥᾶστα ἀποκάμνειν ἐθελόκακεῖν τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἐν ταῖς πρώταις ὁρμαῖς [7] κατορθώσουσι, τότε δὲ προσμενόντων ὥς ἂν τὴν μάχην ἀνανεώσαιντο μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσίν τε καὶ κατάφλεξιν, οὐκ οἰομένων τεθνηκέναι τὸν τῆς ἔχθρας αἴτιον, πέμπει πρεσβείαν ἐπιστέλλει τε τῷ Παρθυαίῳ, λέγων τὸν μὲν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀδικήσαντα βασιλέα τεθνηκέναι δίκας τε ἀξίας ὧν ἔδρασε δεδωκέναι, Ῥωμαίους δέ, ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχή, ἑαυτῷ [τε] τὰ [8] τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκεχειρικέναι· μήτε δὲ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖςπραχθεῖσιν, αἰχμαλώτους τε τοὺς περιόντας ἀποδοῦναι, χρήματά τε ὅσα ἡρπάγη ἀποτῖσαι, φίλῳ τε ἀντὶ ἐχθροῦ χρῆσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὅρκοις καὶ σπονδαῖς βεβαιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβανος ταῦτά τε ἀναγνοὺς καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων περὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίνου ἀναιρέσεως, αὐτάρκη τιμωρίαν τὸν παρασπονδήσαντα δεδωκέναι νομίζων, τοῦ [9] τε στρατοῦ αὐτῷ τετρυχωμένου, ἀγαπῶν τε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀναιμωτὶ ἀπολαβεῖν, σπείσάμενος εἰρήνην πρὸς τὸν Μακρίνον ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπανέρχεται. τὸν τε στρατὸν ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ διατριβῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἠπέιγετο.

BOOK V.

SECTION 1

Ὅπως μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἤρξε τε καὶ ἐτελεύτησε, δεδήλωται ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι [ἢ τε πρὸ τούτου ἐπιβουλή καὶ διαδοχή]· γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ τε δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ [2] τῇ συγκλήτῳ, λέγων τοιάδε. ἐν εἰδόσι μὲν ὑμῖν τοῦ τε βίου μου τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαίρεσιν τοῦ τε τρόπου τὸ πρὸς χρηστότητα ἐπιρρεπές, καὶ τὸ πρᾶον τῆς διοικηθείσης πρότερον πράξεως, οὐ πολὺ τι ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως βασιλικῆς ἀποδεύσης, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐπάρχουσι τῶν στρατοπέδων πεπίστευται, περιττὸν νομίζω μακρηγορεῖν. ἴστε γὰρ με καὶ οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενον, καὶ προκινδυνεύσαντα ὑμῶν ἐν οἷς πολλάκις ταῖς τυχούσαις διαβολαῖς πιστεύων ἀφειδῶς [3] ὑμῖν προσεφέρετο. κάμῃ μὲν κακῶς ἡγόρευε, καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις τὸ μέτριόν μου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους φιλόανθρωπον διαβάλλων καὶ διασκώπτων ἐς ῥαθυμίαν καὶ τρόπων χαυνότητα· κολακείαις δὲ χαίρων, καὶ τοὺς εἰς ὁμότητα παροξύνοντας τῷ τε θυμῷ τὸ ἐνδόσιμον αὐτοῦ διδόντας τὴν τε ὀργὴν διαβολαῖς ἐγείροντας εὖνους καὶ πιστοὺς ἐδοκίμαζε φίλους. ἐμοὶ δὲ [4] ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ πρᾶον καὶ μέτριον προσφιλές. τὸν γοῦν πρὸς Παρθυαίους πόλεμον, μέγιστόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ πᾶσα Ῥωμαίων ἐσάλεινεν ἀρχή, κατελύσαμεν καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀνδρείως παραταξάμενοι οὐδέν τι ἡττήμεθα, καὶ ἐν οἷς σπείσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐλθόντα μέγαν βασιλέα πιστὸν φίλον ἀντ' ἐχθροῦ δυσμάχου ἐποιήσαμεν. ἐμοῦ δὲ κρατοῦντος ἐν ἀδείᾳ τε καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ πάντες βιώσονται, ἀριστοκρατία τε μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεία νομισθήσεται.

[5] μὴδὲ τις ἀπαξιούτω ἢ τύχης πταῖσμα νομίζετω, ὅτι δὴ ὄντα με ἐκ τῆς ἱππάδος τάξεως ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤγαγε. τί γὰρ ὄφελος εὐγενείας, εἰ μὴ χρηστὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος συνοικεῖ τρόπος; τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης δῶρα καὶ ἀναξίους περιπίπτει, ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὴ ἰδίαν ἐκάστω δόξαν περιτίθησιν. εὐγένεια δὲ καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μακαρίζεται μὲν, οὐκ ἐπαινεῖται δέ, ὥς παρ' [6] ἄλλου δοθέντα· ἐπιείκεια δὲ καὶ χρηστότης ἅμα τῷ θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐς αὐτόν τινα ἔχει τὸν κατορθοῦντα. τί γοῦν ὑμᾶς ὤνησεν ἡ Κομόδου εὐγένεια ἢ Ἀντωνίνου ἢ πατρῴα διαδοχή; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ ὄφλημα κληρονομίας εἰληφότες ἀποχρῶνται τε καὶ ἐνυβρίζουσιν ὡς ἄνωθεν ἰδίῳ κτήματι· οἱ δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν λαβόντες χάριτός τε αἰδίου εἰσὶ χρεῶσται καὶ πειρῶνται [7] ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς εὐεργεσίαις προειληφότας. καὶ τῶν μὲν εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέων τὸ εὐγενὲς ἐς ὑπεροψίαν ἐκπίπτει

καταφρονήσει τῶν ὑπηκόων ὥς πολὺ ἐλαττόνων· οἱ δὲ ἐκ μετρίων πράξεων ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντες περιέπουσιν αὐτὸ ὡς καμάτῳ κτηθέν, αἰδῶ τε καὶ τιμὴν ἀπονέμουσιν, [8] ἣν εἰώθεσαν, τοῖς ποτὲ κρείττοσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ σκοπὸς μηδὲν τι πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμβούλους ἔχειν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεως. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ βιώσεσθε, ὧν ἀφηρέθητε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπειράθησαν πρότερον μὲν Μάρκος ὕστερον δὲ Περτίναξ, ἐξ ἰδιωτικῶν σπαργάνων ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντες. γένους γὰρ ἔνδοξον ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν καὶ τῷ ὑστέρῳ γένει ἄμεινον ἢ κλέος προγονικὸν παραλαμβάνοντα τρόπου φαυλότητι καταισχῦναι.

SECTION 2

[1] ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστολῆς, εὐφημεῖ τε αὐτὸν ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ τὰς σεβασμίους τιμὰς πάσας ψηφίζεται. οὐχ οὕτως δὲ εὐφραине πάντας ἡ Μακρίνου διαδοχή, ὡς ὑπερήδοντό τε καὶ πανδημεὶ ἐώρταζον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀντωνίνου ἀπαλλαγῇ. ἕκαστός τε ᾤετο, μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει τινὶ ἢ πράξει καθεστώτων, ξίφος ἀποσεσεῖσθαι [2] τοῖς αὐχέσιν ἐπαιωρούμενον. συκοφάνται τε ἢ δοῦλοι, ὅσοι δεσπότης κατήγγελον, ἀνεσκολοπίσθησαν· ἢ τε Ῥωμαίων πόλις καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἢ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους οἰκουμένη καθαρθεῖσα πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν μὲν κολασθέντων τῶν δὲ ἐξωσθέντων, εἰ δέ τινες καὶ ἔλαθον, δι' εὐλάβειαν ἡσυχάζοντων, ἐν ἀδείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ εἰκόνι ἐλευθερίας ἐβίωσαν ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους οὗ μόνου ὁ Μακρίνος [3] ἐβασίλευσε. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἡμαρτεν ὅσον μὴ διέλυσεν εὐθέως τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἐκάστους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτός τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ποθοῦσαν ἐπέιχθη, τοῦ δήμου ἐκάστοτε καλοῦντος μεγάλαις βοαῖς, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβε γένειόν τε ἀσκῶν, βαδίζων τε πλέον τοῦ δέοντος ἡρεμαίως, βραδύτατά τε καὶ μόλις τοῖς προσιούσιν ἀποκρινόμενος ὡς μηδ' ἀκούεσθαι πολλάκις διὰ [4] τὸ καθειμένον τῆς φωνῆς. ἐξήλου δὲ ταῦτα ὡς δὴ Μάρκου ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν βίον οὐκ ἐμμήσατο, ἐπεδίδου δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίατον, ὀρχηστῶν τε θέαις καὶ πάσης μούσης κινήσεώς τε εὐρύθμου ὑποκριταῖς σχολάζων, τῆς τε τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεως ἀμελῶς ἔχων. προΐει τε πόρπαις καὶ ζωστῆρι χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις πεποικιλμένος, τῆς τοιαύτης πολυτελείας παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης, βαρβάρου δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ θηλυπρεποῦς εἶναι [5] δοκούσης. ἅπερ ὁρῶντες οἱ στρατιῶται οὐ πάνυ τι ἀπεδέχοντο, ἀπηρέσκοντό τε αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ ὡς ἀνειμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἄνδρα στρατιωτικόν· παραβάλλοντες δὲ τὴν μνήμην τῆς Ἀντωνίνου διαίτης ἐπιστραφείσης τε καὶ στρατιωτικῆς γενομένης, κατεγίνωσκον τῆς Μακρίνου [6] πολυτελείας. ἔτι τε ἡγανάκτουν αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ σκηναῖς καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ διαιτώμενοι, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ σπανίζοντες τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων, ἔς τε τὰ ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἐπανιόντες εἰρήνης εἶναι δοκούσης· ὁρῶντες δὲ τὸν Μακρίνον «ἐν» χλιδῇ καὶ τρυφῇ διαιτώμενον, ἀφηνιάζοντες ἤδη πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτὸν κακῶς ἡγόρευον, προφάσεώς τε ὀλίγης λαβέσθαι εὐχοντο ἐς τὸ ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὸ λυποῦν.

SECTION 3

[1] ἐχρῆν δὲ ἄρα Μακρίνον ἐνιαυτοῦ μόνου τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐντροφήσαντα ἅμα τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταλῦσαι, μικρὰν καὶ εὐτελεῖ πρόφασιν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς ἃ ἐβούλοντο [2] τῆς τύχης παρασχούσης. Μαῖσα ἦν τις ὄνομα, τὸ γένος Φοίνισσα, ἀπὸ Ἑμέσου καλουμένης οὕτω πόλεως ἐν Φοινίκῃ· ἀδελφὴ δὲ ἐγεγονείη Ἰουλίας τῆς Σεβήρου μὲν γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίνου δὲ μητρός. παρὰ πάντα οὖν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς βίον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διέτριψεν αὐτῇ χρόνον πολυετοῦς, παρ' ὃν Σεβήρος τε καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐβασίλευσαν. τὴν δὲ Μαῖσαν ταύτην ὁ Μακρίνος, μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς τελευτὴν Ἀντωνίνου δὲ ἀναίρεσιν, προσέταξεν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανελθοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις καταβιῶναι, πάντα ἔχουσαν τὰ ἑαυτῆς. πλείστων δὲ ἦν χρημάτων ἀνάπλεως ἅτε μακρῷ χρόνῳ βασιλικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ [3] ἐντεθραμμένη. ἐπανελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτὴς διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῇ θυγατέρες δύο· Σοαιμὶς μὲν ἡ πρεσβυτέρα ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα Μαμαία. παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν τῇ μὲν πρεσβυτέρᾳ Βασιανὸς ὄνομα, τῇ δὲ νεωτέρᾳ Ἀλεξιανός. ὑπὸ δὲ ταῖς μητράσι καὶ τῇ μάμμῃ ἀνετρέφοντο, ὁ μὲν Βασιανὸς περὶ ἔτη γεγωνὸς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξιανὸς δεκάτου ἔτους ἐπιβεβηκώς.

[4] ἰέρωντο δὲ αὐτοὶ θεῷ ἡλίῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσι, τῇ Φοινίκῳ φωνῇ Ἑλαιογάβαλον καλοῦντες. νεῶς δὲ αὐτῷ μέγιστος κατεσκεύαστο, χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκοσμημένος λίθων τε πολυτελείᾳ. θρησκεύεται δὲ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ γεινιῶντες σατράπαι τε καὶ βασιλεῖς βάρβαροι φιλοτίμως πέμπουσι τῷ θεῷ ἐκάστου τοῦ ἔτους πολυτελεῖ ἀναθήματα.

[5] ἄγαλμα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις, οὐδὲν ἔστηκε χειροποίητον, θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δὲ τις ἔστι μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερὴς, λήγων ἐς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἢ χροιά. διοπετὴ τε αὐτὸν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν, ἐξοχὰς τέ τινας βραχείας καὶ τύπους δεικνύουσιν, εἰκόνα τε ἡλίου ἀνέργαστον [6] εἶναι θέλουσιν, οὕτω βλέπειν ἐθέλοντες. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ θεῷ ὁ Βασιανὸς ἱερωμένος (ἅτε γὰρ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐγκεχρίστο ἢ θρησκεῖα) προΐει τε σχήματι βαρβάρῳ, χιτῶνας χρυσοῦφεῖς καὶ ἄλουργεῖς χειριδωτοὺς καὶ ποδήρεις ἀνεξωσμένος, τὰ τε σκέλη πάντα σκέπων ἀπ' ὀνύχων ἐς μηροὺς ἐσθῆσιν ὁμοίως χρυσῷ καὶ πορφύρᾳ πεποικιλμέναις. τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐκόσμηι στέφανος λίθων [7] πολυτελῶν χροιά διηνηθισμένος. ἦν δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμαῖος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν

κατ' αὐτὸν ὠραιότατος μειρακίων πάντων. ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ συνιόντων κάλλους σώματος, ἡλικίας ἀκμῆς, ἀβροῦ σχήματος, ἀπέικασεν ἄν τις τὸ μειράκιον Διονύσου καλαῖς εἰκόσιν.

[8] ἱεουργοῦντα δὴ τοῦτον, περὶ τε τοῖς βωμοῖς χορεύοντα νόμῳ βαρβάρων ὑπὸ τε αὐλοῖς καὶ σύριγξι παντοδαπῶν τε ὀργάνων ἤχῳ, περιεργότερον ἐπέβλεπον οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ στρατιῶται, εἰδότες γένους ὄντα βασιλικῷ, καὶ τῆς ὥρας αὐτοῦ πάντων τὰς [9] ὄψεις ἐς ἑαυτὴν ἐπιστρεφούσης. ἐγείτνιαζε δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ τότε μέγιστον στρατόπεδον, ὃ τῆς Φοινίκης προήσπιζεν· ὕστερον δὲ μετηνέχθη, ὥς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν. φοιτῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκάστοτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἔς τε τὸν νεῶν ἰόντες θρησκείας δὴ χάριν, τὸ μειράκιον ἡδέως ἔβλεπον. ἦσαν δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πρόσφυγες [10] οἰκεῖοί τε τῆς Μαίσης, πρὸς οὓς ἐκείνῃ θαυμάζοντας τὸν παῖδα, εἴτε πλασαμενὴ εἴτε καὶ ἀληθεύουσα, ἐξεῖπεν ὅτι ἄρα Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸς ἐστι φύσει, τῇ δὲ ὑπολήψει ἄλλου δοκοίη· ἐπιφοιτῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτῆς νέαις τε οὖσαις καὶ ὠραίαις, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ διέτριβεν. ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες, τοῖς συστρατιώταις κατ' ὀλίγον ἀπαγγέλλοντες διαβόητον ἐποίησαν τὴν φήμην, ὥς ἐς πᾶν χωρῆσαι τὸ [11] στρατιωτικόν. τῇ δὲ Μαίσει ἐλέγετο σωροὺς εἶναι χρημάτων, ἐκείνῃν δὲ ἐτοίμως πάντα προέσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, εἰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ γένει ἀνανεώσαιτο. ὥς δὲ συνέθεντο νύκτωρ, εἰ κατέλθοιεν λαθόντες, ἀνοίξειν τὰς πύλας καὶ δέξεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γένος ἔνδον βασιλέα τε καὶ υἱὸν ἀποδείξειν Ἀντωνίνου «τὸν Βασιανόν», ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὴν ἡ πρεσβῦτις, ἐλομένη πάντα κίνδυνον ἀναρρῖψαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἰδιωτεύειν καὶ δοκεῖν ἀπερρῖφθαι· νύκτωρ τε λάθρα τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε σὺν ταῖς θυγατράσι καὶ [12] τοῖς ἐγγόνις. καταγαγόντων τε αὐτοὺς τῶν προσφυγόντων στρατιωτῶν γενόμενοι πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ῥᾶστα ὑπεδέχθησαν· εὐθέως τε τὸν παῖδα πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀντωνῖνον προσηγόρευσαν, τῇ τε πορφυρᾷ χλαμύδι περιβαλόντες εἶχον ἔνδον. πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ὅσα τε εἶχον ἐν κώμαις ἢ ἀγροῖς τοῖς πλησίον, εἰσκομίσαντες, τὰς τε πύλας ἀποκλείσαντες, παρεσκεύαζον ἑαυτοὺς ὥς, εἰ δέοι, ὑπομενουντες πολιορκίαν.

SECTION 4

[1] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρίβοντι, ἥ τε φήμη διέδραμεν ἀνὰ τὰ λοιπὰ στρατόπεδα ὅτι τε Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸς εὐρέθη καὶ ὅτι <ἡ> Ἰουλίας ἀδελφῇ χρήματα δίδωσι, πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ ἐνδεχόμενα καὶ ἀληθῇ πιστεύσαντες εἶναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐξεπτόηντο.

[2] ἐνῆγε δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέπειθεν ἐς πραγμάτων καινοτομίαν τό τε Μακρίνου μῖσος καὶ <τὸ> Ἀντωνίνου τῆς μνήμης πάθος, καὶ πρό γε ἀπάντων ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλπίς, ὥς πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτομολοῦντας φοιτᾶν πρὸς τὸν νέον Ἀντωνῖνον. ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος καταφρονῶν τοῦ πράγματος ὥς παιδαριώδους, χρώμενός τε τῇ συνήθει ῥαθυμίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν οἴκοι μένει, πέμπει δὲ ἓνα τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ στρατοπέδου, δύναμιν δούς ὅσῃν ᾤετο ῥᾶστα ἐκπορθήσῃν [3] τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας. ὥς δ' ἦλθεν Ἰουλιανός (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ἐπάρχῳ) καὶ προσέβαλε τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἔνδοθεν οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τε τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τὸν τε παῖδα τῷ ἔξωθεν πολιορκοῦντι στρατῷ ἐδείκνυσαν, Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν εὐφημοῦντες, βαλάντιά τε χρημάτων μεστὰ δέλεαρ προδοσίας αὐτοῖς ἐδείκνυσαν.

[4] οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες Ἀντωνίνου τε εἶναι τέκνον καὶ ὁμοιότατόν γε (βλέπειν γὰρ οὕτως ἤθελον) τοῦ μὲν Ἰουλιανοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνουσι καὶ πέμπουσι τῷ Μακρίνῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντες ἀνοιχθεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδέχθησαν. οὕτως ἡ δύναμις αὐξηθεῖσα οὐ μόνον ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολιορκίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συστάδην καὶ ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀξιοχρεῶς· ἔτι τε καὶ τῶν αὐτομόλων τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάστοτε, εἰ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσιόν, τὴν δύναμιν ἠύξησεν.

[5] ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος ὥς ταῦτα ἐπυνθάνετο, ἀθροίσας πάντα ὃν εἶχε στρατόν, ἐπῆει ὥς δὴ πολιορκήσων τοὺς ἐκείνῳ προσκεχωρηκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, οὐκ ἀναμενόντων τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν πολιορκηθῆναι, θαρρησάντων δὲ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐξελθεῖν τε καὶ ὑπαντῶμενοι τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἐξάγει τὴν αὐτοῦ [6] δύναμιν. συμμίζαντα δὲ ἀλλήλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίας ἐν μεθορίοις, οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου προθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο, δεδιότες, εἰ ἡττηθεῖεν, τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν τιμωρίαν ἀναδέξασθαι· οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Μακρίνῳ ῥαθυμότερον προσεφέροντο τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀποδιδράσκοντες [7] καὶ μετιόντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον. ἅπερ ὁρῶν ὁ Μακρίνος, φοβηθεὶς τε μὴ παντάπασι γυμνωθεὶς τῆς δυνάμεως αἰχμάλωτός τε ληφθεὶς αἰσχίστως ὑβρισθεῖν, ἔτι τῆς μάχης συνεστώσης, ἐσπέρας ἤδη

προσιούσης, ἀπορρίψας τὸ χλαμύδιον καὶ εἴ τι σχῆμα βασιλικὸν περιέκειτο, λαθὼν ἀποδιδράσκει σὺν ὀλίγοις ἑκατοντάρχαις, οὓς πιστοτάτους ᾤετο, τὸ γένειον ἀποκειράμενος, ὥς μὴ γνωρίζοιτο, ἐσθῆτά τε ὁδοιπορικὴν λαβὼν καὶ [8] τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀεὶ σκέπων. νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁδοιπόρει, φθάνων τὴν φήμην τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης, τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων μεγάλη σπουδῇ τὰ ὀχήματα ἐπειγόντων, ὥς ἂν ὑπὸ Μακρίνου ἔτι βασιλεύοντος ἐπὶ τινα σπουδαῖα πεμφθέντων.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ἔφυγεν, ὥς εἴρηται· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐμάχοντο, ὑπὲρ «μὲν» τοῦ Μακρίνου οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ δορυφόροι, οὓς δὴ πραιτωριανούς καλοῦσιν, οἱ γενναίως ἀνθεστήκεσαν παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἅτε ὄντες μέγιστοί τε καὶ ἐπίλεκτοι· τὸ δὲ ἐπίλοιπον πᾶν πλῆθος [9] ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἠγωνίζοντο. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸν Μακρίνον οὐκ ἔβλεπον οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα, διηπόρουν δὴ ποῦ ποτὲ ἄρα εἴη, πότερον ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν κειμένων ἢ ἀποδράς ᾤχετο, ἠγνόουν τε πῶς χρήσονται τῷ πράγματι· οὕτε γὰρ μάχεσθαι ἤθελον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παρόντος, παραδοῦναι τε [10] αὐτοὺς ἐκδότους καὶ ὥσπερ αἰχμαλώτους ἡδοῦντο. ὥς δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπύθετο Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν τοῦ Μακρίνου φυγὴν, πέμψας κήρυκας διδάσκει αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάτην ὑπὲρ ἀνάνδρου καὶ φυγάδος μάχονται, ἄδειάν τε καὶ ἀμνηστίαν ἐνόρκως ὑπισχνεῖται, καλεῖ τε καὶ αὐτὸν δορυφορήσοντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πεισθέντες προσεχώρησαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος πέμπει τοὺς διώξοντας τὸν Μακρίνον [11] πολὺ προκεχωρηκότα. ἐν Χαλκηδόνι γοῦν τῆς Βιθυνίας κατελήφθη, νοσῶν χαλεπώτατα ὑπὸ τε τῆς συνεχοῦς ὁδοιπορίας συντετριμμένος. ἔνθα αὐτὸν εὐρόντες ἔν τινι κρυπτόμενον προαστείῳ οἱ διώκοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἐλέγετο δὲ σπεύδειν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, θαρρῶν τῇ τοῦ δήμου περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ· περαιούμενον δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διὰ τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Προποντίδος πορθμοῦ, ἤδη τε τῷ Βυζαντίῳ προσπελάζοντα, φασὶν ἀντιπνοίᾳ χρήσασθαι, ἐπανάγοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς [12] τὴν τιμωρίαν. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ Μακρίνος οὐκ ἐξέφυγε τοὺς διώξαντας, τέλει τε ἐχρήσατο αἰσχυρῷ ὕστερον θελήσας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνελθεῖν, δέον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· ὁμοῦ δὲ ἔπταισε καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ τύχῃ.

τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτῳ Μακρίνος ἐχρήσατο, συναναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ παιδός, ὃν ἦν ποιήσας Καίσαρα,

SECTION 5

[1] Διαδουμενιανὸν καλούμενον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε στρατὸς πᾶς μετελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον προσεῖπε βασιλέα, τὰ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς «ἐκεῖνος» ὑπεδέξατο, διοικηθέντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων ὑπὸ τε τῆς μάμμης καὶ τῶν συνόντων φίλων (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν νέος τε τὴν ἡλικίαν, πραγμάτων τε καὶ παιδείας ἄπειρος), οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου διατρίψας εἶχε περὶ ἔξοδον, σπευδούσης μάλιστα τῆς [2] Μαΐσης ἐς τὰ συνήθη ἑαυτῇ βασιλεία Ῥώμης. ὥς δὲ τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ τὰ πραχθέντα ἐδηλώθη, δυσφόρως μὲν πάντες ἤκουσαν, ὑπήκουον δὲ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ στρατοῦ ταῦτα ἡρημένου. κατεγίνωσκόν τε τοῦ Μακρίνου ῥαθυμίαν τε καὶ τρόπων χαυνότητα, αἰτίον τε οὐκ ἄλλον ἄλλ' ἢ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ γεγενῆσθαι ἔλεγον.

[3] ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀπάρας τῆς Συρίας ἐλθὼν τε ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐχείμαζε, τῆς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους οὕτως ἀπαιτούσης. εὐθέως τε ἐξεβακχεύετο, τὴν τε ἱερωσύνην τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ, ἣ ἐντέθραπτο, περιεργότερον ἐξωρχεῖτο, σχήμασί τε ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεστάτοις χρώμενος, διαχρύσοις τε πόρφυρας ὑφάσμασι περιδεραίοις τε καὶ ψελίοις κοσμούμενος, ἐς εἶδος δὲ τιάρας στεφάνην ἐπικείμενος [4] χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλῃν τιμίους. ἦν τε αὐτῷ τὸ σχῆμα μεταξὺ Φοινίσσης ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ χλιδῆς Μηδικῆς. Ῥωμαϊκὴν δὲ ἢ Ἑλληνικὴν πᾶσαν ἐσθῆτα ἐμυσάττετο, ἐρίου φάσκων εἰργάσθαι, πράγματος εὐτελοῦς· τοῖς δὲ Σηρῶν ὑφάσμασι μόνοις ἡρέσκετο. προΐει τε ὑπὸ αὐλοῖς καὶ τυμπάνοις, τῷ θεῷ δῆθεν ὀργιάζων.

[5] ἡ δὲ Μαῖσα ταῦτα ὁρῶσα πάνυ ἥσχαλλε, πείθιν τε λιπαροῦσα ἐπειρᾶτο μεταμφιέσασθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων στολὴν μέλλοντά [τε] ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελεύσεσθαι, μὴ ἀλλοδαπὸν ἢ παντάπασιν βάρβαρον τὸ σχῆμα ὀφθέν εὐθὺς λυπήσῃ τοὺς ἰδόντας, ἀθήεις τε ὄντας καὶ οἰομένους τὰ τοιαῦτα καλλωπίσματα [6] οὐκ ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ θηλείαις πρέπειν. ὁ δὲ καταφρονήσας τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος λεχθέντων, μὴδ' ἄλλω τινὶ πεισθείς (οὐδὲ γὰρ προσίετο εἰ μὴ τοὺς ὁμοιοτρόπους τε καὶ κόλακας αὐτοῦ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων), βουλόμενος ἐν ἔθει γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ σχήματος ὄψεως τὴν τε σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων, ἀπόντος τε αὐτοῦ πεῖραν δοθῆναι πῶς φέρουσι τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ σχήματος, εἰκόνα μεγίστην γράψας παντὸς ἑαυτοῦ, οἷος προΐων τε καὶ ἱερουργῶν ἐφαίνετο, παραστήσας τε ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τὸν [7] τύπον τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καλλιερῶν ἐγέγραπτο, πέμψας τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς συγκλήτου τόπῳ ὑψηλοτάτῳ τε τὴν εἰκόνα

ἀνατεθῆναι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῆς νίκης, ᾧ συνιόντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον λιβανωτὸν τε θυμιῶσιν ἕκαστος καὶ οἴνου σπένδουσι. προσέταξέ τε πάντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντας, καὶ εἴ τινες δημοσίας θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσι, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οὓς δὴ καλοῦσιν ἱερουργοῦντες, ὀνομάζειν τὸν νέον θεὸν Ἑλαιαγάβαλον. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο τῷ προειρημένῳ σχήματι, οὐδὲν [8] παράδοξον εἶδον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τῇ γραφῇ ἐνειθισμένοι. δοὺς δὲ τὰς συνήθεις τῷ δήμῳ νομάς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βασιλείας διαδοχῇ, φιλοτίμως τε καὶ πολυτελῶς ἐπιτελέσας παντοδαπὰς θέας, νεῶν τε μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον κατασκευάσας τῷ θεῷ, βωμούς τε πλείστους περὶ τὸν νεὼν ἰδρύσας, ἐκάστοτε προῖων ἔωθεν ἐκατόμβας τε ταύρων καὶ προβάτων πολὺ πλῆθος κατέσφαττε τοῖς τε βωμοῖς ἐπετίθει, παντοδαποῖς ἀρώμασι σωρεύων, οἴνου τε τοῦ παλαιοτάτου καὶ καλλίστου πολλοὺς ἀμφορέας τῶν βωμῶν προχέων, ὥς ῥεῖθρα φέρεσθαι οἴνου τε καὶ αἵματος [9] μεμιγμένον. περὶ τε τοὺς βωμούς ἐχόρευεν ὑπὸ παντοδαποῖς ἤχοις ὀργάνων, γύναιά τε ἐπιχώρια ἐχόρευε σὺν αὐτῷ, περιθέοντα τοῖς βωμοῖς, κύμβαλα ἢ τύμπανα μετὰ χειρὸς φέροντα· περιειστίκει δὲ πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν τάγμα ἐν θεάτρου σχήματι. τὰ δὲ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἱερουργηθέντων τὰ τε ἀρώματα ἐν χρυσοῖς σκεύεσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οὐκ οἰκέται δὴ τινες ἢ εὐτελεῖς [10] ἄνθρωποι ἔφερον, ἀλλ’ οἱ τε ἑπαρχοὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις πράξεσιν, ἀνεξωσμένοι [οἱ] μὲν χιτῶνας ποδήρεις καὶ χειριδωτοὺς νόμφ Φοινίκων, ἐν μέσῳ φέροντες μίαν πορφύραν· ὑποδήμασί τε λίνου πεποιημένοις ἐχρῶντο, ὥσπερ οἱ κατ’ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία προφητεύοντες. ἐδόκει δὲ τιμὴν μεγίστην νέμειν οἷς ἐκοινώνει τῆς ἱερουργίας.

SECTION 6

[1] πλὴν καίτοι χορεύειν αἰεὶ καὶ ἱεουργεῖν δοκῶν, πλείστους ἀπέκτεινε τῶν ἐνδόξων τε καὶ πλουσίων, διαβληθέντας αὐτῷ ὡς ἀπαρεσκομένους καὶ σκώπτοντας αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον. ἡγάγετο δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν εὐγενεστάτην Ῥωμαίων, ἣν Σεβαστὴν ἀναγορεύσας μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀπεπέμψατο, ιδιωτεύειν κελεύσας καὶ τῶν τιμῶν παρελόμενος.

[2] μετ' ἐκείνην δὲ προσποιησάμενος ἑρᾶν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πράττειν δοκοίη, παρθένου τῇ Ῥωμαίων Ἑστία ἱερωμένης ἀγνεύειν τε πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων κελευομένης καὶ μέχρι τέλους τοῦ βίου παρθενεύεσθαι, ἀποσπάσας αὐτὴν τῆς Ἑστίας καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρθενῶνος γυναῖκα ἔθετο, ἐπιστείλας τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ παραμυθησάμενος ἀσέβημά τε καὶ ἀμάρτημα τηλικούτον, φήσας ἀνθρώπινόν τι πεπονθέναι πάθος· ἔρωτι γὰρ τῆς κόρης ἐάλωκέναι, ἀρμόζοντά τε καὶ σεβάσμιον εἶναι γάμον ἱερέως τε καὶ ἱερείας. πλὴν καὶ ταύτην αὖ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπεπέμψατο, τρίτην δὲ πάλιν ἡγάγετο, ἀναφέρουσαν τὸ γένος ἐς Κόμοδον.

[3] ἔπαιζε δὲ γάμους οὐ μόνον ἀνθρωπεύους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ ἱεράτευε, γυναῖκα ἐζήτει· καὶ τῆς τε Παλλάδος τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃν κρυπτὸν καὶ ἀόρατον σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάλαμον μετήγαγε· καὶ μὴ κινήθην ἐξ οὐπερ ἦλθεν ἀπὸ Ἰλίου, εἰ μὴ ὅτε πυρὶ κατεφλέχθη ὁ νεῶς, ἐκίνησεν οὗτος, καὶ πρὸς γάμον δὴ ἐς τὴν βασιλείον [4] αὐλήν τῷ θεῷ ἀνήγαγε. φήσας δὲ ἀπαρέσκεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς πάντα ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ πολεμικῇ θεῷ, τῆς Οὐρανίας τὸ ἄγαλμα μετεπέμψατο, σεβόντων αὐτὸ ὑπερφυῶς Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀνθρώπων. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸ Διδῶ τὴν Φοίνισσαν ιδρύσασθαι, ὅτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Καρχηδόνα πόλιν ἔκτισε, βύρσαν κατατεμοῦσα. Λίβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δὲ Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες.

[5] ἀρμόζειν τοίνυν λέγων ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος γάμον ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τό τε ἄγαλμα μετεπέμψατο καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐκεῖθεν χρυσόν, χρήματά τε ἀμπλιστα τῇ θεῷ ἐς προῖκα δὴ ἐπιδοῦναι ἐκέλευσε. κομισθέν τε τὸ ἄγαλμα συνώκισε δὴ τῷ θεῷ, κελεύσας πάντας τοὺς κατὰ Ῥώμην καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀνθρώπους ἐορτάζειν παντοδαπαῖς τε εὐφροσύναις καὶ εὐωχίαις χρῆσθαι δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὡς δὴ γαμούντων θεῶν.

[6] κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ νεῶν μέγιστόν τε καὶ πολυτελέστατον, ἐς ὃν ἐκάστου ἔτους κατῆγε τὸν θεὸν ἀκμάζοντος θέρους.

πανηγύρεις τε παντοδαπὰς συνεκρότει, ἵπποδρόμους τε κατασκευάσας καὶ θέατρα, διὰ τε ἡνιοχείας καὶ πάντων θεαμάτων τε καὶ ἀκροαμάτων πλείστον εὐωχούμενον τὸν δῆμον καὶ παννυχίζοντα εὐφραίνειν ὄρετο. τὸν τε θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσας ἄρματι χρυσῷ τε καὶ λίθοις τιμιωτάτοις πεποικιλμένῳ κατήγεν [7] ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον. τὸ δὲ ἄρμα ἦγεν ἐξάπωλον, ἵππων λευκῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ ἀσπίλων, χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ φαλάροις ποικίλοις κεκοσμημένων, τάς τε ἡνίας κατεῖχεν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄρματος ἄνθρωπος ἐπέβαινεν, αὐτῷ δὲ περιέκειντο ὡς ἡνιοχοῦντι δὴ τῷ θεῷ. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἔθεε πρὸ τοῦ ἄρματος ἀναποδίζων ἐς τοῦπίσω, ἕς τε τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπων καὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς ἀντέχων τῶν ἵππων· πᾶσάν τε τὴν ὁδὸν ἦνυε τρέχων ἔμπαλιν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφορῶν τε ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ.

[8] πρὸς τε τὸ μὴ πταῖσαι αὐτὸν ἢ διολισθαίνειν, οὐχ ὀρῶντα ὅπου βαίνει, γῇ τε ἢ χρυσίζουσα παμπλείστη ὑπέστρωτο, οἱ τε προασπίζοντες ἐκατέρωθεν ἀντείχον, τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ τοιοῦτου δρόμου προνοοῦμενοι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκατέρωθεν παρέθει μετὰ παντοδαπῆς δαδουχίας, στεφάνους καὶ ἄνθη ἐπιρριπτοῦντες· ἀγάλματά τε πάντων θεῶν, καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς ἀνάθημα <ἦ> τίμιον, ὅσα τε τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα ἢ πολυτελεῖ κειμήλια, οἱ τε ἵππεῖς [9] καὶ <ὁ> στρατὸς πᾶς προεπόμευον τοῦ θεοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδρῦσαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ τάς τε προειρημένας θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπετέλει, πύργους τε μεγίστους καὶ ὑψηλοτάτους κατασκευάσας, ἀνιών τε ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐρρίπτει τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἀρπάζειν πᾶσιν ἐπιτρέπων, ἐκπώματά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ὀθόνας παντοδαπὰς, ζῶά τε πάντα, ὅσα ἡμερα, πλὴν χοίρων· [10] τούτων γὰρ ἀπείχετο Φοινίκων νόμῳ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς πολλοὶ διεφθείροντο, ὑπὸ τε ἀλλήλων πατούμενοι καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τῶν στρατιωτῶν περιπίπτοντες, ὡς τὴν ἐκείνου ἐορτὴν πολλοῖς φέρειν συμφορὰν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐβλέπετο πολλάκις ἡνιοχῶν ἢ ὀρχούμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ λανθάνειν ἤθελεν ἁμαρτάνων. προΐη τε ὑπογραφόμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς παρεῖας ἐρυθραίων, φύσει τε πρόσωπον ὠραῖον ὑβρίζων βαφαῖς ἀσχήμοσιν.

SECTION 7

[1] ὀρώσα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Μαῖσα, ὑποπεύουσά τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπαρέσκεσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ τοῦ βασιλέως βίῳ, καὶ δεδοικυῖα μὴ τι ἐκείνου παθόντος πάλιν ιδιωτεύῃ, πείθει αὐτόν, κοῦφον ἄλλως καὶ ἄφρονα νεανίαν, θέσθαι υἱὸν Καίσαρά τε ἀποδείξαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀνεψιὸν ἐκείνης δὲ ἔγγονον ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας θυγατρὸς Μαμαίας, [2] εἰποῦσα αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα, ὥς ἄρα χρή ἐκείνῳ μὲν τῇ ἱερῳσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ σχολάζειν τοῦ θεοῦ, βακχεῖαις καὶ ὀργίοις τοῖς τε θείοις ἔργοις ἀνακείμενον, εἶναι δὲ ἕτερον τὸν τὰ ἀνθρώπεια διοικοῦντα, ἐκείνῳ δὲ παρέξοντα τῆς βασιλείας τὸ ἀνενόχλητόν τε καὶ ἀμέριμνον· μὴ δεῖν τοῖνυν ξένον ζητεῖν μηδ' ἄλλότριον, [3] ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνεψιῷ ταῦτα ἐγχειρίσαι. μετονομάζεται δὴ ὁ Ἀλεξιανός, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καλεῖται, παραχθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ παππῶου ὀνόματος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνο· ὥς πάνυ τε ἐνδόξου καὶ τιμηθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δοκοῦντος πατρὸς ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι· τὴν <γὰρ> Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Σεβήρου παιδὸς μοιχείαν ἀμφοτέραι αἱ Μαΐσης θυγατέρες αὐτὴ τε ἡ πρεσβῦτις ἐσεμνύνετο πρὸς τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας στέργειν τοὺς παῖδας, υἱοὺς ἐκείνου δοκοῦντας εἶναι.

[4] ἀποδείκνυται δὴ Καῖσαρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπατός τε σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ. κατελθὼν τε ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον ταῦτα ἐκύρωσε, γελοιότατα ψηφισαμένων πάντων ἃ ἐκελεύοντο, πατέρα μὲν ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖν ἔτη γεγονότα περὶ πού ἐκκαίδεκα, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ υἱὸν τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἐπιβαίνοντα. ὥς δὲ Καῖσαρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπεδείχθη, ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος αὐτὸν ἐβούλετο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδεύειν ἐπιτηδεύματα, ὀρχεῖσθαι τε καὶ χορεύειν τῆς τε ἱερῳσύνης [5] κοινωνεῖν καὶ σχήμασι καὶ ἔργοις ὁμοίοις. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτόν ἡ Μαμαία ἀπῆγε μὲν τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ ἀπρεπῶν βασιλεῦσιν ἔργων, διδασκάλους δὲ πάσης παιδείας λάθρα μετεπέμπετο, τοῖς τε σώφροσιν αὐτόν ἥσκει μαθήμασι, παλαιστραῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρῶν γυμνασίοις εἵθιζε, παιδεῖαν τε τὴν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαίδευεν. ἐφ' οἷς Ἀντωνῖνος πάνυ ἡσχαλλε, καὶ μετεγίνωσκε θέμενος αὐτόν [6] υἱὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς. τοὺς τε οὖν διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπεσόβει τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς, τινάς τε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν οὓς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν, αἰτίας γελοιοτάτας ἐπιφέρων, ὥς διαφθείροιεν αὐτῷ τὸν δοκοῦντα υἱόν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντες χορεύειν ἢ βακχεύεσθαι, σωφρονίζοντες δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν διδάσκοντες. ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐξώκειλε παροινίας ὥς πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν δημοσίων θεάτρων μεταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν βασιλικῶν πράξεων, καὶ

τοῖς μὲν στρατοπέδοις ἔπαρχον ἐπιστῆσαι ὀρχηστήν τινα γεγονότα καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων θεάτρῳ ὀρχησάμενον, [7] ὅτε ἦν νέος· πάλιν δὲ ἕτερον ὁμοίως «ἐκ» τῆς σκηνῆς βαστάσας, παιδείας τῶν νέων καὶ εὐκοσμίας τῆς τε ὑποστάσεως τῶν ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν ἢ τὸ ἵππικὸν τάγμα κατατασσομένων προέστησεν. ἡνιόχοις τε καὶ κωμφοδοῖς καὶ μίμων ὑποκριταῖς τὰς μεγίστας τῶν βασιλείων πίστεων ἐνεχείρισε. τοῖς δὲ δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀπελευθέροις, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐπ' αἰσχυρῷ τινὶ εὐδοκιμήσας, τὰς ὑπατικὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξουσίας ἐνεχείρισε.

SECTION 8

[1] πάντων δὲ οὕτως τῶν πάλαι δοκούντων σεμνῶν ἐς ὕβριν καὶ παροινίαν ἐκβεβακχευμένων, οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο καὶ ἐδυσφόρουν· ἐμυσάττοντο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον καλλωπιζόμενον περιεργότερον ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα σώφρονα, περιδεραίοις δὲ χρυσίοις ἐσθῆσι τε ἀπαλαῖς [2] ἀνάνδρως κοσμούμενον, ὀρχούμενόν τε οὕτως ὥς ὑπὸ πάντων ὀρᾶσθαι. ἐπιρρεπεστέρας τοίνυν τὰς γνώμας πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον, καὶ ἐλπίδας κρείττους ἐν παιδὶ κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως ἀνατρεφομένῳ. ἐφρούρουν τε αὐτὸν παντοίως ὀρῶντες ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου. ἢ τε μήτηρ Μαμαία οὔτε ποτὸν οὔτε ἐδώδιμόν τι εἶα τὸν παῖδα προσφέρεισθαι τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεμπομένων· ὄψοι ποιοῖς τε καὶ οἰνοχόοις ὁ παῖς ἐχρήτο οὐ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ ἐν κοινῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπιλεχθεῖσι πιστοτάτοις τε [3] εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ χρήματα λανθάνουσα διανέμεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις κρύβδην, ὅπως αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὖνοιαν καὶ διὰ χρημάτων, ἐς ἃ μάλιστα ἀποβλέπουσιν, οἰκειώσεται.

ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πυθθανόμενος παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς πάσας ἀπεῖργε τε καὶ ἐκώλυνεν ἢ κοινῇ μάμμη ἀμφοτέρων Μαῖσα, γυνὴ καὶ ἄλλως ἐντρεχῆς καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐνδαιτηθεῖσα, ἅτε τῆς Σεβήρου γυναικὸς Ἰουλίας ἀδελφῇ γενομένη καὶ τὰ [4] πάντα σὺν αὐτῇ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίψασα. οὐδὲν οὖν αὐτὴν ἐλάνθανε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου βουλευομένων, φύσει τε χαίνου τὸν τρόπον ὄντος, καὶ ἀφειδῶς πάντα καὶ φανερώς ἃ ἐβουλευέτο λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος. ὥς δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ οὐ προεχώρει, παραλῦσαι τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμῆς ἠθέλησε τὸν παῖδα, καὶ οὔτε ἐν ταῖς προσαγορεύσεσιν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς προόδοις [5] Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι ἑωρᾶτο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπεζήτουν τε αὐτόν, καὶ ἠγανάκτουν ὅτι δὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλυθεῖη. διεσκέδασε δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ φήμην ὥς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τεθνήξεσθαι μέλλοντος, ἐποιεῖτο τε ἀπόπειραν ὅπως οἴσουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ θρυλούμενον. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ μήτε τὸν παῖδα ἐβλεπον ὑπὸ τε τῆς φήμης τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτρώθησαν, ἀγανακτήσαντες οὔτε τὴν συνήθη φρουρὰν ἔπεμψαν τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ, κατακλείσαντές τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν «τῷ» ἱερῷ ἠξίουσαν ἰδεῖν.

[6] ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἐν δέει πολλῷ γενόμενος, παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον,

συγκαθεσθῆις αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ φορείῳ, ὅπερ διὰ χρυσοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ λίθων τιμίων πεποίκιλτο, κατήλθεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ὡς δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέξαντο αὐτοὺς ἕς τε τὸν νεὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἡγάγον, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερφυῶς ἡσπάζοντό τε καὶ εὐφήμουν, τῷ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ [7] ἀμελέστερον προσεφέροντο. ἐφ' οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἀγανακτῶν, καὶ διανυκτερεύσας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, πάνυ ἥσχαλλε καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠργίζετο· ἐκέλευέ τε τοὺς παρασήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυῶς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὐφημήσαντας, τοὺς δὲ αἰτίους δῆθεν στάσεως καὶ θορύβου, συλλαμβάνεσθαι [8] πρὸς τιμωρίαν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτήσαντες, ἄλλως μὲν μισοῦντες τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ ἀποσκεύασασθαι θέλοντες ἀσχημονοῦντα βασιλέα, τότε δὲ καὶ τοῖς συλλαμβανομένοις ἐπαμύνειν δεῖν ἡγούμενοι, καιρὸν εὐκαιρον καὶ πρόφασιν δικαίαν νομίζοντες, τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα Σοαιμίδα (παρῆν γὰρ ὡς Σεβαστή τε καὶ μήτηρ) ἀναιροῦσι, τοὺς τε περὶ αὐτὸν πάντας, ὅσοι ἔνδον κατελήφθησαν ὑπηρεταί τε καὶ συνεργοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.

[9] τὰ δὲ σώματα τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς Σοαιμίδος παρέδοσαν σύρειν τε καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν τοῖς βουλομένοις· ἅπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως συρέντα τε καὶ λωβηθέντα ἐς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἀπερρίφθη τοὺς ἐς τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ῥέοντας.

[10] Ἀντωνῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐς ἕκτον ἔτος ἐλάσας τῆς βασιλείας καὶ χρησάμενος τῷ προειρημένῳ βίῳ, οὕτως ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ κατέστρεψεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναγορεύσαντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ἀνήγαγον, κομιδῇ νέον καὶ πάνυ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ μάμμῃ παιδαγωγούμενον.

BOOK VI.

SECTION 1

Ὅποιῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ὁ νέος Ἀντωνῖνος ἐχρήσατο, ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις δεδήλωται· παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ «μὲν» σχῆμα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκείνῳ περιέκειτο, ἡ μὲντοι διοίκησις τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἰκονομία ὑπὸ ταῖς γυναιξὶ διωκεῖτο, ἐπὶ τε τὸ σωφρονέστερον καὶ σεμνότερον πάντα [2] μετάγειν ἐπειρῶντο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοὺς δοκοῦντας καὶ ἡλικία σεμνοτάτους καὶ βίῳ σωφρονεστάτους ἐκκαίδεκα ἐπελέξαντο συνέδρους εἶναι καὶ συμβούλους τοῦ βασιλέως· οὐδὲ τι ἐλέγετο ἢ ἐπράττετο, εἰ μὴ κάκεῖνοι αὐτὸ ἐπικρίναντες σύμψηφοι ἐγένοντο. ἤρεσκέ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκ τυραννίδος ἐφυβρίστου ἐς ἀριστοκρατίας τύπον μεταχθείσης.

[3] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν, ἅπερ ἔτυχεν ἐκεῖνος κινήσας καὶ μεταγαγὼν, ἔπεμψαν ἐς τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἀρχαίους ναοὺς τε καὶ σηκοὺς· τοὺς τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἀλόγως, ἢ ἐφ' οἷς εὐδοκίμηκεσαν ἀμαρτήμασιν, ἐς τιμὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας προαχθέντας τῶν δοθέντων ἀφείλοντο, ἐκάστους κελεύσαντες ἐς τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν ἐπανίεναι [4] τῆς ἀξίας αἴρεσιν. τὰς τε πράξεις ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς διοικήσεις, τὰς μὲν πολιτικὰς καὶ ἀγοραίους ἐνεχείρισαν τοῖς ἐπὶ λόγοις εὐδοκιμωτάτοις καὶ νόμων ἐμπείροις, τὰς δὲ στρατιωτικὰς τοῖς ἐξετασθεῖσιν τε καὶ εὐδοκίμησασιν ἐν εὐτάκτοις τε καὶ πολεμικαῖς πράξεσιν.

ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικουμένης, ἡ μὲν Μαῖσα πρεσβῦτις ἤδη οὕσα ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ βίου, ἔτυχέ τε βασιλικῶν τιμῶν, καὶ ὥς νομίζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐξεθειάσθη· [5] ἡ δὲ Μαμαία μόνη τῷ παιδὶ καταλειφθεῖσα ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ ἄρχειν τε καὶ κρατεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. ἤδη τε ὀρῶσα ἐν ἀκμῇ τὸν νεανίαν γενόμενον, καὶ δεδοικυῖα μὴ ἄρα ἡλικία ἀκμάζουσα ὑπηρετούσης ἀδείας τε καὶ ἐξουσίας ἔς τι τῶν γενικῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐξοκέλλη, πανταχόθεν ἐφρουρεῖ τὴν αὐλήν, οὐδέ τινα εἶα προσιέναι τῷ μεираκίῳ τῶν ἐπὶ φαύλῳ βίῳ διαβελημένων, μὴ πως τὸ ἦθος διαφθαρείη, προκαλεσαμένων αὐτοῦ τῶν κολάκων τὰς [6] ὀρέξεις ἀκμαζούσας ἐς αἰσχρὰς ἐπιθυμίας. δικάζειν [τε] οὖν αὐτὸν ἔπειθε συνεχέστατα καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥς ἂν ἀσχολούμενος περὶ τὰ κρείττονα καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἀναγκαῖα μὴ ἔχῃ καιρὸν ἐς τὸ ἐπιτηδεύειν τι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὑπῆρχε δέ τι καὶ φυσικὸν ἦθος πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔς τε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον πάνυ ἐπιρρεπές, ὥς ἐδήλωσε καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας προχωρούσης.

[7] ἐς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατον γοῦν ἐλάσας τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἀναιμωτὶ ἦρξεν, οὐδὲ τις εἰπεῖν ἔχει ὑπ' ἐκείνου φονευθέντα. καίτοι τινῶν μεγίσταις αἰτίαις ὑποπεσόντων, ὅμως ἐφείσατο ὡς μὴ φονεῦσαι, οὐ ῥαδίως τοῦτο ἄλλου βασιλέως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποιήσαντος ἢ παραφυλάξαντος μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου ἀρχήν. ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ἢ μνημονεῦσαι ἐν ἔτεσι τοσοῦτοις ἀκρίτως φονευθέντα.

[8] ἡτιᾶτο δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ πάνυ ἥσχαλλεν ὁρῶν αὐτὴν οὔσαν φιλοχρήματον καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ὑπερφυῶς ἐσπουδακυῖαν. προσποιουμένη γὰρ ἀθροίζειν αὐτὰ ἵνα ἔχοι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀφθόνως καὶ ῥαδίως ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος χαρίζεσθαι, ἰδίᾳ ἐθισαύριζε· καὶ διέβαλλεν ἔσθ' ὅπῃ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτοῦ ἄκοντός τε καὶ ἀσχάλλοντος οὐσίας τινῶν καὶ κληρονομίας ἐξ ἐπιηρείας ὑφαρπασάσης ἐκείνης.

[9] ἡγάγετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκα τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, ἣν συνοικοῦσαν καὶ ἀγαπωμένην μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν βασιλείων ἐδίωξεν· ἐνυβρίζουσά τε καὶ βασίλισσα εἶναι μόνη θέλουσα, φθονοῦσά τε τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκείνῃ, ἐς τοσοῦτον προεχώρησεν ὕβρεως ὡς τὸν πατέρα τῆς κόρης, καίτοι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου γαμβροῦ ὄντος πάνυ τιμώμενον, μὴ φέροντα τὴν Μαμαίαν ἐνυβρίζουσαν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ, φυγεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, τῷ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χάριν εἰδότα ἐφ' οἷς ἐτιμᾶτο, τὴν δὲ Μαμαίαν ^[10] αἰτιώμενον ἐφ' οἷς ὑβρίζετο. ἐκείνῃ δὲ ἀγανακτήσασα αὐτόν τε ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν κόρην ἐκβληθεῖσαν τῶν βασιλείων ἐς Λιβύην ἐφυγάδευσε. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράττετο ἄκοντός τε καὶ ἀναγκαζομένου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἦρχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαλλόντως ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ πᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον ἐκεῖνος ἐποίει. τοῦτο δ' ἂν τις μόνον ἔσχεν ἐγκαλέσαι αὐτῷ, ὅτι δὴ ὑπὸ περιττῆς πραότητος καὶ αἰδοῦς πλείονος ἢ ἐχρῆν τῇ μητρὶ, ἐν οἷς ἀπηρέσκετο, ὅμως ἐπέιθετο.

SECTION 2

[1] ἐτῶν μὲν οὖν τρισκαίδεκα οὕτως, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμέμπτως διώκησε· τῷ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει αἰφνιδίως ἐκομίσθη γράμματα τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν τε καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν ἡγεμόνων, δηλοῦντα ὅτι Ἀρταξέρης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὸ Παρθυαίους καθελεῖν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀρχῆς παραλῦσαι, Ἀρτάβανόν τε τὸν πρότερον καλούμενον [τὸν] μέγαν βασιλέα καὶ δυσὶ διαδήμασι χρώμενον ἀποκτεῖναι, πάντα τε τὰ περίοικα βάρβαρα χειρώσασθαι καὶ ἐς φόρου συντέλειαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, οὐχ ἡσυχάζει οὐδ' ἐντὸς Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ μένει, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὄχθας ὑπερβαίνων καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὅρους Μεσοποταμίαν τε κατατρέχει καὶ Σύροις ἀπειλεῖ, πᾶσάν τε τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἡπειρον [2] Εὐρώπῃ καὶ διαιρουμένην Αἰγαίῳ τε καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ τῆς Προποντίδος, Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν καλουμένην προγονικὸν κτῆμα ἡγούμενος τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἀνακτήσασθαι βούλεται, φάσκων ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ Μήδων ἐς Πέρσας μεταστήσαντος μέχρι Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου Περσῶν βασιλέως, οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καθεῖλε, πάντα μέχρις Ἰωνίας καὶ Καρίας ὑπὸ σατράπαις Περσικοῖς διωκῆσθαι· προσήκειν οὖν αὐτῷ Πέρσαις ἀνανεώσασθαι πᾶσαν ὁλόκληρον, ἢν πρότερον ἔσχον, ἀρχήν.

[3] τοιαῦτα τοίνυν δηλωσάντων καὶ ἐπιστειλάντων τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἡγεμόνων, πρὸς τὴν αἰφνίδιον καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα κομισθεῖσαν ἀγγελίαν οὐ μετρίως ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐταράχθη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰρήνῃ ἐκ παίδων ἐντραφεὶς καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αἰεὶ σχολάσας τρυφῇ. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ κοινωσαμένῳ τοῖς φίλοις πρεσβείαν πέμψαι καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κωλύσαι τὴν ὁρμὴν [4] καὶ ἐλπίδα τοῦ βαρβάρου. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰ γράμματα δεῖν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἰδίων ὅροις καὶ μὴ καινοτομεῖν μηδὲ ματαίαις αἰωρούμενον ἐλπίσι μέγαν ἐγείρειν πόλεμον, ἀγαπητῶς τε ἔχειν ἕκαστον τὰ αὐτοῦ· μηδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίαν ἔσσεσθαι μάχην αὐτῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οἷαν σχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς γεινιῶντας καὶ ὁμοφύλους βαρβάρους. ὑπεμίμησκε δὲ τὰ γράμματα τῶν τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῶν Τραϊανοῦ Λουκίου τε καὶ Σεβήρου κατ' αὐτῶν τροπαίων. τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ τίνα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστείλας ᾤετο πείσειν ἢ φοβήσιν ἐς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τὸν [5] βάρβαρον· ὁ δ' οὐδέν τι φροντίζων τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων, ὅπλοις ἄλλ' οὐ λόγους οἰόμενος δεῖν τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖσθαι, ἐνέκειτο ἄγων καὶ φέρων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντα, κατατρέχων τε καὶ καθιππεύων Μεσοποταμίαν λείας τε ἀπῆλυνε, καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα στρατόπεδα ταῖς ὄχθαις

τῶν ποταμῶν προασπίζοντά τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐπολιόρκει. φύσει δ' ὦν ἀλαζών, καὶ ταῖς παρ' ἐλπίδας εὐπραγίαις ἐπαιρόμενος, πάντα ῥαδίως χειρώσασθαι [6] προσεδόκα. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ ἀναπείθοντα οὐ μικρὰ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρχῆς μείζονος. πρῶτος γὰρ Περσῶν ἐτόλμησε τῇ Παρθυαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπιθέσθαι Πέρσαις τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνανεώσασθαι. μετὰ γὰρ Δαρεῖον τὸν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοσ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλυθέντα, παμπλείστοις ἐν ἔτεσι Μακεδόνες μὲν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐθνῶν καὶ κατ' Ἀσίαν [7] ἅπασαν, νειμάμενοι κατὰ χώρας, ἐβασίλευσαν. ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένων, πολέμοις τε συνεχέσι τῆς Μακεδόνων δυνάμεως ἐξασθενούσης, πρῶτος Ἀρσάκης λέγεται, τὸ γένος Παρθυαῖος, ἀναπεῖσαι τοὺς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρους ἀποστῆναι Μακεδόνων· περιθέμενός τε τὸ διάδημα ἐκόντων Παρθυαίων καὶ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων αὐτός τε ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον παρέμενεν ἡ ἀρχή, μέχρις Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενομένου, ὃν Ἀρταξάρης ἀποκτείνας Πέρσαις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεκτήσατο, τὰ τε γειτνιῶντα ἔθνη βάρβαρα χειρωσάμενος ῥαδίως ἤδη καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπεβούλευσεν.

SECTION 3

[1] ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐδηλώθη διατρίβοντι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολάς ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τολμώμενα, οὐκ ἀνασχετὰ ἡγούμενος, καλούντων δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἡγεμόνων, ἀσχάλλων μὲν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, ὅμως δ' ἔσχε περὶ ἔξοδον. ἔκ τε οὖν αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πάντων ἐθνῶν λογάδες ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἠθροίζοντο, ὅσοι σώματος εὐεξία καὶ ἡλικίας ἀκμῇ ἐς [2] μάχην ἐπιτήδειοι ἐνομίζοντο. κίνησίς τε μεγίστη πάσης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, δυνάμεως ἰσορρόπου ἀθροιζομένης πρὸς τὸ ἀγγελλόμενον τῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων βαρβάρων πλῆθος. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας, συνελθεῖν τε πάντας κελεύσας ἐς τὸ σύνηθες πεδῖον, ἐπὶ βήματος ἀνελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

[3] ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, τοὺς συνήθεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, δι' ὧν αὐτός τε ἐκοσμούμην δημηγορῶν ὑμᾶς τε ἀκούοντας εὐφραίνον· εἰρήνης γὰρ πολυετοὺς ἀπολαύσαντες εἴ τι καινὸν νῦν ἀκούετε, [4] ἴσως ἂν ὥς παρ' ἐλπίδα λεχθέντι ἐκπλαγείητε. χρή δ' ἄνδρας γενναίους τε καὶ σώφρονας εὐχεσθαι μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὰ βέλτιστα, φέρειν δὲ τὰ προσπίπτοντα· τῶν μὲν γὰρ δι' ἡδονῆς πραττομένων ἢ ἀπόλαυσις γλυκεῖα, τῶν δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατορθουμένων ἔνδοξος ἢ ἀνδρεία. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων ἔργων οὐκ εὐγνώμονα ἔχει τὴν πρόκλησιν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἐναντιοχλοῦντας ἀποσεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως ἔχει τὸ θαρραλέον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ [5] μὴ ἀδικεῖν ἀλλ' ἀμύνεσθαι ὑπάρχει τὸ εὖελπι. Ἀρταξάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην Ἀρτάβανον ἀποκτείνας τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐς Πέρσας μεταστήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅπλων καταθαρρήσας καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δόξης καταφρονήσας, πειρᾶται κατατρέχειν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς κτήματα. τοῦτον ἐπειράθην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γράμμασι καὶ πειθοῖ παῦσαι τῆς ἀπλήστου μανίας καὶ τῆς ἀλλοτριῶν ἐπιθυμίας· ὁ δὲ βαρβάρῳ φερόμενος ἀλαξονεῖα οὔτε μένειν οἶκοι βούλεται, προκαλεῖται τε ἡμᾶς ἐς μάχην. μὴ δὴ μέλλωμεν [6] μὴδὲ ὀκνῶμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ὑπομνήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τροπαίων ἃ μετὰ Σεβήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἡγεύρατε πολλάκις κατὰ βαρβάρων, οἱ δ' ἐν ἀκμῇ ὄντες δόξης καὶ κλέους ἐπιθυμήσαντες δεῖξατε ὅτι ἄρα καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν πράως καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς ἐπίστασθε καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ τῆς χρείας ἀπαιτούσης γενναίως κατορθοῦτε.

[7] τὸ δὲ βάρβαρον πρὸς μὲν τὰ ὑπεῖκοντα καὶ ὀκνοῦντα θρασύνεται, τῷ δ' ἀντιπίπτοντι οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀντέχει, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκ συστάσεως αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη

κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὑπισχνεῖται τὸ εὖελπι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἢ φυγῆς
κερδαίνειν νομίζουσιν ὅπερ ἂν σχῶσι δι' ἀρπαγῆς. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ εὐτακτον
ἅμα τῷ κοσμίῳ ὑπάρχει, καὶ νικᾷν αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ δεδιδάγμεθα.

SECTION 4

[1] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀνευφήμησε, προθυμίαν τε πᾶσαν ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ὁ δ' ἐπιδούς αὐτοῖς χρήματα μεγαλοφρόνως, εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκέλευσε. κατελθὼν τε ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλήν, καὶ τοῖς προειρημένους [2] ὅμοια διαλεχθεῖς, ἐπήγγειλε τὴν ἔξοδον. καταλαβούσης δὲ τῆς ὠρισμένης ἡμέρας θύσας τε τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξόδοις νενομισμένας ἱερουργίας, παραπεμφθεῖς τε ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου, τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆρεν, ἐπιστρεφόμενος αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ δακρύων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν δημοτῶν ἦν τις ὃς ἀδακρυτὶ παρέπεμπεν αὐτόν· πόθον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ πλήθει ἐμπεποιήκει ἀνατραφεῖς τε ὑπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ μετρίως ἄρξας τοσούτων ἐτῶν.

[3] μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ σπουδῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν, τὰ τε Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα ἐπελθὼν, πλείστην τε δύναμιν κάκεῖθεν ἀθροίσας, ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξήρτυε, γυμνάζων τε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀσκῶν.

[4] ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ πρεσβείαν πάλιν πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας διαλέγεσθαι· ἤλπιζε γὰρ αὐτὸν πείσειν ἢ φοβήσειν αὐτὸς παρών. ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέπεμψεν ἀπράκτους, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τετρακοσίους Περσῶν τοὺς μεγίστους, ἐσθῆσί τε πολυτελέσι καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένους ἵππων τε καὶ τόξων παρασκευῇ, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καταπλήξειν οἰηθεῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους [5] τῇ τε ὧσει καὶ τῷ σχήματι τῶν Περσῶν. ἔλεγε δ' ἡ πρεσβεία ὅτι [δὴ] κελεύει μέγας βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξάρης ἀφίστασθαι Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Συρίας τε πάσης Ἀσίας τε τῆς Εὐρώπῃ ἀντικειμένης, ἔᾶσαι δὲ ἄρχειν Πέρσας μέχρις Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Καρίας καὶ ὅσα Αἰγαίῳ καὶ Πόντῳ ἔθνη διαιρεῖται· εἶναι γὰρ [6] αὐτὰ Περσῶν προγονικὰ κτήματα. τοιαῦτά τινα τῶν τετρακοσίων πρέσβεων ἀπαγγελάντων, κελεύει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τετρακοσίους συλληφθῆναι, καὶ παρελόμενος πάσης τῆς περικειμένης σκευῆς ἐς Φρυγίαν ἐξέπεμψε, δούς κόμας τε οἰκεῖν καὶ χώραν γεωργεῖν, τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεῖς τιμωρίαν ὥς οἴκαδε μὴ ἐπανελθεῖν· ἀποκτείνειν γὰρ ἀνόσιον καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἀνδρεῖον ἡγήσατο μήτε μαχομένους καὶ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν δεσπότου ἀγγείλαντας.

[7] τούτων δὴ οὕτως πραττομένου, παρασκευαζομένου τε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ διαβῆναι τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔς τε τὴν βάρβαρον γῆν τὸν στρατὸν διαγαγεῖν,

ἐγένοντό τινες καὶ ἀποστάσεις στρατιωτῶν, ἀπὸ τε Αἰγύπτου ἐληλυθότων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν, καινοτομήσαί τινα ἐπιχειρησάντων περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· οἱ ταχέως φωραθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τινα τῶν στρατοπέδων μετέστησεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἕτερα χωρία, ἐπιτηδειότερα δοκοῦντα εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομάς.

SECTION 5

[1] τούτων δὴ αὐτῷ διοικηθέντων, τῆς τε στρατιᾶς παμπληθοῦς συνειλεγμένης, ὅτε δὴ ἀντίπαλα καὶ ισόρροπα ᾤηθη εἶναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματα τῷ πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων, σκεψάμενος σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἔνειμε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐς τρεῖς μοῖρας, καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὰ ἄρκτῳ μέρη ἀφορῶσαν, δι' Ἀρμενίας ἐπελθοῦσαν φιλίου Ῥωμαίοις δοκούσης, κατατρέχειν τὴν Μήδων χώραν· [2] τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὰ ἑῷα μέρη τῆς βαρβάρου γῆς βλέπουσαν, ἔνθα συρρέοντας τὸν Τίγρητα καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἔλη πυκνότατα ὑποδέχεσθαι λέγουσι καὶ λανθάνειν ποταμῶν ἐκείνων μόνων διὰ τοῦτο τὰς ἐκβολάς· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν καὶ γενναιοτάτην τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτὸς ἔχων ὑπέσχετο ἐπάξειν τοῖς βαρβάροις κατὰ μέσσην τὴν πορείαν. οὕτω γὰρ ᾔετο διαφόροις ἐφόδοις ἀφυλάκτως τε καὶ ἀπροόπτως αὐτοῖς ἐπελεύσεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Περσῶν ἀεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας διαιρούμενον ἀσθενέστερόν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀτακτότερον [3] μαχεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μισθοφόροις χρῶνται στρατιώταις οἱ βάρβαροι ὥσπερ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐδὲ στρατόπεδα ἔχουσι συνεστῶτα καὶ μένοντα, πολέμου τέχναις ἐγγεγυμνασμένα· ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔσθ' ὅπῃ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐπὶ κελεύσει βασιλεὺς, ἀθροίζεται. διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἕκαστος ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπανέρχεται, τοσοῦτον ἀποκερδήσας ὅσα ἂν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς αὐτῷ [4] περιγένηται. τόξους τε καὶ ἵππους οὐκ ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μόνον χρῶνται ὥσπερ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ παίδων σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέφονται καὶ θηρῶντες διαιτῶνται, οὔτε τὰς φαρέτρας ποτὲ ἀποτιθέμενοι οὔτε τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντες, ἀεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι ἢ κατὰ πολεμίων ἢ κατὰ θηρίων.

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν, ὡς ᾔετο, ἄριστα βεβούλευτο· [5] ἔσφηλε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἡ τύχη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεμφθὲν δι' Ἀρμενίας στρατιωτικόν, μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ τῆς χώρας ὄρη τραχύτατά τε ὄντα καὶ κρημνωδέστατα (πλὴν ἔτι θέρους ὄντος ἀνεκτὴν εἶχε τὴν πορείαν), ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὴν Μήδων χώραν ἐπόρθει τε αὐτὴν καὶ πολλὰς ἐνέπρησε κόμας λείαν τε ἀπὶγάγεν. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης μαθὼν ἐπήμυνε κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀπείργειν δὲ τοὺς [6] Ῥωμαίους οὐ πάνυ τι ἐδύνατο· τραχεῖα γὰρ οὕσα ἡ χώρα τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς καὶ τὴν βάσιν εὐπαγῇ καὶ τὴν πορείαν εὐμαρῇ παρεῖχεν, ἡ δ' ἵππος τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀρῶν τραχύτητος ὁμοῦ καὶ πρὸς δρόμον ἐπείχετο καὶ καθιππεύειν ἢ ἐπιέναι ἐκωλύετο. ἦγον δὲ τινες ἀγγέλλοντες τῷ Πέρσῃ ὡς ἄρα φαίνοιτο Ῥωμαῖον στρατὸς ἕτερος ἐν τοῖς ἐφ' οἷς μέρεσι Παρθυαίων, τὰ τε πεδία [7] κατατρέχουσι.

διόπερ φοβηθεὶς ἐκεῖνος μὴ τὰ ἐν Πάρθοις ῥαδίως λυμηνάμενοι ἐς Πέρσας ἐμβάλωσι, καταλιπὼν τινα δύναμιν, ὅσῃν αὐτάρκη ᾤετο ῥύεσθαι Μηδίαν, αὐτὸς σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ ἐϋα μέρη ἠπείγετο. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ τὴν πορείαν ἀμελέστερον ἐποιεῖτο μῆτε τινὸς φαινομένου μῆτε ἀνθεστῶτος, ἥλπιζέ τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον σὺν <τῇ> τρίτῃ μοίρᾳ, γενναιοτάτῃ οὔσῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ, ἐς μέσους ἐμβεβληκέναι τοὺς βαρβάρους, κάκεινους ἀνθελκομένους ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν σχολαιτέραν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀδεεστέραν παρέξιν τὴν ἔφοδον.

[8] προεῖρητο γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς στρατοῖς ὑπερᾶραι εἰς τὴν <πολεμίαν>, καὶ τόπος ὥριστο ἐς ὃν [καὶ] ἅπαντας συνελθεῖν ἔδει, παντὰ τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ χειρουμένους. ἔσφηλε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μῆτε εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν στρατὸν μῆτε εἰσελθὼν, ἡ διὰ δέος, ἵνα μὴ δὴ αὐτὸς κινδυνέοι ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἡ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπισχούσης γυναικείᾳ δειλίᾳ καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσῃ [9] φιλοτεκνίᾳ. ἤμβλυνε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰς πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ὁρμάς, πείθουσα δεῖν ἄλλους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτὸν παρατάττεσθαι· ὅπερ τὸν εἰσελθόντα Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἀπώλεσεν. ὁ γὰρ Πέρσης σὺν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἐπελθὼν οὐ προσδοκῶντος τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐκπεριελθὼν καὶ ὥσπερ σαγηνεύσας, πανταχόθεν τε τοξεύων, διέφθειρε τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὀλίγων τε πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀνθίστασθαι μὴ δυναμένων, καὶ ἀεὶ τὰ γυμνὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἐς ἃ ἐτοξεύοντο, φραττόντων τοῖς ὅπλοις· ῥύεσθαι [10] γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ σώματα, οὐ μάχεσθαι ἀγαπητὸν ἦν· ἔστε δὴ πάντες ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συναλισθέντες καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀσπίδων προβολῇ ὥσπερ τειχίσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἐν σχήματι πολιορκίας καὶ πανταχόθεν βαλλόμενοι καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι, ἀντισχόντες ἐς ὅσον ἐνεδέχετο ἀνδρείως, τὸ τελευταῖον πάντες διεφθάρησαν. μεγίστη τε αὕτη συμφορὰ καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως μνημονευθεῖσα Ῥωμαίους ἐπέσχε, δυνάμεως μεγίστης διαφθαρείσης, γνώμη καὶ ῥώμη μηδεμιᾶς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποδεούσης· τὸν τε Πέρσῃν ἐς ἐλπίδα μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἐτύφωσε τηλικούτων ἔργων εὐπραγία.

SECTION 6

[1] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐδηλώθη χαλεπῶς νοσοῦντι εἴτε διὰ δυσθυμίαν εἴτε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἀήθειαν, αὐτὸς τε δυσφόρως ἤνεγκε, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς στρατὸς ἡγανάκτησε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐχαλέπαινε, ὅτι δὴ ψευσαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντος τὰ συνθήματα [2] προδοθεὶς ὁ εἰσελθὼν στρατός. πλὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μῆτε τὴν νόσον φέρων καὶ τὸ πνιγῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ τε στρατοῦ παντὸς νοσοῦντος, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ ὑγρῷ καὶ χειμερίῳ ἀέρι ἐνειθισμένοι τροφάς τε πλείονας συνήθως εἰσφερόμενοι χαλεπῶς νοσοῦντες διεφθείροντο, ἐπανελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐβουλεύσατο, καὶ πέμψας τὸν ἐν Μηδίᾳ στρατὸν ἐπανελθεῖν [3] ἐκέλευσεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπανίων πλεῖστος ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡκρωτηριάσθησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν δυσχειμέρῳ χώρᾳ, ὥς ὀλιγίστους πάνυ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπανελθεῖν· τὸ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανήγαγε, πολλῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς μοίρας ἀπολωλότων, ὥς μεγίστην ἐνεγκεῖν δυσθυμίαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀδοξίαν, σφαλέντι καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ τύχῃ, καὶ τῶν τριῶν μοιρῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ ὧν ἔνειμε τὸ πλεῖστον ἀποβαλόντι διαφόροις συμφοραῖς, νόσῳ πολέμῳ κρύει.

[4] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς τε ῥαδίως ἐπερρώσθη τῷ εὐψυχῇ καὶ ἐνύδρῳ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τὸν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ ξηρὸν ἀνυμῶν, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἀνεκτᾶτο, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς λελύπηντο παρεμυθεῖτο μεγαλοδωρία χρημάτων· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον ἐς εὐνοίας ἀνάκτησιν στρατιωτῶν ἐνόμιζε φάρμακον. δύναμιν τε ἡθροίζε καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ὥς δὴ πάλιν ἐπάξων Πέρσαις, [5] εἰ ἐνοχλοῖεν καὶ μὴ ἡσυχάζοιεν. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Πέρσης λύσας τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐκάστους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀποπέμψας. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος ὑπέρτεροι ἐδόκουν γεγενῆσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι, πλὴν ὅμως ἐτετρύχωντο ταῖς τε κατὰ Μηδίαν πολλάκις γενομέναις συμβολαῖς τῇ τε ἐν Παρθίᾳ μάχῃ, πολλῶν μὲν πεσόντων παμπλείστων δὲ τετρωμένων. οὐ γὰρ ἀνάνδρως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡττήθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔσθ' ὅπῃ κακώσαντες, παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολόμενοι παρ' ὅσον πλήθει ἐλάττους [6] εὐρέθησαν, ὥς σχεδὸν ἰσαριθμοῦ γενομένου τοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν πεσόντος στρατοῦ τὸ περιλειφθὲν τῶν βαρβάρων πλήθει ἄλλ' οὐ δυνάμει δοκεῖ νενικηκέναι. δεῖγμα δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μικρὸν τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων κακώσεως· ἐτῶν γοῦν τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡσύχασαν οὐδ' ἐν ὅλοις ἐγένοντο. ἅπερ μανθάνων ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβεν· εὐθυμότερος δὲ καὶ

ἀδεέστερος γενόμενος ἀνειμένης αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ φροντίδος, ταῖς
τῆς πόλεως ἐσχόλαζε τρυφαῖς.

SECTION 7

[1] οιομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐν Πέρσαις μὴ μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ συγκεκλιμένη ἡσυχάζειν, ἔχειν δὲ ἀνακωχὴν καὶ μέλλῃσιν τῷ βαρβάρῳ πρὸς τὸ πάλιν ἐπάγειν τὸν στρατόν, ὃς ἅπαξ διαλυθεὶς οὐ ραδίως ἡθροίζετο ἅτε μὴ συντεταγμένος μηδὲ συνεστώς, ἀλλ' ὄχλος μᾶλλον ἢ στρατὸς ὑπάρχων, καὶ τῶν ἐπισιτισμῶν αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτων ὄντων ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστος ἀφικνούμενος πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ χρεῖᾶδες ἐπενέγκηται, καὶ δυσασπάστως τε καὶ δυσόκνως καταλειπόντων [2] τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν χώραν, αἰφνιδίως ἄγγελοί τε καὶ γράμματα ἐτάραξε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐς μείζονα φροντίδα ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπιστειλάντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένων τὴν Ἰλλυρίδος ἡγεμονίαν ὅτι ἄρα Γερμανοὶ Ῥήνον καὶ Ἰστρον διαβαίνοντες τὴν Ῥωμαίων πορθοῦσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις στρατόπεδα ἐπικείμενα πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας πολλῇ δυνάμει κατατρέχουσιν, εἴη τε οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ κινδύνῳ τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ [3] ἔθνη ὁμοροῦντα καὶ γειτνιῶντα Ἰταλίᾳ· δεῖσθαι τοίνυν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὃς ἦν σὺν αὐτῷ. δηλωθέντα δὴ ταῦτα τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐτάραξε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ στρατιώτας ἐλύπησε, διπλῇ δοκοῦντας κεκρῆσθαι συμφορᾷ, ἕκ τε ὧν πεπόνθησαν Πέρσαις μαχόμενοι, ἕκ τε ὧν ἐπυνθάνοντο τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστοι ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ἀπολωλότας. ἡγανάκτουν οὖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον ἐν αἰτίᾳ ὡς τὰ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς δι' ἀμέλειαν ἢ δειλίαν προδεδωκότα, πρὸς τε [4] τὰ ἀρκτῶα μέλλοντα καὶ ὀκνοῦντα. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δέος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῖς τε συνοῦσι φίλοις ἤδη καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἡγοῦντο τὸν ἐκ Περσῶν κίνδυνον οἷον ἐκ Γερμανῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς κατοικοῦντες, μακρᾷ γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ πολλῇ διηρημένοι, τὴν Ἰταλῶν χώραν μόλις ἀκούουσι, τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ δὲ ἔθνη στενὰ ὄντα καὶ οὐ πολλὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν, παρὰ τοσοῦτον ὁμόρους καὶ γείτονας [5] ποιεῖ Γερμανοὺς Ἰταλιώταις. ἐπαγγέλλει δὴ ἄκων μὲν καὶ ἀσχάλλων τὴν ἔξοδον· πλὴν τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν καλοῦσης, καταλιπὼν τε δύναμιν ὅσπιν ᾤετο αὐτάρκη ρύεσθαι τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὄχθας, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπιμελέστερον τειχίσας καὶ πληρώσας ἕκαστα τοῦ ὀρισμένου στρατοῦ, αὐτὸς ἐς Γερμανοὺς ἡπείγετο [6] ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ πλήθει. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐπέστη ταῖς τοῦ Ῥήνου ὄχθαις, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Γερμανικὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο, τὸν τε ποταμὸν ναυσὶ διελάμβανεν, ὧν πρὸς ἀλλήλας συνδεθεισῶν γεφυρωθέντα εὐμαρῇ τὴν διάβασιν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέξιν ᾤετο. μέγιστοι γὰρ δὴ οὗτοι ποταμῶν ὑπ' ἄρκτῳ ρέουσι, Ῥήνός τε

καὶ Ἰστρος, ὃ μὲν Γερμανοὺς ὃ δὲ Παίονας παραμείβων· οἱ θέρους μὲν ναυσίπορον ἔχουσι τὸ ρεῖθρον διὰ βάθος τε καὶ πλάτος, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους ἐν πεδίου σχήματι καθιππεύονται.

[7] ἀντιτυπὲς δὲ οὕτω καὶ στερρὸν γίνεται τό ποτε ρεῖθρον ὥς μὴ μόνον ἵππων ὀπλαῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀρύσασθαι θέλοντας μὴ κάλπεις ἐπ’ αὐτὸ μηδὲ κοῖλα σκευὴ φέρειν, πελέκεις δὲ καὶ δικέλλας, ἔν’ ἐκκόψαντες γυμνόν τε σκεύους ἀράμενοι τὸ ὕδωρ φέρωσιν ὥσπερ λίθον.

[8] φύσις μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν αὕτη· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Μαυρουσίους τε πλείστους καὶ τοξοτῶν ἀριθμὸν πολὺν ἐπαγόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐκ τε τῆς Ὀσροηνῶν χώρας, καὶ εἴ τινες Παρθυαίων αὐτόμολοι ἢ χρήμασιν ἀναπεισθέντες ἠκολουθήκεσαν αὐτῷ βοηθήσοντες, ἐξήρτυε δὴ Γερμανοῖς ἀντιτάζων. μάλιστα γὰρ τοιοῦτος στρατὸς ὀχληρὸς ἐκείνοις γίνεται, τῶν τε Μαυρουσίων πόρρωθεν ἀκοντιζόντων καὶ τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τὰς τε ἀναχωρήσεις κούφως ποιουμένων, τῶν τε τοξοτῶν ἐς γυμνὰς τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ σώματα ἐπιμήκη ῥᾶστα καὶ πόρρωθεν κατὰ σκοποῦ τοξεύοντων ... ἐπέθεόν τε πρὸς τὴν συστάδην μάχην ἀντιτυπεῖς, καὶ ἰσόρροποι πολλάκις Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνοντο.

[9] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· πλὴν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πρεσβείαν πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης διαλέγεσθαι. πάντα τε ὑπισχνεῖτο παρέξειν ὅσων δέονται, καὶ χρημάτων ἀφειδῶς ἔχειν. τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα Γερμανοὶ πείθονται, φιλάργυροί τε ὄντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀεὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χρυσίου καπηλεύοντες· ὅθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπειρᾶτο ὠνήσασθαι μᾶλλον τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς [10] σπονδὰς ἢ διὰ πολέμου κινδυνεύειν. οἱ μέντοι στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον διατριβῆς τε ματαίας ἐγγινομένης, καὶ μηδέν τι γενναῖον ἢ πρόθυμον ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν παρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ’ ἡνιοχείαις καὶ τρυφαῖς προσέχοντος, δέον ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι

SECTION 8

[1] Γερμανοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτετολμημένοις. ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ στρατῷ Μαξιμίνοιο ὄνομα, τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν ἐνδοτάτῳ Θρακῶν καὶ μιζοβαρβάρων, ἀπὸ τινος κώμης, ὡς ἐλέγετο, πρότερον μὲν ἐν παιδὶ ποιμαίνων, ἐν ἀκμῇ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας γενόμενος διὰ μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχύϊν σώματος ἐς τοὺς ἵππεύοντας στρατιώτας καταταγείς, εἶτα κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν χειραγωγούσης τῆς τύχης ἐλθὼν διὰ πάσης τάξεως στρατιωτικῆς, ὡς στρατοπέδων τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν [2] τε ἀρχὰς πιστευθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Μαξιμῖνον τοῦτον διὰ τὴν προειρημένην στρατιωτικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέστησε πάσῃ τῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ νεολαίᾳ, ὡς ἀσκοίῃ τε αὐτοὺς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐπιτηδεῖους παρασκευάζοι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ποιούμενος τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα εὖ νοιᾷ πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκτίσας, οὐ μόνον διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὰ ποιητέα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις πάντων προηγούμενος, ὡς μὴ μαθητὰς εἶναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τῆς ἐκείνου [3] ἀνδρείας. ἔτι τε καὶ δώροις αὐτοὺς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς τιμαῖς ὤκειώσας. ὅθεν οἱ νεανίαι, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος Παιόνων μάλιστα, τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ἔχαιρον, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπέσκωπτον ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς [τε] μητρὸς ἀρχόμενον, καὶ διοικουμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπ' ἐξουσίας τε καὶ γνώμης γυναικός, ῥαθύμως τε καὶ ἀνάνδρως τοῖς πολεμικοῖς προσφερομένου ἐκείνου. ὑπεμύνησκον δὲ ἀλλήλους τῶν τε ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς διὰ μέλλησιν αὐτοῦ πταισμάτων, καὶ ὅτι μὴδὲν ἀνδρεῖον [4] μὴδὲ νεανικὸν παρέχοιτο ἐς Γερμανοὺς ἐλθόν. ὄντες οὖν καὶ ἄλλως πρὸς τὸ καινοτομεῖν ἐπιτήδαιοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν παρὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς βαρὺ διὰ μῆκος ἐξουσίας ἡγούμενοι ἀκερδές τε ἤδη πάσης προσηλωμένης φιλοτιμίας, τὸ δὲ μέλλον καὶ προσιὸν ἕς τε τὸ κερδαλέον αὐτοῖς εὖ ἐλπὶ καὶ τῷ κτωμένῳ παρὰ προσδοκίαν τίμιον τε καὶ περισπούδαστον, ἐβουλεύσαντο ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀναιρεῖν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Σεβαστὸν τὸν Μαξιμῖνον, συστρατιώτην τε αὐτῶν ὄντα καὶ σύσκηνον, ἕς τε τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον δι' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν [5] ἐπιτήδειον δοκοῦντα. ἀθροισθέντες οὖν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ὠπλισμένοι ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη γυμνάσια, προελθόντα καὶ ἐπιστάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν Μαξιμῖνον, εἶτε ἀγνοοῦντα τὸ πραττόμενον εἶτε καὶ λάθρα τοῦτο προκατασκευάσαντα, πορφύραν ἐπιβαλόντες βασιλικὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορεύουσιν.

[6] ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρητεῖτο καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ἀπερρίπτει ὡς δὲ

ἐνέκειντο ξιφῆρεις ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλοῦντες, τοῦ παρόντος κινδύνου τὸν μέλλοντα προελόμενος ἀνεδέξατο τὴν τιμὴν, πολλάκις αὐτῷ πρότερον, ὡς ἔλεγε, χρησμῶν καὶ ὀνειράτων τὴν τοσαύτην τύχην προειρηκότων, εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅτι ἄκων μὲν καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος ἀναδέχεται, πειθόμενος τῇ ἐκείνων [7] βουλήσει, παραγγέλλει δ' αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ βεβαιῶσαι τὰ δόξαντα ἀραμένους τε τὰ ὅπλα σπεύδειν ἐπιστῆναι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀγνοοῦντι, τὴν φήμην φθάσαντας, ἵν' ἐκπλήξαντες τοὺς συνόντας ἐκείνῳ στρατιώτας καὶ φρουροὺς τοῦ σώματος ἢ πείσαιεν ὁμογνωμονῆσαι ἢ ῥᾶστα [8] βιάσαιντο ἀπαρασκεύους τῷ μηδὲν προσδοκᾶν. ὡς δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν πάνυ προεκαλέσατο, τὰ τε σιτηρέσια ἐπεδιπλασίασε, νομάς τε καὶ δόσεις μεγίστας ὑπέσχετο, τιμωρίας τε καὶ κηλίδας πάσας αὐτοῖς ἀνήκεν, ἐπὶ τε τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγαγεν· οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀφειστήκει τὸ χωρίον ἔνθα ἐσκήνου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

SECTION 9

[1] ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐν μεγίστῃ ταραχῇ γενόμενος καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἐκπλαγεῖς, προπηδήσας τῆς βασιλείου σκηνῆς ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, δακρυρροῶν καὶ τρέμων τοῦ τε Μαξιμίνου ὡς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀχαρίστου κατηγορεῖ, πάσας τὰς ἐς ἐκείνον εὐεργεσίας [2] κατατεθείσας πρὸς αὐτοῦ διηγούμενος, τοὺς τε νεανίας ἡτιᾶτο ὡς προπετῶς καὶ ἐπιόρκως ταῦτα τετολμηκότας, δώσσειν τε πάντα ὑπισχνεῖτο ὧν δέοιντο, καὶ ἐπανορθώσεσθαι εἴ τι μέμφοιντο. οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιῶται ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας εὐφημήσαντες αὐτὸν παρέπεμψαν, [3] ὑποσχόμενοι παντὶ σθένει προασπίσειν αὐτοῦ. τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ διαδραμούσης, κατὰ τὸ περίορθρον ἀγγελιάντων τινῶν ὅτι δὴ Μαξιμῖνος πρόσεισι κόνις τε πόρρωθεν ἐγειρομένη φαίνεται βοῆς τε ἥχος πλήθους ἐξακούεται, πάλιν προελθὼν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, συγκαλέσας τε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐδεῖτο προμαχεῖν καὶ σῶζειν ὃν ἀνεθρέψαντο καὶ ὑφ' ᾧ βασιλεύοντι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἀμέμπτως βεβιώκεσαν, πάντας τε ἐς οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον προκαλούμενος ὀπλίζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν καὶ ἐξελθόντας ἀντιτάττεσθαι.

[4] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὑπισχνοῦντο, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἀνεχώρουν οὐδ' ὅπλα λαβεῖν ἤθελον. οἱ δὲ τινες τὸν ἐπάρχοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤτουν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν, πρόφασιν ποιούμενοι αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως γεγενῆσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐμέμφοντο ὡς φιλάργυρον καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποκλείουσιν, διὰ τε μικρολογίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδόσεις ὀκνηρὸν [5] τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεμισημένου. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος τοιαῦτα διαφόρως βοῶντες προσέμενον· ὡς δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου «ὁ» στρατὸς ἤδη τε ἐν ὄψεσιν ἦν, καὶ βοῶντες οἱ νεανῖαι προυκαλοῦντο τοὺς συστρατιώτας καταλιπεῖν μὲν γύναιον μικρολόγον καὶ μειράκιον δειλὸν μητρὶ δουλεῖον, προσιέναι δὲ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ σώφρονι συστρατιώτῃ τε ἐν ὅπλοις αἰεὶ καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις διητημένῳ, πεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλιμπάνουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ προσίασιν τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ, αὐτοκράτῳ [6] τε ὑπὸ πάντων ἐκεῖνος ἀναγορεύεται. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τρέμων καὶ λιποψυχῶν μόλις ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπανέρχεται· τῇ τε μητρὶ περιπλακεῖς, καὶ ὥς φασιν, ἀποδυρόμενός τε καὶ αἰτιώμενος ὅτι δι' ἐκείνην ταῦτα πάσχοι, ἀνέμενε τὸν φονεύσοντα. ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ Σεβαστὸς προσαγορευθεὶς πέμπει χιλιάρχην ἑκατοντάρχα τέ τινας τοὺς φονεύσοντας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ εἴ τινες ἀντίσταντο τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

[7] οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ἐπιπηδήσαντες τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτόν τε ἀναιροῦσι καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ εἴ τινες ἐδόκουν ἐκεῖνῳ φίλοι καὶ τίμιοι, πλὴν τῶν πρὸς ὀλίγον φυγεῖν ἢ λαθεῖν δυνηθέντων, οὓς πάντας μετ’ οὐ πολὺ Μαξιμίνοσιν συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.

[8] τέλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν μητέρα, βασιλεύσαντα ἔτεσιν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ὅσον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀναιμωτί· φόνων τε γὰρ καὶ ὁμότητος ἀκρίτων τε ἔργων ἀλλότριος ἐγένετο, ἔς τε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ εὐεργετικώτερον ἐπιρρεπής. πάντῳ γοῦν ἂν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεία εὐδοκίμησεν ἐς τὸ ὀλόκληρον, εἰ μὴ διεβέβλητο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς φιλαργυρίαν τε καὶ μικρολογίαν.

BOOK VII.

SECTION 1

Τίνι μὲν βίῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρήσατο τέλει τε ὁποῖῳ βασιλεύσας ἐτῶν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐδηλώσαμεν· ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν πολλὴν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο, τραχύτατα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ φόβου τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρώμενος, ἔκ τε πραείας καὶ πάνυ ἡμέρου βασιλείας ἐς τυραννίδος ὁμότητα μετάγειν πάντα ἐπειρᾶτο, δυσμένειαν ἑαυτῷ συνειδώς, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐξ [2] εὐτελείας τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐς τοσαύτην τύχην ἤλασε. φύσει δὲ ἦν τὸ ἥθος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γένος, βάρβαρος· τό τε φονικὸν πάτριον ἔχων καὶ ἐπιχώριον, πρόνοιαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' ὁμότητος βεβαιῶσαι, δεδιὼς μὴ τι τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐκαταφρόνητος γένηται, οὐκ ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτοῦ τύχην ἀφορῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τῆς γενέσεως εὐτελεῖ σπάργανα. τεθρύλητο γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ διεβέβλητο, ὅτι δὴ ποιμαίνων ἐν τοῖς Θρακίοις ὄρεσιν, ἐπιδούς τε αὐτὸν διὰ μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχὺν σώματος ἐς εὐτελεῖ καὶ ἐπιχώριον στρατείαν, ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης [3] ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν κεχειραγώγητο. εὐθέως οὖν τοὺς τε φίλους πάντας, οἱ συνῆσαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σύμβουλοί [τε] ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπιλεχθέντες, ἀπεσκευάσατο, καὶ οὐς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέπεμψε, τινὰς δὲ ἐπὶ προφάσει διοικήσεως ἀπεσεύσατο, μόνος εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ μηδένα αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἐκ συνειδήσεως εὐγενοῦς κρείττονα, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ παρόντος ᾧ νέμειν αἰδῶ ἀνάγκην [4] ἔχοι, τοῖς τῆς τυραννίδος ἔργοις σχολάζοι. τὴν τε θεραπείαν πᾶσαν, ἣ συγγεγόνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν, τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς ἀπέπεμψε. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπιβουλὰς ὑποπτεύων· ἦδει γὰρ ἀλγοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνου ἀναιρέσει.

ἔτι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐς ὁμότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας ὀργὴν προυκαλέσατο συνωμοσία τις διαβληθεῖσα κατ' αὐτοῦ συγκροτουμένη, πολλῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων [5] συμπνεόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπάντων. Μάγνος τις ὄνομα ἦν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τε καὶ ὑπατευκότων· οὗτος διεβλήθη συνάγειν κατ' αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καὶ στρατιώτας τινὰς πείθειν ἐς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν μετάγειν. ἡ δὲ συσκευὴ τοιαύτη τις ἐλέγετο ἔσσεσθαι. γεφυρώσας τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ [6] Μαξιμῖνος ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ Γερμανοὺς διαβήσεσθαι· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν εὐθέως πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἤρξατο, καὶ διὰ σώματος μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχὺν [στρατιωτικῇν] καὶ ἐμπειρίαν πολεμικὴν δοκῶν ἐπιτελέσθαι ἔργοις τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπόληψιν ἐπιστοῦτο, τὴν τε Ἀλεξάνδρου

μέλλησιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔργα δειλίαν ἐλέγχειν ἐπειράτο εἰκότως κατεγνωσμένην. ἀσκῶν τε οὖν καὶ γυμνάζων τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐ διέλειπεν, αὐτός [7] τε ἐν ὅπλοις ὦν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν παρορμῶν. τότε τοίνυν τὴν γέφυραν ζεύζας ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ Γερμανοὺς διαβήσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Μάγνος ἐλέγετο στρατιωτῶν μὲν ὀλίγους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐξοχωτάτους καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τὴν φρουρὰν τῆς γεφύρας καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν πεπιστευμένους, ἀναπεῖσαι μετὰ τὸ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαξιμῖνον λύσαντας τὴν γέφυραν προδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, οὐχ ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ ἐπανάδου· πλάτει γὰρ καὶ βάθει μέγιστος ὁ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἄβατος αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο, οὔτε νεῶν οὐσῶν ἐν ταῖς [8] πολεμίαις ὄχθαις τῆς γεφύρας λυθείσης. ἢ μὲν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φήμη τοιαύτη ἐγένετο, εἴτε ἀληθὴς ὑπάρξασα εἴτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου συσκευασθεῖσα· ἀκριβὲς δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον, ἐπεὶ ἔμενεν ἀνεξέλεγκτος. μήτε γὰρ κρίσεως τινι μεταδούς μήτε ἀπολογίας, πάντας οὓς ὑπώπτευνεν αἰφνιδίως συναρπασθέντας ἀφειδῶς ἐφόνευσεν.

[9] ἐγένετο δέ τις καὶ Ὀσροηνῶν τοξοτῶν ἀπόστασις, οἱ πάνυ ἀλγοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, περιτυχόντες τῶν ἀπὸ ὑπατείας καὶ φίλων Ἀλεξάνδρου τινί (Κουαρτίνος δὲ ἦν ὄνομα, ὃν Μαξιμῖνος ἐκπέμψας ἦν τοῦ στρατοῦ) ἀρπάσαντες ἄκοντα καὶ οὐδὲν προειδότα στρατηγὸν ἑαυτῶν κατέστησαν, πορφύρα τε καὶ πυρὶ προπομπεύοντι, ὀλεθρίοις τιμαῖς, ἐκόσμησαν, ἐπὶ τε τὴν ἀρχὴν [10] ἦγον οὗ τι βουλόμενον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καθεύδων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς νύκτωρ αἰφνιδίως ἀνηρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ καὶ δοκοῦντος φίλου, τῶν τε Ὀσροηνῶν πρότερον ἡγουμένου (Μακεδὼν ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), καίτοι τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγοῦ [καὶ ὁμογνώμονος] τοῖς Ὀσροηνοῖς γενομένου· ὃς οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν ἔχθρας οὐδὲ μίσους ἔχων ἀπέκτεινεν ὃν αὐτὸς ἠρπασέ τε καὶ ἀνέπεισεν, οἰόμενός τε μεγάλα χαρίζεσθαι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν ἐκόμισεν.

[11] ὁ δὲ ἦσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, στερηθεὶς δὲ πολέμιου, ὥς ᾤετο, ... ἐκεῖνον μὲν, καίτοι μεγάλα ἐλπίζοντα καὶ δοκοῦντα ἀμοιβῆς ἐξαιρέτου τεύξεσθαι, ἀπέκτεινεν ὥς καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως γεγονότα ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ἀποκτείναντα ὃν αὐτὸς ἄκοντα ἀνέπεισεν, ἄπιστόν τε γενόμενον περὶ τὸν φίλον.

[12] τοιαῦται μὲν δὴ τινες αἰτίαι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τραχύτητα καὶ ὠμότητα ἠκόνησαν τὴν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ψυχὴν, καὶ πρότερον οὕτω πεφυκυῖαν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φοβερώτατος, καὶ μέγιστος τὸ σῶμα, ὥς μὴ ῥαδίως αὐτῷ τινὰ μήτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν σωμασκούντων μήτε βαρβάρων τῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἐξισοῦσθαι.

SECTION 2

[1] διοικήσας δὲ τὰ προειρημένα, πάντα τε τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν, καὶ διαβάς ἀφόβως τὴν γέφυραν, εἶχετο τῆς πρὸς Γερμανοὺς μάχης. μέγα δέ τι πλῆθος καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν σὺν ἑαυτῷ εἰσήγαγε, Μαυρουσίων τε ἀκοντιστῶν ἀριθμὸν πᾶμπλειστον καὶ τοξοτῶν Ὀσροηνῶν τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ εἴτινες Παρθυαίων ἢ χρήμασι πεισθέντες καὶ αὐτομολήσαντες ἢ ληφθέντες [2] αἰχμάλωτοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐδούλευον. τὰ δὲ πλήθη ταῦτα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πρότερον ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἠθροιστο, ἠϋξήθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου καὶ ἐς πολεμικὴν ἄσκησιν συγκεκρότητο. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξόται πρὸς τὰς Γερμανῶν μάχας ἐπιτήδειοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐπιτρέχοντές τε αὐτοῖς κούφως οὐ προσδοκῶσι καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ῥαδίως.

[3] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ Μαξιμῖνος πολλὴν γῆν ἐπῆλθεν, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ ἀνθεστῶτος, ἀλλὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνακεχωρηκότων. ἐδήου τε οὖν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, μάλιστα τῶν ληίων ἀκμαζόντων, τὰς τε κόμας ἐμπιπράς διαρπάζειν ἐδίδου τῷ στρατῷ. εὐμαρέστατα γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐπινέμεται τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτῶν ἃς ἔχουσι, καὶ τὰς οἰκῆσεις [4] ἀπάσας· λίθων μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ πλίνθων ὀπτῶν σπάνις, ὕλαι δ' εὐδενδροι, ὅθεν ξύλων οὔσης ἐκτενείας συμπηγνύντες αὐτὰ καὶ ἀρμόζοντες σκηνοποιοῦνται. ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν προεχώρησε, πράττων τε τὰ προειρημένα καὶ λείας ἀπελαύνων, διδούς τε [5] τὰς ἀγέλας τῷ στρατῷ αἷς περιετύγχανον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πεδίων, καὶ εἴτινες ἦσαν χῶραι ἄδενδροι, ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὕλαις ἐκρύπτοντο περὶ τὰ ἔλη διέτριβον, ὥς ἐκεῖ τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους ποιοῖντο, τῆς συνεχείας τῶν φυτῶν ἀπασχολούσης ἐς ἑαυτὴν τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια τῶν πολεμίων, τοῦ τε ἀγχιβαθοῦς τῶν ἐλῶν Ῥωμαίοις μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν τῶν τόπων ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐσομένου, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ δι' ἐμπειρίαν τῆς χώρας ἐγνωκόσι «τὰ» ἄβατα καὶ ἀντιτυπῇ τῶν τόπων [6] ἐς γόνυ τε βρεχομένοις διατρέχειν ῥαδίου. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ νήχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένοι ἅτι μόνῳ λουτρῷ τοῖς ποταμοῖς χρώμενοι.

περὶ ἐκεῖνα οὖν μάλιστα τὰ χωρία αἱ συμβολαὶ ἐγίνοντο· ἔνθα καὶ γενναϊότατα αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς μάχης ἦρξεν. ἐπὶ γάρ τινι ἔλει μεγίστῳ, τῶν μὲν Γερμανῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀναχωρούντων ἐς φυγὴν, ἐς δίωξιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεισελθεῖν ὁκνούντων, πρῶτος ὁ Μαξιμῖνος ἅμα τῷ ἵπῳ ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὸ ἔλος, καίτοι ὑπὲρ γαστέρα τοῦ ἵπου βρεχομένου, τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ἐφόνευσε

βαρβάρους, [7] ὥς τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν αἰδεσθέντα προδοῦναι μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βασιλέα τολμῆσαι τε καὶ τοῖς ἔλεσιν ἐπείσελθεῖν, πολὺ δέ τι πλῆθος ἐκατέρωθεν πεσεῖν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ... τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων σχεδὸν τὴν τότε παροῦσαν δύναμιν, ἀριστεύοντος αὐτοῦ, ὥς τὸ τέναγος σωμάτων πληρωθῆναι, τὴν τε λίμνην αἷματι κερασθεῖσαν πεζομαχοῦντι στρατῷ ναυμαχίας ὄψιν παρασχεῖν.

[8] ταύτην τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν ἀριστείαν αὐτοῦ οὐ μόνον διὰ γραμμάτων τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐδήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆναι κελεύσας μεγίσταις εἰκόσιν ἀνέθηκε πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἀκούειν τὰ γενόμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέπειν ἔχῃσι Ῥωμαῖοι. τὴν δ' εἰκόνα ὕστερον καθεῖλεν ἡ σύγκλητος μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ τιμῶν. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἕτεραι συμβολαί, ἐν αἷς ὥς αὐτουργός τε καὶ αὐτόχειρ τῆς μάχης ἀριστεύων τε πανταχοῦ [9] ἐπηνεῖτο. πολλοὺς δὲ χειρωσάμενος αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ λείαν ἀπελάσας, χεῖμωνος ἤδη καταλαμβάνοντος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Παίονας, ἐν τε Σιρμίῳ διατρίβων, τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐκεῖ πόλει δοκούσῃ, τὰ πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον ἐς τὸ ἔαρ παρεσκευάζετο. ἠπεῖλει γὰρ (καὶ ποιήσῃν ἔμελλεν) ἐκκόψειν τε καὶ ὑποτάξῃν τὰ μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ Γερμανῶν ἔθνη βάρβαρα.

SECTION 3

[1] τὰ μὲν οὖν πολεμικὰ τοιοῦτος ἦν· καὶ ἐς δόξαν ἦρθη ἂν ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις βαρύτερος ἐγεγόνει καὶ φοβερώτερος. τί γὰρ ἦν ὄφελος βαρβάρων ἀναιρουμένων, πλειόνων γινομένων φόνων ἐν αὐτῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἔθνεσιν; ἡ λείας [αἰχμαλώτους] ἀπάγειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γυμνοῦντα καὶ τὰς [2] οὐσίας ἀφαιρούμενον τῶν οἰκείων; ἄνεσις τε γὰρ πᾶσα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρόκλησις δέδοτο συκοφάνταις ἐς τὸ ἐπηρεάζειν καὶ κινεῖν πράγματα προγονικά, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ ἄγνωστα καὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτα. μόνον τέ τις κληθεῖς ἐς δικαστήριον ὑπὸ συκοφάντου εὐθέως ἡττημένος ἀπῆει καὶ [3] τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πάντων στερηθεῖς. ἐκάστης γοῦν ἡμέρας ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς χθὲς πλουσιωτάτους τῆς ἐπιούσης μεταιτοῦντας· τοσαύτη τις ἦν τῆς τυραννίδος ἡ φιλοχρηματία ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας χρημάτων συνεχοῦς χορηγίας· ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὥσὶ κοῦφος ἐς διαβολάς, ἡλικίας τε καὶ ἀξιώματος ἀφειδῶς ἔχων. πλείστους γοῦν τῶν ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα πεπιστευμένων, μετὰ ὑπατείας τιμὴν ἢ δόξαν ἐπὶ τροπαίοις προσγενομένην, ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς διαβολῆς ἀναρπάστους [4] ἐποίει, καὶ ἐκέλευε τε ἄνευ ὑπηρεσίας μόνους ὀρήμασιν ἐπιτεθέντας ἄγεσθαι νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁδεύοντας ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἢ δύσεως, εἰ τύχοι, ἀπὸ τε μεσημβρίας ἐς Παίονας, ἔνθα διέτριβε· σκύλας δὲ καὶ ὑβρίσας φυγαῖς ἢ θανάτοις ἐξημίου.

ἐς ὅσον μὲν οὖν ἐς τοὺς καθ' ἓνα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο καὶ μέχρις οἰκείων ἔμενεν ἡ συμφορά, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς [5] δήμοις τῶν πόλεων ἢ τοῖς ἔθνεσι διέφερε· τὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐδαιμονεῖν δοκούντων ἢ πλουσίων πταίσματα πρὸς τῶν ὄχλων οὐ μόνον ἀμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ τινες τῶν κακοήθων καὶ φαύλων ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ εὐφραίνει φθόνῳ τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ εὐτυχούντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μαξιμίνος τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐνδόξων οἰκῶν ἐς πενίαν περιστήσας, ἃ δὴ μικρὰ καὶ ὀλίγα οὐδ' αὐτάρκη τῇ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει ᾤετο, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια, καὶ εἴ τινα ἦν χρήματα πολιτικὰ ἐς εὐθηνίας ἢ νομὰς τῶν δημοτῶν ἀθροιζόμενα εἴτε θεάτροις ἢ πανηγύρεσιν ἀνακεείμενα, ἐς ἑαυτὸν μετῆγε, ναῶν τε ἀναθήματα θεῶν τε ἀγάλματα καὶ ἡρώων τιμάς, καὶ εἴ τις ἦν κόσμος δημοσίου ἔργου ἢ καλλώπισμα πόλεως ἢ ὕλη νόμισμα ποιῆσαι δυναμένη, πᾶν ἐχωνεύετο.

[6] ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δήμους ἐλύπησε, πένθος τε δημόσιον ἐνεποίει δίχα μάχης καὶ ἄνευ ὅπλων ὄψις πολιορκίας, ὥς τινες τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνειν καὶ τοὺς νεῶς φρουρεῖν, ἐτοίμως τε ἔχειν πρότερον ἀναιρεθέντας

πρὸ τῶν βωμῶν πεσεῖν ἢ σκῦλα τῶν πατρίδων ἰδεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
κατὰ τε πόλεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη διοίδαινον τῶν ὄχλων αἱ ψυχαί. ἀπηρέσκοντο δὲ
καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς πραττομένοις, ὀνειδιζόντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθόνως
συγγενῶν τε καὶ οἰκείων ὥς δὴ δι' αὐτοὺς ταῦτα πράττοντος τοῦ Μαξιμίνου.

SECTION 4

[1] αἰτίαι μὲν δὴ αὖται, οὗτι γε ἄλλοι, ἐς μῖσος καὶ ἀπόστασιν τοὺς ὄχλους παρώξυνον. καὶ πάντες μὲν εὖχοντο καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἐπεκάλουν, ἄρξασθαι δὲ οὐδείς ἐτόλμα, ἔστε συμπληρουμένης αὐτῷ τριετοῦς βασιλείας ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς προφάσεως, οἷα τυραννίδος σφάλματα, πρῶτοι ὅπλα ἐκίνησαν ἔς τε ἀπόστασιν [2] εὐσταθῶς ὥρμησαν Λίβυες, ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. ἐπετρόπευέ τις τῆς Καρχηδονίας χῶρας τραχύτατα, καὶ μετὰ πάσης ὀμότητος καταδίκας τε ἐποίητο καὶ χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις, βουλόμενος εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ. ἐκεῖνός τε γάρ, οὓς ἦδει ἀρμόζοντας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώμῃ, ἐπελέγετο· οἱ τε προεστῶτες τοῦ ταμείου τότε, εἰ καὶ σπανίως χρηστοὶ ἐμπεπτώκεσαν, τὸν τε κίνδυνον προὔπτον ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοχρηματίαν εἰδότες, [3] ἄκοντες ὅμως τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐμμοῦντο. ὁ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπίτροπος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι βιαίως προσεφέρετο, καὶ νεανίσκους τινὰς τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις εὖ γεγονότων καὶ πλουσίων καταδικαίς περιβαλὼν εἰσπράττειν τὰ χρήματα εὐθέως ἐπειρᾶτο, πατρῶων τε καὶ προγονικῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. ἐφ' οἷς ἀλγήσαντες οἱ νεανίσκοι τὰ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο, τριῶν ἡμερῶν αἰτήσαντες ἀνάθεσιν· συνωμοσίαν δὲ ποιησάμενοι, πάντας τε οὓς ἤδесαν ἢ πεπονθότας τι δεινὸν ἢ παθεῖν δεδουκίοντας ἀναπείσαντες, κελεύουσι νύκτωρ κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκέτας, ξύλα τε καὶ πελέκεις [4] ἐπιφέρεισθαι. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες κελεύουσι τοῖς δεσπótαις πρὸ τῆς ἑῶ συνῆλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, κρύπτοντες ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἃ ἔφερον αὐτοσχεδίου πολέμου ὅπλα. μέγα δέ τι πλῆθος ἠηροίσθη· φύσει γὰρ πολυάνθρωπος οὗσα ἡ Λιβύη πολλοὺς εἶχε τοὺς τὴν γῆν γεωργοῦντας.

[5] ἅμα δὲ τῷ παραδραμεῖν τὸ περιόρθριον προελθόντες οἱ νεανίσκοι τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν οἰκετῶν κελεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἔπεσθαι ὡς ὄντας μέρος τοῦ λοιποῦ ὄχλου, προστάζαντες τότε ἀποκαλύπτειν ἃ ἐπεφέροντο ὅπλα καὶ γενναίως ἀνθεστάναι, εἰ τινες ἢ στρατιωτῶν ἢ δημοτῶν αὐτοῖς [6] ἐπίοιεν ἔκδικοι τοῦ γενησομένου ἔργου· αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια ὑποκόλπια προσίασι τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὡς δὴ περὶ τῆς ἀποδόσεως τῶν χρημάτων διαλεξόμενοι, προσπεσόντες τε αἰφνιδίως οὐ προσδοκῶντα παῖσαντες φονεύουσι. τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιωτῶν γυμνωσάντων τὰ ξίφη τῷ τε φόνῳ ἐπεξελθεῖν θελόντων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατεληλυθότες προβαλόμενοι τὰ τε ξύλα καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις, ὑπερμαχόμενοι τῶν δεσποτῶν, τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας

SECTION 5

[1] ῥαδίως ἐτρέψαντο. οὕτως δὴ προχωρήσαντος τοῦ ἔργου, οἱ νεανίσκοι ἅπαζ ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι μόνην ἥδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπάρχουσαν, εἰ τὰ τολμηθέντα αὐτοῖς αὐξήσαιεν ἔργοις μείζοσι καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ ἔθνους παραλάβοιεν, πᾶν τε τὸ ἔθνος ἀναπείσαιεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν· ὅπερ ἥδεσαν πάλαι [2] μὲν εὐχεσθαι μίσει Μαξιμίνου, φόβῳ δὲ κωλύεσθαι. σὺν παντὶ τοίνυν τῷ πλήθει ἤδη μεσαζούσης ἡμέρας ἐπίασιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπατεύοντος οἰκίαν. Γορδιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὄνομα, κλήρῳ μὲν τὴν ἀνθυπατείαν λαχὼν, πρεσβύτης δὲ ἐς ἔτος ἤδη περί που ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἑλληκῶς, πολλῶν δὲ πρότερον ἄρξας ἐθνῶν ἔν τε πράξεσι μεγίσταις ἐξετασθεῖς. ὅθεν αὐτὸν τε ἡδέως ὑποδέξεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥοντο ὥσπερ κορυφαῖον τέλος τῶν προγενομένων πράξεων, τὴν τε σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἀσμένως δέξεσθαι ἄνδρα εὖ γεγονότα καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἡγεμονιῶν [3] ὥσπερ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντα. συνέβαινε δὲ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἥς ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, οἶκοι τὸν Γορδιανὸν διατρίβειν ἡσυχάζοντα, δεδωκότα τοῖς καμάτοις ἀνάπαυλαν ἀργίαν τε ταῖς πράξεσιν. οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι ξιφήρεις σὺν παντὶ τῷ πλήθει, βιασάμενοι τοὺς ταῖς αὐλείαις ἐφεστῶτας, εἰσπηδήσαντες καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τινος σκιμποδίου ἀναπαυόμενον, περιστάντες δὲ χλαμύδι πορφυρᾷ περιβάλλουσι σεβασμίαις τε τιμαῖς [4] προσαγορεύουσιν. ὁ δὲ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκπλαγεῖς, ἐνέδραν καὶ συσκευὴν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ νομίζων, ρίψας ἀπὸ τοῦ σκίμποδος ἐς γῆν αὐτὸν ἐδεῖτο φεῖδεσθαι γέροντος μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσαντος, σώζειν δὲ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν τῷ βασιλεύοντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν ξιφήρεις ἐνέκειντο, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀγνοίας οὐκ ἤδει τὸ πεπραγμένον οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς παρούσης τύχης αἴτιον, εἷς τῶν νεανίσκων, ὃς ἦν αὐτῶν γένει καὶ δυνάμει λόγων προύχων, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατασιγάσας ἡσυχάζειν τε προστάξας, ἔχων πρόκωπον τὴν [5] δεξιὰν ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιάδε· δύο κινδύνων προκειμένων, τοῦ μὲν παρόντος τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἤδη προδήλου τοῦ δὲ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τύχῃ, ἐλέσθαι σε δεῖ σήμερον σώζεσθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ πιστεῦσαι σεαυτὸν ἐλπίδι κρεῖττονι, ἢ πάντες πεπιστεύκαμεν, ἢ τεθνάναι ἤδη πρὸς ἡμῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ παρόντα ἔλοιο, πολλὰ τὰ ἐφόδια ἐς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας, τό τε Μαξιμίνου παρὰ πᾶσι μῖσος, πόθος τε τυραννίδος ὠμῆς ἀπαλλάξεως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς προγενομέναις πράξεσιν εὐδοκίμησις, ἔν τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ γνῶσις οὐκ ἄσημος καὶ τιμὴ ἑνδοξος [6] ἀεί. ἀντειπόντι δέ σοι καὶ μὴ

συμπνεύσαντι ἡμῖν σήμερον τέλος ἐπικείμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοί, εἰ δέοι, προαπολέσαντες <σέ>. ἔργον γὰρ ἡμῖν τετόλμηται μείζονος ἀπογνώσεως δεόμενον· κεῖται γὰρ ὁ τῆς τυρρανίδος ὑπηρέτης, καὶ δίκας ὁμότητος παρέσχε φονευθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν. ἐφ' οἷς ἦν μὲν ἡμῖν συνάρη καὶ κοινωνὸς τῶν κινδύνων γένῃ, αὐτὸς τε τῆς ἐν βασιλείᾳ τιμῆς ἀπολαύσεις, τό τε ἡμῖν προκείμενον ἔργον ἐπαινεθήσεται καὶ οὐ κολασθήσεται.

[7] τοιαῦτά τινα λέγοντος τοῦ νεανίσκου οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, συνδραμόντων ἤδη καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειδὴ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη, Σεβαστὸν Γορδιανὸν ἀναγορεύει. παραιτούμενος δὲ καὶ γῆρας προῖσχύμενος ἐκεῖνος, ἄλλως δὲ φιλόδοξος ὢν, οὐδὲ ἀηδῶς ὑπέστη, ἐλόμενος μᾶλλον τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον ἢ τὸν παρόντα, ἐν τε γῆρα ἐσχάτῳ οὐ πάνυ τι δεινὸν νομίζων, [8] εἰ δέοι, ἐν βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τελευτῆσαι. πᾶν δὴ τὸ Λιβύων ἔθνος εὐθέως ἐδεδόνητο, καὶ τὰς μὲν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς καθήρουν, εἰκόσι δὲ καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι Γορδιανοῦ τὰς πόλεις ἐκόσμου, τῷ τε κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι προσθέντες Ἀφρικανὸν ἐκάλεσαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· οὕτω γὰρ Λίβυες <οῖ> ὑπὸ μεσημβρίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καλοῦνται.

SECTION 6

[1] ὁ δὲ Γορδιανὸς ἐνδιατρίψας τῇ Θύστρῳ, ἔνθα ταῦτα ἐπράχθη, ἡμερῶν τινῶν, ἤδη φέρων βασιλέως ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα, ἀπάρας [τε] τῆς Θύστρου ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἡεῖχθη, ἣν ἦδει μεγίστην τε οὖσαν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ἴν' ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πάντα πράττοι· ἡ γὰρ πόλις ἐκείνη καὶ δυνάμει χρημάτων καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων καὶ μεγέθει μόνης Ῥώμης ἀπολείπεται, φιλονεικοῦσα πρὸς τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν περὶ δευτερείων.

[2] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἡ βασιλικὴ πομπή, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν, οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμηκεστέρων νεανίσκων ἐν σχήματι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην δορυφόρων προϊόντων· αἱ τε ῥάβδοι ἐδαφνηφόρουν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἐς τὸ διαγνῶναι τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ιδιωτικῶν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ προεπόμπευεν, ὡς ὅψιν καὶ τύχην ἔχειν πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰκόνι, τῆς Ῥώμης τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὴν πόλιν.

[3] ὁ τε Γορδιανὸς γράμματά τε ἀμπλειστα ἐκπέμπει πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πρωτεύειν δοκούντων, τοῖς τε τῆς συγκλήτου δοκιμωτάτοις ἐπιστέλλει, ὧν ἦσαν αὐτῷ πλεῖστοι φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ δημόσια γράμματα πρὸς τε τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, δι' ὧν τὴν τε Λιβύων ἐδήλου ἐς ἑαυτὸν σύμπνοιαν, τῆς τε Μαξιμίνου ὁμότητος κατηγορεῖ σφοδρότατα [4] εἰδὼς μισουμένην, αὐτὸς τε πᾶσαν πραότητα ὑπισχεῖτο, συκοφάντας τε πάντας φυγαδεύων καὶ παλινδικίαν διδοὺς τοῖς ἀδίκως κατακριθεῖσι, τοὺς τε φυγάδας ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἐπανάγων· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ὑπέσχετο ἐπίδοσιν χρημάτων ὅσην οὐδεὶς πρότερον, τῷ τε δήμῳ νομὰς ἐπήγγειλε. προουνόησατο δὲ τοῦ πρότερον ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην τῶν στρατοπέδων προεστῶτα· Βιταλιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ. τοῦτον ἦδει τραχύτατα καὶ ὁμότατα πράττοντα, φίλτατόν τε ὄντα καὶ [5] καθωσιωμένον τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ. ὑποπτεύων οὖν μὴ τοῖς πραττομένοις γενναίως ἀντιστῇ καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου φόβῳ μηδεὶς αὐτῷ συνάρηται, πέμπει τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ ἔθνους, νεανίσκον φύσει εὐτολμον καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἀγεννῆ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντα, πρόθυμόν τε ἐς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ κίνδυνον, παραδοὺς αὐτῷ ἑκατοντάρχας καὶ στρατιώτας τινάς, οἷς ἔδωκε κατασεσημασμένα γράμματα ἐν πτυκτοῖς πίναξι, δι' ὧν τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτὰ ἀγγέλματα [6] τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιστέλλεται. κελεύει δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἔω ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κατελθοῦσιν ἐπιστῆναι ἔτι δικάζοντι καὶ ἀνακεχωρηκότι τῷ Βιταλιανῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου οἰκίσκῳ, ἔνθα μόνος τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτὰ δοκοῦντα

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἠρεῦνα τε καὶ ἐξήταζε, δηλῶσαι τε ὅτι φέρουσι γράμματα πρὸς Μαξιμίνου ἀπόρρητα, ἐπὶ τοῦτό τε παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθῆναι [7] ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τοῦ βασιλέως· προσποιήσασθαι δὲ βούλεσθαι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι αὐτῷ ἰδιαίτερον ἀπαγγεῖλαι τε τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· διασχιζομένῳ δὲ ἐκείνῳ περὶ τὴν τῶν σφραγίδων ἐπίγνωσιν προσποιουμένους ὥς δὴ ἐροῦντάς τι, οἷς εἶχον ὑποκολπιδίοις ξίφεσι φονεῦσαι. ἅπερ πάντα προυχώρησεν ὥς ἐκέλευσεν. ἔτι γὰρ νυκτὸς οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος εἰώθει πρὸ ἡμέρας προῖέναι, ἐπέστησαν [8] αὐτῷ ἰδιάζοντι, μηδὲ πολλοῦ πλήθους παρόντος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προεληλύθεσαν, οἱ δὲ προσαγορεύσαντες πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν, ἡσυχίας τε οὖν οὔσης ὀλίγων τε πρὸ τοῦ οἰκίσκου, δηλώσαντες αὐτῷ τὰ προειρημένα ῥαδίως εἰσεδέχθησαν· ἐπιδόντες δὲ τὰ γράμματα, ἐκείνου ταῖς σφραγῖσι τὰς ὧσες ἐπιβάλλοντος προβαλόντες τὰ ξιφίδια καὶ παίσαντες φονεύουσιν, ἔχοντές τε αὐτὰ πρόκωπα [9] προπηδῶσιν. οἱ δὲ παρόντες ἐκπλαγέντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἰόμενοι Μαξιμίνου τὴν κέλευσιν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐποίει τοῦτο πολλάκις καὶ περὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι φιλάτους. κατελθόντες δὲ διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ προτιθέασι τὰ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ γράμματα, τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα διδόασιν· διασκεδάννυται τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν φήμη ὥς ἄρα καὶ Μαξιμῖνος

SECTION 7

[1] εἷη ἀνηρημένος. ὥς δὲ διεφοίτησε ταῦτα, εὐθέως πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν διέθει πανταχοῦ· καὶ πάντες μὲν γὰρ ὄχλοι κοῦφοι πρὸς τὰ καινοτομούμενα, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐν πλήθει μεγίστῳ καὶ ποικίλῳ συγκλύδων τε ἀνθρώπων πολὺ καὶ ῥάδιον ἔχει τὸ τῆς [2] γνώμης εὐκίνητον. ἀνδριάντες οὖν καὶ εἰκόνες τιμαὶ τε πᾶσαι τοῦ Μαξιμίνου κατεσπῶντο, καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸν πρότερον διὰ φόβον μῖσος ἀδεῆς καὶ αὐτεξούσιον γενόμενον ἀκωλύτως ἐξεχεῖτο. ἢ τε σύγκλητος συνελθοῦσα πρὶν τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰδέναι περὶ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου, ἐκ τῆς παρουσίας τύχης τὰ μέλλοντα πιστεύσαντες τὸν Γορδιανὸν ἅμα τῷ υἱῷ Σεβαστοῦς ἀναγορεύουσι, τὰς δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς [3] ἀνατρέπουσι. συκοφάνται τε οὖν καὶ οἱ γενόμενοι τινῶν κατήγοροι ἢ ἔφευγον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἀνηροῦντο, ἐπίτροποί τε καὶ δικασταὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου ὁμότητος ὑπηρεταὶ συρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἐρριπτοῦντο. φόνος τε οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικησάντων ἀνθρώπων· δανειστὰς γὰρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ καὶ ἀντιδίκους ἐν πράγμασιν ἀγοραίοις, καὶ εἴ τις πρὸς τινα βραχεῖαν αἰτίαν εἶχε μίσους, ἐπαναβαίνοντες ταῖς οἰκίσεις ἀπροσδοκῆτως, ἐπηρεάζοντες ὥς συκοφάντας [4] ἐσύλησάν τε καὶ ἐφόνευσαν. ἐν προσχήματι ἐλευθερίας ἀδείας τε εἰρηνικῆς ἔργα πολέμου ἐμφυλίου ἐγένετο, ὥς καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχοντα μετὰ πράξεις πολλὰς ὑπατικάς (Σαβῖνος δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), βουλόμενον κωλύσαι τὰ γινόμενα, ξύλῳ παισθέντα κατὰ τοῦ κρανίου τελευτήσαι.

καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἅπαξ ἀναρριφθέντος κινδύνου φόβῳ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου πάντα [5] ἔπραττεν ἐς τὸ ἀποστήσαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη. πρεσβεῖαι τοίνυν πανταχοῦ πρὸς πάντας ἡγουμένους ἐξεπέμφθησαν, ἐπιλεχθέντων ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τε τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος οὐκ ἀδοκίμων, γράμματά τε πρὸς πάντας τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην δηλοῦντα, προτρέποντά τε τοὺς <μὲν> ἡγουμένους συναίρεσθαι τῇ κοινῇ πατρίδι καὶ συνεδρίῳ βουλευούσι, τὰ δ' ἔθνη πείθεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ὧν δημόσιον ἄνωθεν τὸ [6] κράτος ἐστίν, αὐτὰ τε φίλα καὶ ὑπήκοα ἐκ προγόνων. οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν οὖν προσήκαντο τὴν πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀποστήσαντες ῥαδίως μίσει τῆς Μαξιμίνου τυραννίδος, τοὺς τε ἐκεῖσε πράττοντας, εἰ τὰ Μαξιμίνου φρονοῖεν, ἀποκτείναντες προσέθεντο Ῥωμαίοις· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ἢ διεχρήσαντο τοὺς ἐλθόντας πρέσβεις ἢ μετὰ φρουρᾶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον παρέπεμψαν, οὓς συλλαμβάνων ὁμῶς ἐκόλαζεν.

SECTION 8

[1] τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν τε καὶ γνώμην τοιαῦτα ἦν· ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ τὰ πεπραγμένα, σκυθρωπὸς τε ἦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλαις φροντίσι, προσεποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖν. τῆς μὲν οὖν πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ἔνδον ἔμεινεν ἡσυχάζων καὶ τοῖς φίλοις περὶ [2] τοῦ πρακτέου κοινούμενος. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον πᾶν τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ τε ἐπέκεινα πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔγνωσαν μὲν τὰ διαγγελθέντα, καὶ διοίδαινον πᾶσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τηλικούτων ἔργων εὐτόλμῳ καινοτομία, οὐδέ τις πρὸς τινα ἔλεγέ τι οὐτ' εἰδέναι τι προσεποιεῖτο· τοσοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Μαξιμίνου φόβος ὥς μηδὲν αὐτὸν λανθάνειν, παραφυλάττεσθαι δὲ πάντων οὐ μόνον τὰ διὰ φωνῆς καὶ γλώττης προφερόμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δι' ὄψεως νεύματα.

[3] ὁ μὲντοι Μαξιμῖνος συγκαλέσας πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδῖον, προελθὼν τε τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ἀνελθὼν τε ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἐπιφερόμενος τὸ βιβλίον ὅπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ συντάξαντές τινες τῶν φίλων, ἐξ ἀναγνώσεως ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[4] ἄπιστα μὲν οἶδα καὶ παράδοξα λέξων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐ θαύματος ἀλλὰ χλεύης καὶ γέλωτος ἄξια. ὅπλα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀνδρείαν οὐ Γερμανοὶ αἶρονται, οὓς πολλάκις ἐνίκησαμεν, οὐ Σαυρομάται οἱ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐκάστοτε ἰκετεύοντες· Πέρσαι τε οἱ πάλαι Μεσοποταμίαν κατατρέχοντες νῦν ἡσυχάζουσιν, ἀγαπητῶς ἔχοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν, δόξης τε τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀρετῆς [τε], πείρα τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων, ἃς ἔγνωσαν ὅτε τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις στρατοπέδων ἡγούμεν, [5] ἀνεχούσης αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ (μὴ τι ἄρα καὶ καταγέλαστον εἰπεῖν) Καρχηδόνιοι μεμήνασι, καὶ πρεσβύτην ἄθλιον, ἐν ἐσχάτῳ γῆρα παραφρονοῦντα, πείσαντες ἢ βιασάμενοι ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς παίζουσι βασιλείαν, τίνι θαρροῦντες στρατῷ, παρ' οἷς ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἡγουμένου ὑπηρεσίαν ἀρκοῦσι ῥαβδοῦχοι; ποῖα φέροντες ὅπλα, παρ' οἷς οὐδὲν πλὴν δορατίων οἷς πρὸς θηρία μονομαχοῦσι; τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτοῖς γυμνάσια χοροὶ καὶ σκώμματα καὶ ῥυθμοί.

[6] μηδέ τινα ὑμῶν ἐκπληττέω τὰ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα. Βιταλιανὸς μὲν ἀνηρέθη δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ ληφθεὶς, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δήμου τὸ κοῦφον καὶ εὐμετάβολον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε καὶ μέχρι βοῆς θρασύ· εἰ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπίτας ἴδοιεν μόνον, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοί τε καὶ πατούμενοι, φεύγων ἕκαστος τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον τοῦ κοινοῦ [7] ἀμελῶς ἔχει. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τις ὑμῖν διηγέει, μὴ θαυμάζετε εἰ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον σῶφρον τραχὺ αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ,

τὸ δ' ὁμότροπον ἐν ἀκολάστῳ βίῳ ἐκείνου προτιμᾶται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ σεμνὰ τῶν ἔργων φοβερὰ προσαγορεύουσι, τὰ δ' ἀνειμένα καὶ ἐκβεβακχευμένα ὡς ἡμερὰ δι' ἡδονῆς ἔχουσι· διόπερ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀρχὴν οὕσαν ἐπιστρεφῇ καὶ κόσμιον ἀλλοτρίως διάκεινται, ἥσθησαν δὲ τῷ Γορδιανοῦ ὀνόματι, οὗ τὸν διαβεβλημένον [8] βίον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε. πρὸς τούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος, εἴ τις οὕτως αὐτὸν καλεῖν βούλοιτο. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες, εἰ μόνον Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίημεν, ἱκετηρίους θαλλοὺς καὶ τέκνα προτείναντες ὑποστρώσουσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ποσίν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διὰ δειλίαν καὶ φανυλότητα φεύζονται, ὡς ὑπάρξαι ἐμοί τε [καὶ] ὑμῖν τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα δοῦναι, ὑμῖν τε ἀδεῶς λαβοῦσι καρποῦσθαι.

[9] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν, βλάσφημά τε πολλὰ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον δι' ὧν παρεφθέγγετο ἀπορρίψας, ταῖς τε διὰ χειρὸς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ τραχέσι προσώπου νεύμασιν ὡς πρὸς παρόντας ὀργισθεῖς, ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν ἔξοδον. διανείμας τε αὐτοῖς ἀμπλειστα χρήματα, μιᾶς ἡμέρας διαλιπὼν, τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶχετο, πολὺ τι πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενος στρατοῦ, τὴν τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις δύναμιν.

[10] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γερμανῶν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος ἀριθμὸς, οὓς τοῖς ὅπλοις κεχείρωτο ἢ πείσας ἐς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐπῆκτο, μηχαναί τε καὶ πολεμικὰ ὄργανα, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἰὼν ἐπεφέρετο. αὐτὸς μὲν σχολαιτέραν τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐποιεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀχημάτων καὶ ἐπιτηδείων πανταχόθεν συγκομιδὴν· [11] αἰφνιδίου γὰρ γενομένης τῆς ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου καὶ ἐπειγούσης ὑπηρεσίας τὰ χρειώδη τῷ στρατῷ ἡθροίζετο ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ προπέμψαι τὰς τῶν Παιόνων φάλαγγας· ἐκείνοις γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν, οἵπερ αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτοι ἀνείπον βασιλέα ἐθέλονται τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύσειν ὑπισχυνοῦντο. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτοῖς φθάσαι τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χωρία προκαταλαβεῖν.

SECTION 9

[1] καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ὠδοιπόρουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Καρχηδόνι οὐχ ὡς ἠλπίκεσαν τὰ πράγματα προουχάρει. Καπελιανὸς γὰρ ἦν τις ὄνομα, τῶν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου, ἡγεῖτο δὲ Μαυρουσίων τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις, Νομάδων δὲ καλουμένων. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος στρατοπέδοις πέφρακτο διὰ τὸ περικείμενον πλῆθος Μαυρουσίων τῶν βαρβάρων, [2] ὡς ἂν ἐπέχοι αὐτῶν τὰς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγὰς. εἶχεν οὖν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον στρατιωτικὴν. πρὸς δὴ τὸν Καπελιανὸν τοῦτον ὁ Γορδιανὸς ἀπεχθῶς διέκειτο ἄνωθεν ἕκτινος ἀγοραίου διαφορᾶς. τότε τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος ὀνόματι διάδοχόν τε αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.

[3] ὁ δὲ πρὸς τε ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας, τῷ τε Μαξιμίνῳ καθωσιωμένος, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πεπίστευτο, πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἀθροίσας ἀναπείσας τε Μαξιμίνῳ τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, κατήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα δύναμιν ἄγων μεγίστην τε καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἡλικίας ἀκμάζουσαν, καὶ παντοδαπῇ ὅπλων παρασκευῇ ἐξηρτυμένην, ἐμπειρίᾳ τε πολεμικῇ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης συνηθείᾳ ἐτοίμην πρὸς μάχας.

[4] ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Γορδιανῷ ὁ στρατὸς προσίων τῇ πόλει, αὐτὸς τε ἐν ἐσχάτῳ δέει ἦν, οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι ταραχθέντες, οἰόμενοι ἐν πλήθει ὄχλου, οὐκ ἐν εὐταξίᾳ στρατοῦ τὸ εὖελπι τῆς νίκης εἶναι, πανδημεὶ πάντες ἐξίσαν ὡς δὴ τῷ Καπελιανῷ ἀντιταξόμενοι. Γορδιανὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ πρεσβύτης, ὥς τινὲς φασιν, ἅμα «τὸν Καπελιανόν» τῷ τῆς Καρχηδόνης ἐπιβῆναι ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενος, ἐννοῶν τὴν δύναμιν Μαξιμίνου, οὐδὲν δὲ ὀρῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ ἀξιώμαχον ἰσόρροπον, ἀνήρτησεν [5] ἑαυτὸν βρόχῳ· κρυπτομένης δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγήσοντα δὴ τοῦ πλήθους εἴλοντο. γενομένης δὲ συμβολῆς οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι ὄχλῳ πλείους ἦσαν, ἄτακτοι δὲ καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἀπαίδευτοι ἅτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθεῖα τεθραμμένοι ἐορταῖς τε καὶ τρυφαίς σχολάζοντες αἰεὶ, γυμνοὶ τε ὅπλων καὶ ὀργάνων πολεμικῶν.

[6] ἕκαστος δὲ ἐπεφέρετο οἰκοθεν ἢ ξιφίδιον ἢ πέλεκυν δοράτιά τε ἐκ κυνηγεσίων· βύρσας τε τὰς ἐμπεσοῦσας περιτεμόντες καὶ ξύλα καταπρίσαντες ἐς τὰ παρατυχόντα σχήματα, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, πρόβλημα τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. οἱ δὲ Νομάδες ἀκοντισταὶ τε εὖστοχοι καὶ ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι, ὡς καὶ χαλινῶν ἄνευ ράβδῳ [7] μόνη τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἵππων κυβερνᾶν. ῥᾶστα οὖν ἐτρέψαντο τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὸ πλῆθος, οἵπερ οὐχ ὑπομείναντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἐμβολήν, πάντα ῥίψαντες, ἔφυγον· ὠθοῦμενοι δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ

πατούμενοι, πλείους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου πλήθους ἐφθάρησαν ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ υἱὸς ἀπώλετο οἱ τε περὶ αὐτὸν πάντες, ὥς διὰ πληθοῦς πτωμάτων μήτε νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν πρὸς ταφὴν γενέσθαι δυνηθῆναι μήτε τὸ [8] τοῦ νέου Γορδιανοῦ σῶμα εὐρεθῆναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φεύγοντες, ὅσοι τε ἦσαν εἰσρύνετες ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὅσοι τε λαθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, σκεδασθέντες ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, οὕσαν μεγίστην τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὀλίγοι ἐκ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πληθεὺς περὶ ταῖς πύλαις στενοχωρούμενον, παρεισδύναι σπουδάζοντος ἐκάστου, βαλλόμενον τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ὑπὸ [9] τῶν ὀπλιτῶν διεφθείρετο. πολλὴ δὲ οἰμωγὴ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων, ὧν ἐν ᾧ οἱ φίλτατοι ἀπώλοντο. ἕτεροι δὲ φασιν, ὥς δὴ ταῦτα οἴκοι μεμενηκότι διὰ γῆρας τῷ πρεσβύτῃ Γορδιανῷ ἀπηγγέλη ὃ τε Καπελιανὸς εἰσελαύνων ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐδηλώθη, ἐν ἀπογνώσει δὴ πάντων γενόμενος, εἰσελθὼν μόνος ἐς τὸν οἰκίσκον ὥς δὴ καθευδήσων, ἐξαρτήσας ἧς ἐπέφερετο ζώνης τὸν τράχηλον ἐν βρόχῳ, τοῦ βίου ἀνεπαύσατο.

[10] τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει Γορδιανὸς ἐχρήσατο, βιώσας τὰ πρῶτα εὐδαιμόνως, ἐν εἰκόνι τε βασιλείας τελευτήσας· ὁ δὲ Καπελιανὸς ἐς Καρχηδόνα εἰσελθὼν πάντας τε τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπέκτεινεν, εἴ τινες καὶ ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐφείδετό τε οὔτε ἱερῶν συλήσεως οὔτε χρημάτων [11] ἰδιωτικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων ἀρπαγῆς. ἐπιὼν τε τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ὅσαι τὰς Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς καθηρῆκεσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἐξέχοντας ἐφόνευε, τοὺς δὲ δημότας ἐφυγάδευεν, ἀγροὺς τε καὶ κώμας ἐμπιπράναι λεηλατεῖν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεπε, προσποιούμενος μὲν τιμωρίαν εἰσπράττειν ἐφ' οἷς ἐς Μαξιμίνον ἡμαρτήκεσαν, λανθανόντως δὲ εὖνοιαν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μνόμενος, ἵν' εἴ τι πταίσειεν τὰ Μαξιμίνου πράγματα, αὐτὸς ἔχων δύναμιν εὐνοοῦσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιήσαιτο.

SECTION 10

[1] τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδηλώθη ἡ τοῦ πρεσβύτου τελευτή, ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ἀφασίᾳ ὃ τε δῆμος ἦν ἢ τε σύγκλητος μάλιστα, Γορδιανοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐς ὃν ἠλπίκεσαν· ἦδεσαν γὰρ ... αὐτὸν οὔτε φεισόμενον τινός· ὃς γὰρ καὶ φύσει ἄλλοτρίως καὶ ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διέκειτο, τότε καὶ ἐπ' εὐλόγοις αἰτίαις ὡς ὁμολογουμένοις ἐχθροῖς [2] εἰκότως ὠργίζετο. ἔδοξεν οὖν συνελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων σκέπασθαι, ἅπαξ τε ἀναρρίψαντας κίνδυνον πόλεμον ἄρασθαι, προστησαμένους ἑαυτῶν χειροτονηθέντας βασιλέας, οὓς ἠθέλησαν μερίσαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς μὴ παρ' ἐνὶ οὔσῃ ἡ ἐξουσία ἐς τυραννίδα πάλιν ἐξοκεῖλη. συνῆλθον οὖν οὐκ ἐς τὸ σὺνηθες συνέδριον ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν <τοῦ> Καπετωλίου, ὃν σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν [3] ἀκροπόλει. συγκλείσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ σηκῷ μόνους, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ Διὶ καὶ συνέδρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ τε τῶν πραττομένων, ἐπιλεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀξιώματι προυχόντων οὓς ἐδοκίμαζον κατὰ ψηφοφορίαν, ἐχόντων καὶ ἄλλων ψήφους, διακριθεῖσιν τε καὶ τοῦ πλείστου τῆς γνώμης Μάξιμόν τε καὶ Βαλβῖνον ἀνειπόντος [4] αὐτοκράτορας ἐποίησαν. τούτων δ' ἦν ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ἔν τε πολλαῖς στρατοπέδων ἀρχαῖς γενόμενος, τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἑπαρχος καταστάς ἀνεπιστρόφως τε ἄρξας, καὶ ἐν ὑπολήψει παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις φρενῶν τε καὶ ἀγχινοίας καὶ βίου σῶφρονος, ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος γενόμενος μὲν εὐπατρίδης, ἐς δευτέραν τε ὑπατείαν ἐληλακῶς ἐθνῶν τε ἡγησάμενος ἀμέμπτως, τὸ δ' ἦθος ἀπλούστερος.

[5] τῆς οὖν χειροτονίας ἐκείνους ἀνειπούσης Σεβαστοί τε ἀνηγορεύθησαν, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς ἢ σύγκλητος διὰ δόγματος αὐτοὺς ἐκόσμησεν.

ὁ δὲ δῆμος τούτων ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ πραττομένων, εἴτε ὑποβαλόντων τινῶν Γορδιανοῦ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων εἴτε γνόντες ὑπὸ φήμης, παρειστήκεσαν ταῖς πύλαις, φράξαντες πᾶσαν τὴν ἐς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἄνοδον τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὄχλων, λίθους τε καὶ ξύλα ἐπεφέροντο, ἀντιπράττοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐψηφισμένοις, καὶ [6] μάλιστα τὸν Μάξιμον παραιτούμενοι· <ἥρξέ τε γὰρ> στερρότερον τῆς πόλεως, πολὺ τε τὸ ἐπιστρεφές ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς φαύλους καὶ κούφους τῶν ὄχλων. ὅθεν δεδιότες ἀπηρέσκοντο αὐτῷ ἐβόων τε καὶ ἠπεῖλουν ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτούς· ἤξιον γὰρ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ γένους βασιλέα αἰρεθῆναι, τό τε τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς ὄνομα ἀρχῆς [7] ἐκείνῳ τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ

ὀνόματι μεῖναι. ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος καὶ Μάξιμος ἐκ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ τάγματος νεανίας
τούς τε πάλαι στρατιώτας οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέτριβον, περιστήσαντες ἑαυτοῖς
ξιφηφόρους προελθεῖν τοῦ Καπετωλίου ἐβιάζοντο, ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους λίθων καὶ
ξύλων ἐκωλύθησαν, ἔστε δὴ ὑποβαλόντος τινὸς αὐτοὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐσοφίσαντο.
ἦν τι παιδίον νήπιον, τῆς Γορδιανοῦ θυγατρὸς τέκνον, τῷ [8] πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον.
πέμψαντες τοίνυν τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τινὰς κελεύουσι τὸ παιδίον κομισθῆναι. οἱ
δὲ εὐρόντες αὐτὸ ἀθῦρον οἴκοι, ἀράμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, διὰ μέσου τοῦ
πλήθους, δεικνύντες τοῖς ὄχλοις Γορδιανοῦ τε ἔγγονον λέγοντες καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ
προσηγορίᾳ ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Καπετώλιον εὐφημούμενον ὑπὸ
τοῦ δήμου [9] καὶ φυλλοβολούμενον. τῆς τε συγκλήτου Καίσαρα αὐτὸ
ἀποδειξάσης, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν προϊστασθαι τῶν
πραγμάτων, τῆς τε ὀργῆς ὁ δῆμος ἐπαύσατο, ἠνέσχοντό τε προελθεῖν ἐς τὴν
βασίλειον αὐλήν.

SECTION 11

[1] συνέβη δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πταῖσμα ὀλέθριον τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει, ἀρχὴν καὶ πρόφασιν λαβὼν ἐξ εὐτόλμου θράσους δύο ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου. συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πάντες σκοπόμενοι [2] περὶ τῶν καθεστώτων· μαθόντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται οὓς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Μαξιμίνος καταλελοίπει (ἦδη γὰρ πρὸς ἄφεσιν τῆς στρατείας ὄντες καὶ δι' ἡλικίαν οἴκοι μεμενηκότες) ἦλθον μέχρι τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς συγκλήτου, βουλόμενοι τὸ πραττόμενον μαθεῖν, ὅπλων μὲν γυμνοί, ἐν λιταῖς δὲ ἐσθῆσι καὶ ἐφεστρίσιν, ἐστήκεσαν δὲ μετὰ [3] τοῦ λοιποῦ δήμου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἔμενον, δύο δὲ τινες ἢ τρεῖς περιεργότερον ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν βουλευομένων θελήσαντες ἐς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσῆλθον, ὥς τὸν ἰδρυμένον βωμὸν τῆς νίκης υπερβῆναι τούτους. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ὑπατείας μὲν νεωστί, Γαλλικανὸς ὄνομα, Καρχηδόνιος δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ ἕτερος στρατηγικὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα, Μαικίνας καλούμενος, οὐδέν τι προσδοκῶντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἔχοντας δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ὑποκαθειμένας ταῖς ἐφεστρίσι, παίουσι πληγαῖς κατακαρδίους, [4] ξίφεσιν οἷς ἐπεφέροντο ὑποκολπίοις· πάντες γὰρ διὰ τὴν οὖσαν στάσιν τε καὶ ταραχὴν, οἱ μὲν φανερώς οἱ δὲ καὶ κρύβδην, ἐξιψηφόρουν, ἀμυντήρια δῆθεν φέροντες ἑαυτῶν διὰ τοὺς αἰφνιδίως ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐχθροὺς. τότε δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται πληγέντες καὶ πῶς ἀπροσδοκῆτως προβαλεῖν οὐ δυνηθέντες πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ [5] ἔκειντο. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται τοῦτο θεασάμενοι, ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ πάθει τῶν συστρατιωτῶν, φοβηθέντες τοῦ δήμου τὸ πλῆθος ἄνευ τε ὅπλων ὄντες ἔφυγον. ὁ δὲ Γαλλικανὸς ἐκδραμὼν τῆς συγκλήτου ἐς τὸν δῆμον μέσον, δεικνύς τε τὸ ξίφος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἡμαγμένην, διεκελεύετο διώκειν καὶ φονεύειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μὲν συγκλήτου καὶ Ῥωμαίων, φίλους δὲ καὶ συμμάχους Μαξιμίνου.

[6] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ῥᾶστα πεισθεὶς τὸν μὲν Γαλλικανὸν εὐφήμει, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὥς ἐδύναντο διώκοντες ἔβαλλον λίθοις. οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες, ὀλίγων τινῶν καὶ τρωθέντων, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καταφυγόντες καὶ τὰς πύλας κλείσαντες, ὅπλα τε ἀναλαβόντες, ἐφρούρουν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὁ δὲ Γαλλικανὸς ἅπαξ τολμήσας ἔργον τηλικούτον, ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καὶ ὀλεθρον μέγαν ἤγειρε [7] τῇ πόλει. τὰς τε γὰρ δημοσίας ἀποθήκας τῶν ὅπλων, εἴ τινες ἦσαν πρὸς πομπὴν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχην ἐπιτήδαιοι, ἀναρρήξαι τοὺς ὄχλους ἔπεισε, τό τε σῶμα ἕκαστον φράττεσθαι ὥς οἷός τε ἦν· τὰ τε τῶν μονομάχων

καταγῶγια ἀνοίξας ἐξήγαγε τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅπλοις ἕκαστον ἐξηρτυμένον. ὅσα τε ἦν <έν> οἰκίαις ἢ ἐργαστηρίοις [8] δόρατα ἢ ξίφη πελέκεις τε, πάντα διηρπάζετο. ὃ τε δῆμος ἐνθουσιῶν πᾶν τὸ ἐμπίπτον ὕλης ἀξιομάχου ἐργαλεῖον ὅπλον ἐποιεῖτο. ἀθροισθέντες οὖν ἐπῆλθον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ὡς πολιορκήσοντες αὐτὸ δῆθεν προσέβαλλον ταῖς τε πύλαις καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται μετὰ πολλῆς ἐμπειρίας ὥπλισμένοι .. τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, τόξοις τε αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες καὶ δόρασι μακροῖς ἀπείργοντες τοῦ τείχους ἀπεδίωκον.

[9] ὡς δὲ καμὼν ὁ δῆμος οἱ τε μονομάχοι τιτρωσκόμενοι ἤδη καὶ ἐσπέρας προσιούσης ἐπανελθεῖν ἠθέλησαν, θεασάμενοι αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπεστραμμένους καὶ τὰ νῶτα δεδωκότας ἀπιόντας τε ἀμελέστερον, οἰομένους μὴ τολμήσειν ἐπεξελθεῖν ὀλίγους πλήθει τοσοῦτω, ἀνοίξαντες αἰφνιδίως τὰς πύλας ἐπέδραμον τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς τε μονομάχους ἀπέκτειναν, τοῦ τε δήμου μέγα τι πλῆθος ἀπώλετο ὠθούμενον. οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτον διώξαντες ὅσον μὴ πολὺ τι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀποστήναι, πάλιν ἐπανῆλθον ἐντός τε τοῦ τείχους ἔμενον.

SECTION 12

[1] ἐντεῦθεν μείζων ἡ ὀργή τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐγένετο. στρατηγοὶ τε οὖν κατελέγοντο ἕκ τε πάσης Ἰταλίας λογάδες, ἥ τε νεολαία πᾶσα ἠθροίζετο, ὅπλοις τε αὐτοσχεδίοις καὶ τοῖς προστυχοῦσιν ὠπλίζετο. τούτων δὴ τὸ μὲν πλείστον μέρος ὁ Μάξιμος σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπήγαγεν ὥς δὴ Μαξιμίῳ πολεμήσων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἔμειναν, ὥς τὴν πόλιν φρουροῖεν τε καὶ προασπίζοιεν [2] αὐτῆς. ἐκάστοτε οὖν τῷ τείχει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐγίνοντο προσβολαί, ἔπραττον δὲ οὐδὲν προμαχομένων ἄνωθεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν· οἱ δὲ βαλλόμενοι καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι κακῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν. ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος οἰκοὶ μένων διάταγμά τε προθεῖς ἰκέτευε τὸν δῆμον ἐς διαλλαγὰς χωρῆσαι, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ὑπισχνεῖτο ἀμνηστίαν, [3] ἄνεσιν τε πάντων ἐδίδου ἁμαρτημάτων. ἀλλ' οὐδετέρους ἔπειθε, τὸ δὲ δεινὸν ἐκάστοτε ἠϋζετο, τοῦ μὲν τοσούτου δήμου ἀπαξιούντος ὑπ' ὀλίγων καταφρονηθῆναι, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀγανακτούντων ὅτι δὴ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὥς ὑπὸ βαρβάρων πάσχουσι.

τὸ δὴ τελευταῖον, ἐπειδὴ τειχομαχοῦντες οὐδὲν ἔπραττον, ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐκκόψαι πάντας τοὺς εἰσρέοντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀγωγούς ὕδατος, σπάνει τε ποτοῦ [4] καὶ ἐνδείᾳ ρείθρων αὐτοὺς παραστήσασθαι. προσπεσόντες οὖν πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἕτερα ρεῖθρα μετωχέτευον, ἐκκόπτοντες καὶ εἰσφράττοντες τὰς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰσόδους αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὀρῶντες τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι, τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπεξῆλθον· μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης καὶ φυγῆς τῶν δημοτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως [5] διώκοντες οἱ στρατιῶται προύβησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ταῖς συσταδὸν μάχαις ἡττώμενοι, ἀναπηδῶντες ἐς τὰ δωμάτια τῷ τε κεράμῳ βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ λίθων βολαῖς τῶν τε ἄλλων ὀστράκων ἐλυμαίνοντο, ἐπαναβῆναι μὲν αὐτοῖς δι' ἄγνοιαν τῶν οἰκήσεων οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν οἱ στρατιῶται, κεκλεισμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ταῖς θύραις, καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν ξύλων ἐξοχαί (πολλοὶ δὲ αὗται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν), πῦρ προσετίθεσαν.

[6] ῥᾶστα δὲ διὰ πυκνότητα τῶν συνοικιῶν ξυλείας τε πλῆθος ἐπάλληλον μέγιστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πῦρ ἐνεμήθη, ὥς πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ πλουσίων ποιῆσαι πένητας, ἀποβαλόντας θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖς κτήματα, ἐν τε προσόδοις πλουσίαις καὶ ἐν ποικίλῃ πολυτελείᾳ τίμια.

[7] πλῆθός τε ἀνθρώπων συγκατεφλέχθη, φυγεῖν μὴ δυνηθέντων διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐξόδους ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς προκατελιφθαι. οὐσίαι τε ὅλαι πλουσίων ἀνδρῶν

διηρπάγησαν, ἐγκαταμιζάντων ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς τὸ ἀρπάζειν κακούργων καὶ εὐτελῶν δημοτῶν. τοσοῦτον δὲ μέρος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πῦρ ἐλυμήνατο ὥς μηδεμίαν τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων ὀλόκληρον δύνασθαι τῷ μέρει ἐξισωθῆναι.

[8] καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην τοιαῦτα ἦν, ὁ δὲ Μαξιμίνος ἀνύσας τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐπέστη τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄροις, θύσας τε ἐπὶ τῶν μεθορίων βωμῶν τῆς ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν εἰσβολῆς εἶχετο, ἐκέλευσέ τε πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐν ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ μετ' εὐταξίας προχωρεῖν.

[9] τὴν μὲν οὖν Λιβύης ἀπόστασιν καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον, τὰ τε Μαξιμίνῳπραχθέντα καὶ τὴν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ ἐδηλώσαμεν· τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς λεχθήσεται.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION 1

Τὰ μὲν δὴ Μαξιμίνῳ πραχθέντα μετὰ τὴν Γορδιανοῦ τελευτὴν, ἥ τε εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξις αὐτοῦ, Λιβύης τε ἀπόστασις καὶ ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαφορά ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων λέλεκται· ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἐπιστὰς τοῖς ὄροις προύπεμψε σκοποὺς τοὺς ἐρευνήσοντας μή τινες ἐνέδραι ἐν κοιλάσιν ὁρῶν ἢ λόχμαις [2] ὕλαις τε κρύφιοι εἴεν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταγαγὼν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸν στρατόν, τὰς μὲν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγας ἐς τετράγωνα ἔταξε σχήματα, ἐπιμήκεις μᾶλλον ἢ βαθείας, ὥς ἂν πλεῖστον τοῦ πεδίου διαλάβοιεν· τὰ δὲ σκευοφόρα πάντα κτήνη τε καὶ ὀχήματα ἐν μέσῳ τάξας, αὐτὸς [3] ἅμα τοῖς δορυφόροις ὀπισθοφυλακῶν εἶπετο. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ παρέθεον αἱ τε τῶν καταφράκτων ἰππέων ἵλαι καὶ Μαυρούσιοι ἀκοντισταὶ τοξόται τε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, καὶ Γερμανῶν ἰππέων μέγα τι πλῆθος ἐπήγετο συμμάχους· ἐκείνους γὰρ μάλιστα προυβάλλετο, ἵν' ἐκδέχωνται τῶν πολεμίων τὰς πρώτας ἐμβολὰς, θυμοειδεῖς ὄντες καὶ εὐτολμοὶ ἐν ἀρχομένη μάχῃ, εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ [4] κινδυνεύειν δέοι, εὐκαταφρόνητοι ὡς βάρβαροι. ὥς δὲ πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον διῆλθεν ὁ στρατὸς μετ' εὐκοσμίας τε καὶ εὐταξίας, ἐπέστησαν πρώτη Ἰταλίας πόλει ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἡμᾶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· πρόκειται δὲ αὕτη ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ πεδίῳ ἰδρυμένη πρὸ τῆς ὑπωρείας τῶν Ἀλπεων. ἔνθα ὑπαντῶμενοι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ οἱ προφύλακες καὶ σκοποὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἡγγεῖλαν κενὴν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πανδημεῖ τε πεφευγέναι ἐμπρήσαντας τὰς θύρας ἱερῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, πάντα τε, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἃ μὲν ἐκφορήσαντας ἃ δὲ καταπρήσαντας, καὶ μήτε ὑποζυγίοις μήτε ἀνθρώποις καταλελειφθαι τροφάς.

[5] ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἦσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν εὐθύς φυγῇ, ἐλπίζων πάντας τοὺς δήμους τοῦτο ποιήσκειν οὐχ ὑπομένοντας τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἦχθετο εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ λιμοῦ πειρώμενος. διανυκτερεύσαντες οὖν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐν ἀθύροις καὶ κεναῖς πάντων οἰκίαις, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεὶς ἠπείγοντο, ἅπερ ὄρη ὑπερμήκη ὥσπερ τεῖχος Ἰταλίας ἡ φύσις ἡγειρεν, ὑπερνεφῇ μὲν τὸ ὕψος, ἐπιμηκέστατα δέ, ὥς πᾶσαν Ἰταλίαν διειληφότα καθήκειν ἐν μὲν τοῖς δεξιόις Ἰταλίας μέρεσιν ἐς τὸ Τυρρηναῖον πέλαγος, [6] ἐν δὲ τοῖς λαιοῖς ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον. σκέπεται δὲ ὕλαις δασείαις καὶ πυκναῖς, τὰς δὲ διεξόδους ἐστένυνται ἢ διὰ κρημνοὺς ἐς βάθος μέγιστον ἀπερρωγότας ἢ διὰ πετρῶν τραχύτητα· στενωποὶ γάρ εἰσι χειροποίητοι, μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου τοῖς πάλαι Ἰταλιώταις εἰργασμένοι. μετὰ δέους οὖν πολλοῦ διήει ὁ στρατός, ἐλπίζοντες τὰς τε ἄκρας κατειληφθαι

πεφράχθαι τε τὰς διόδους ἐς κωλύμην τῆς αὐτῶν διαβάσεως. ἤλπιζον δὲ καὶ
ἐδεδοίκεσαν εἰκότα, τῶν χωρίων τεκμαιρόμενοι τὴν

SECTION 2

[1] φύσιν. ὥς δὲ διέβησαν ἀκωλύτως μηδενὸς ἐμποδὼν γενομένου, καταβαίνοντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἤδη ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ ἐπαϊάνισαν· ῥᾷστά τε αὐτῷ πάντα προχωρήσειν ὁ Μαξιμῖνος ἤλπισεν Ἰταλῶν μηδὲ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τεθαρρηκότων, ἔνθα ἢ κρύπτειν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ σώζειν ἡδύναντο ἢ δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, μάχεσθαι τε ἄνωθεν [2] ἐξ ὑπερκειμένων χωρίων. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, οἱ σκοποὶ ἀπήγγειλαν πόλιν Ἰταλίας τὴν μεγίστην, Ἀκυληίαν δὲ καλουμένην, κεκλεισθαι, τὰς δὲ προπεμφθείσας φάλαγγας τῶν Παιόνων προθύμως μὲν τειχομαχῆσαι, πολλάκις δὲ προσβαλοῦσας ἀνύειν οὐδέν, ἀπαγορεύειν δὲ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν βαλλομένους λίθοις τε καὶ δόρασι τόξων τε πλήθει. ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἀγανακτῆσας πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Παιόνων ὥς ἀμελέστερον μαχομένους, αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἡπείγετο, ἐλπίζων ῥᾷστα αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν.

[3] ἡ δὲ Ἀκυληία καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἅτε μεγίστη πόλις, ἰδίου δήμου πολυάνθρωπος ἦν, καὶ ὥσπερ τι ἐμπόριον Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ προκειμένη καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν ἐθνῶν πάντων ἰδρυμένη τά τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν κατακομιζόμενα παρεῖχεν ἐμπορεύεσθαι τοῖς πλέουσι, τά τε ἀπὸ θαλάττης τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀναγκαῖα, ὧν ἡ παρ' ἐκείνοις χώρα διὰ χειμῶνας οὐκ ἦν εὐφορος, ἀνέπεμπεν ἐς τὴν ἄνω γῆν· πρὸς οἶνόν τε μάλιστα πολύγονον χώραν γεωργοῦντες ἀφθονίαν ποτοῦ παρεῖχον [4] τοῖς ἄμπελον μὴ γεωργοῦσιν. ἔνθεν πολὺ τι πλῆθος ἐπεδήμει οὐ πολιτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ ξένων τε καὶ ἐμπόρων. τότε δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπολυπλασιάσθη τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν ὄχλων πάντων ἐξ ἀγρῶν ἐκεῖσε συρρυνέντων, πολίχνας τε καὶ κώμας τὰς περικειμένας καταλιπόντων, πιστευσάντων δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῷ προβεβλημένῳ τείχει, ὁ παλαιότατον <ὄν> ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους πρότερον μὲν κατερήριπτο, ἅτε μετὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μηκέτι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἢ τειχῶν ἢ ὅπλων δεθηισῶν, μετεिल्φυσίων δὲ ἀντὶ πολέμων εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν καὶ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολιτείας κοινωνίαν· [5] πλὴν τότε ἡ χρεία ἡπείξε τὸ τεῖχος ἀνανεώσασθαι τά τ' ἐρείπια ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, πύργους τε καὶ ἐπάλξεις ἐγεῖραι. τάχιστα οὖν φράξαντες τῷ τείχει τὴν πόλιν, τὰς τε πύλας κλείσαντες, πανδημει ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἰδρυμένοι τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἀπεμάχοντο. ἐστρατήγουν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα εἶχον διὰ φροντίδος ἄνδρες δύο, ἀπὸ ὑπατείας μὲν, ἐπιλεχθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου· ὧν ὁ μὲν Κρισπίνος ὁ δὲ Μηνίφιλος ἐκαλεῖτο.

[6] καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προνοίας τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια πάμπλειστα εἰσεκομίσαντο, ὥς ἐκτένειαν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ἐπιμηκεστέρα γένοιτο πολιορκία. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ἀφθονία φρεατιαίου· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ ὀρύγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει· ποταμός τε παραρρεῖ τὸ τεῖχος, ὁμοῦ παρέχων τε προβολὴν τάφρου καὶ χορηγίαν ὕδατος.

SECTION 3

[1] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πόλει οὕτω παρεσκεύαστο· τῷ δὲ Μαξιμίνῳ ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγγέλη φρουρουμένη καὶ κεκλεισμένη γενναίως ἡ πόλις, ἔδοξε πέμψαι ἐν σχήματι πρεσβείας τοὺς κάτωθεν διαλεξιμένους, εἰ ἄρα πείσαιεν αὐτοὺς ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ χίλιάρχος ᾧ πατρίς μὲν ἡ Ἀκυλῖα ἦν, τέκνα τε καὶ γυνὴ οἰκεῖοί τε [2] πάντες ἔνδον ἀποκέκλειντο. τοῦτον οὖν ἔπεμψε σὺν ἐτέροις ἑκατοντάρχαις, ἐλπίσας ῥᾶστα πείσειν ὡς πολίτην. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι ἄρα κελεύει Μαξιμῖνος ὁ κοινὸς βασιλεὺς ὅπλα μὲν αὐτοὺς καταθέσθαι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, φίλον δὲ ἀντὶ πολεμίου δέχεσθαι, σπονδαῖς δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ θυσίαις σχολάζειν ἢ φόνοις, μηδὲ περιορᾶν πατρίδα μέλλουσαν ἄρδην καὶ ἐκ θεμελίων ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἐνὸν αὐτοῖς τε σώζεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σώζειν, διδόντος αὐτοῖς χρηστοῦ βασιλέως ἀμνηστίαν συγγνώμην τε τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων· οὐ γὰρ [3] αὐτοὺς αἰτίους γεγενῆσθαι ἀλλ’ ἄλλους. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις τοιαῦτά τινα κάτω παρεστῶτες ἐβόων, ὡς ἐξάκουστα εἶη· ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος δῆμος τῷ τείχει καὶ τοῖς πύργοις ἐφεστώς, πλὴν τῶν τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη φρουρούντων, [4] ἐπήκουεν ἡσυχάζων τῶν λεγομένων. ὁ δὲ Κρισπῖνος φοβηθεὶς μή πως ἅτε ὄχλος ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἀναπεισθεὶς, εἰρήνην τε ἀντὶ πολέμου ἐλόμενος, ἀνοίξῃ τὰς πύλας, περιθέων τὸ τεῖχος ἐδεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει μένειν τε θαρραλέως καὶ ἀντέχειν γενναίως, μηδὲ προδιδόναι τὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ Ῥωμαίων δῆμον πίστιν, σωτῆρας δὲ καὶ προμάχους Ἰταλίας πάσης ἀναγραφῆναι, μὴ πιστεύειν δὲ ὑποσχέσεσι τυράννου ἐπιόρκου τε καὶ ἀπατεῶνος, μηδὲ χρηστοῖς λόγοις δελεασθέντας ὀλέθρῳ προύπτῳ παραδοθῆναι, ἐνὸν πιστεῦσαι πολέμου ἀμφιβόλῳ [5] τύχῃ· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγοι πλειόνων περιεγένοντο, καὶ δοκοῦντες ἀσθενέστεροι καθεῖλον τοὺς ἐν ὑπολήψει ἀνδρείας μερίζοντες· μηδ’ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μαχόμενοι καὶ τῆς παρ’ ἐτέρῳ ἐσομένης εὐδαιμονίας, εἴπερ γένοιτο, μετριάζουσιν ἐν τῷ προθύμῳ τῆς μάχης, εἰδότες ὡς τῶν μὲν κινδύνων αὐτοὶ μεθέξουσιν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα [6] καὶ κορυφαῖα τῆς νίκης ἄλλος καρπώσεται· τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος μαχομένοις καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίδες κρείττους, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὰ ἄλλων λαβεῖν ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτῶν σώζειν εὐχονται. τό τε ἐς τὰς μάχας πρόθυμον οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου κελεύσεως ἀλλ’ ἐξ οἰκείας ἀνάγκης ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς νίκης πᾶς ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῖς περιγίνεται.

[7] τοιαῦτά τινα λέγων ὁ Κρισπῖνος καὶ πρὸς ἐκάστους καὶ κοινῇ, φύσει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως αἰδέσιμος ὢν, ἐν τε τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ εὐπρόσφορος ἐν λόγοις,

ἐπεικῶς τε αὐτῶν προεστώς, ἔπεισε μένειν ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις, τοὺς τε πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ τῇ ἐνστάσει τοῦ πολέμου. ἐμμεμενηκέναι πολλῶν ἔνδον ὄντων περὶ θυτικήν τε καὶ ἥπατοσκοπίαν ἐμπεύρων, τὰ τε ἱερὰ αἴσια ἀπαγγελλόντων· μάλιστα γὰρ τῇ [8] σκέψει ταύτη πιστεύουσιν Ἰταλιῶται. καὶ χρησιμοὶ δέ τινες <δι>εδίδοντο ὡς δὴ τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ νίκην ὑπισχνουμένου· Βέλεν δὲ καλοῦσι τοῦτον, σέβουσί τε ὑπερφυῶς, Απόλλωνα εἶναι ἐθέλοντες. οὗ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἔλεγον τινες τῶν Μαξιμίνου στρατιωτῶν φανῆναι πολλάκις [9] ἐν ἀέρι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μαχομένην. ὅπερ εἴτε ἀληθῶς ἐφαντάσθη τισίν, ἢ καὶ βουλομένοις μὴ ἀσχημονεῖν τοσοῦτον στρατὸν πρὸς ὄχλον δημοτῶν πολὺ ἐλάττονα μὴ ἀντισχόντα, δοκεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων νενικῆσθαι, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω· τὸ δὲ παράδοξον τῆς ἀποβάσεως ποιεῖ πάντα πιστεῦσαι.

SECTION 4

[1] πλὴν τῶν πρέσβων ἀπράκτων πρὸς Μαξιμῖνον ἐπανελθόντων, ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ χρώμενος πλείονι μᾶλλον ἠπείγετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο πρὸς τινι ποταμῷ μεγίστῳ, ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως σημεῖα ἐκκαίδεκα, τὸ ρεῖθρον εὗρε [2] διὰ τε μεγίστου βάθους καὶ πλάτους φερόμενον· τῶν γὰρ ὑπερκειμένων ὁρῶν τὰς δι' ὅλου τοῦ χειμῶνος παγείσας χιόνας λύουσα ἡ τοῦ ἔτους ὥρα παμμεγέθη τὸν χειμάρρουν εἰργάζετο. ἄπορος οὖν ἦν ἡ διάβασις τῷ στρατῷ· τὴν γὰρ γέφυραν, ἔργον μέγα καὶ κάλλιστον ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων γεγεννημένον ἐκ τετραπέδων λίθων, στυλίσιν κατ' ὀλίγον αὐξανομέναις ὑπειλημμένον, διηρήκεσαν καὶ καταλελύκεσαν οἱ Ἀκυλῆσιοι. οὔτε οὖν γεφύρας οὔσης οὔτε νεῶν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν ἀφασίᾳ καθειστήκει.

[3] Γερμανοὶ δὲ τινες οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ποταμῶν τὰ σφοδρὰ καὶ καταρρηγνύμενα ρεύματα, οἰόμενοι δὲ σχολαίτερα ἐπινήχεσθαι τοῖς πεδίοις ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς (διὸ καὶ πῆγνυται ῥαδίως, μὴ σφοδρῶς κινουμένου τοῦ ρεύματος), ἐπεισπηδήσαντες ἅμα τοῖς ἵπποις διανήχεσθαι εἰθισμένοις, παρενεχθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

[4]

δύο μὲν οὖν ἡ τριῶν ἡμερῶν σκηνοποιησάμενος ὁ Μαξιμῖνος, τάφρου τῷ στρατῷ περιβληθείσης μή τινες ἐπέλθοιεν, ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὄχθῃ, σκεψόμενος ὅπως τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρώσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ξύλων ἦν ἀπορία καὶ νεῶν, ὥς ἔδει ζευχθείσας γεφυρώσαι τὸ ρεῖθρον, ὑπέβαλόν τινες τῶν τεχνιτῶν πολλὰ εἶναι κενὰ οἰνοφόρα σκευὴ περιφεροῦς ξύλου ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις ἀγροῖς, οἷς ἐχρῶντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐς ὑπηρεσίαν ἑαυτῶν, ὥς παραπέμπειν τὸν οἶνον ἀσφαλῶς τοῖς δεομένοις· ἅπερ ὄντα κοῖλα δίκην νεῶν, ἀλλήλοις συνδεθέντα ἐπινήξεσθαι μὲν ἔμελλεν ὥσπερ σκάφη, μὴ παρενεχθήσεσθαι δὲ διὰ τε τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ ἐπάλληλον, φρυγάνων τε ἄνωθεν ἐπιβληθέντων, χοῦ τε τῆς γῆς μετρίως ἐς αὐτὰ σωρευθέντος χειρὶ πολλῇ καὶ σπουδῇ.

[5] ἐφεστῶτος οὖν αὐτοῦ διαβὰς ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει. τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομήματα τῶν προαστείων ἔρημα εὕρισκον, ἀμπέλους μέντοι καὶ δένδρα πάντα ἐξέκοπτον, ἃ δὲ ἐνἐπίμπρασαν, καὶ τὴν πρότερον τοῖς χωρίοις ὑπάρχουσαν ὥραν κατήσχυνον. δένδρων γὰρ στοίχοις ἴσοις ἀμπέλων τε πρὸς ἀλλήλας δέσει πανταχόθεν ἡρτημένων ἐν ἐορτῇ σχήματι, στεφάνῳ ἂν τις τὴν χώραν κεκοσμηθῇ ἐτεκμήρατο· ἅπερ πάντα ῥιζόθεν ἐκκόψας [6] ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη ἠπείγετο. κεκμηκότες δὲ αὐτῷ προσβαλεῖν εὐθέως οὐκ ἔδοξε· μέιναντες δὲ ἔξω τοξεύματος καὶ διαιρεθέντες κατὰ λόχους καὶ φάλαγγας περὶ

πάν τὸ τεῖχος, ὥς ἐκάστοις κατὰ μέρος προστέτακτο, μιᾷ ἡμέρας ἀναπαυσάμενοι, τοῦ λοιποῦ εἶχοντο τῆς πολιορκίας.

μηχανάς τε οὖν παντοίας προσέφερον, καὶ τειχομαχοῦντες παντὶ σθένει οὐδὲν παρέλειπον εἶδος πολιορκίας.

[7] πολλῶν δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας γινομένων προσβολῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ὥσπερ σαγηνεύσαντος τὴν πόλιν, μετὰ πολλῆς βίας καὶ προθύμου μάχης τειχομαχοῦντες ἀντεῖχον οἱ Ἀκυλήσιοι, νεῶς μὲν καὶ οἰκίας ἀποκλείσαντες, πανδημεὶ δὲ ἅμα παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἄνωθεν «ἐξ» ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων ἀπομαχόμενοι. οὐδὲ τις οὕτως ἦν ἄχρηστος ἡλικία ὥς μὴ μετέχειν τῆς [8] ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος μάχης. τὰ μὲν γὰρ προάστεια, καὶ εἴ τι τῶν πυλῶν ἔξωθεν ἦν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου στρατοῦ κατέστραπτο, τῇ τε ξυλείᾳ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐς τὰς μηχανὰς κατεκέχρηντο. ἐβιάζοντο δὲ τοῦ τείχους κἂν μέρος τι καθελεῖν, ἵν' ἐπεισελθὼν ὁ στρατὸς πάντα τε διαρπάσῃ καὶ κατασκάψας τὴν πόλιν μηλόβοτον καὶ ἔρημον τὴν χώραν καταλίπῃ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ὁδὸν εὐπρεπῇ καὶ ἔνδοξον ἔσεσθαι, μὴ τῆς πρώτης ἐν Ἰταλία πόλεως ἀντιστάσης καθαιρεθείσης.

[9] ὑποσχέσεσσι τε οὖν δωρεῶν καὶ δεήσεων αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃν πεποιῇκει Καίσαρα, περιθέοντες ἵπποις ἐποχοῦμενοι, τὸν στρατὸν ἀνέπειθον λιπαροῦντες ἐς προθυμίαν τε ἐγείροντες. οἱ δὲ Ἀκυλήσιοι λίθοις τε ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν, καὶ κινῶντες θεῖω τε καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πίσσαν ἔλαιόν τε, κοίλοις σκεύεσιν ἐμβαλόντες λαβὰς ἐπιμήκεις ἔχουσι καὶ πυρώσαντες, ἅμα τῷ προσπελάζειν τοῖς τείχεσι τὸν στρατὸν κατεσκεδάννυσαν, καταχέοντες [10] ὄμβρου δίκην ὁμοθυμαδόν. φερομένη δὲ ἡ πίσσα σὺν οἷς προείρηται, δυομένη τε διὰ τῶν γεγυμνωμένων μερῶν τοῦ σώματος, ἐς πᾶν ἐχεῖτο, ὥστε τοὺς θώρακας αὐτοὺς πεπυρωμένους ἀπορρίπτειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὄπλα, ὧν ὁ σίδηρος ἐθερμαίνετο, τὰ τε ἐκ βυρσῶν τε καὶ ξύλων ἐφλέγετο καὶ συνεῖλκετο. ἦν γοῦν ἰδεῖν γεγυμνωμένους τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ σκύλων ὅσιν ὄπλα παρεῖχεν ἐρριμμένα, σοφία τέχνης ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀνδρεία μάχης περιηρημένα. ἔκ τε τοῦ τοιούτου ἀμπλειστον πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ τάς τε ὅψεις ἐπηρεοῦντο καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἠκρωτηριάζετο, τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εἴ τι γυμνὸν ἦν τοῦ σώματος. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς προσαγομέναις δᾶδας ἐπέβαλλον ὁμοίως πίσση καὶ ῥητίνῃ δεδευμένας ἐπὶ τε τῷ ἄκρῳ βελῶν ἀκίδας ἐχούσας· αἱ ἀναφθεῖσαι φερόμεναι, ἐμπαγεῖσαι ταῖς μηχαναῖς καὶ προσπεφυκυῖαι ῥαδίως αὐτὰς κατέφλεγον.

SECTION 5

[1] τῶν μὲν οὖν πρώτων ἡμερῶν ἀντίπαλός πως καὶ ἰσόρροπος ἔμενεν ἡ τύχη τῆς μάχης· χρόνου δὲ ἐγγενομένου ὃ τε στρατὸς τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ὀκνηρὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ παταίων τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀθύμως διέκειτο· οὓς γὰρ ἠλπίκεσαν μηδεμίαν ὑπομενεῖν προσβολήν, τούτους εὗρισκον οὐκ [2] ἀντέχοντας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθεστῶτας. οἱ δὲ Ἀκυλήσιοι ἐπερρώννυντο τε καὶ προθυμίας πάσης ἐνεπὶμπλαντο, τῇ τε συνεχείᾳ τῆς μάχης πεῖραν καὶ θάρσος ὁμοῦ προσλαμβάνοντες κατεφρόνουν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥς καὶ ἀποσκώπτειν ἐς αὐτούς, ἐνυβρίζειν τε τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ περινοστοῦντι, ἐς τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπορρίπτειν δυσφήμους καὶ αἰσχρὰς βλασφημίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκεῖνος κενούμενος [3] ὀργῆς μᾶλλον ἐνεπὶμπλατο. χρῆσθαι δὲ κατὰ τῶν πολέμιων οὐ δυνάμενος, ἐκόλαζε τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἡγουμένων τῶν ἰδίων στρατιωτῶν ὡς ἀνάνδρους καὶ ῥαθύμως προσφερομένους τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ περιεγένετο πρὸς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων μῖσός τε καὶ ὀργή, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων πλείων ἡ καταφρόνησις.

συνέβαινε δὲ τοῖς Ἀκυλησίοις πάντα ὑπάρχειν ἔκπλεα καὶ ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν, ἐκ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν πάντων σεσωρευμένων ὅσα ἦν ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήνεσιν ἐς τροφὰς καὶ ποτὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς πάντων «ἦν» ἐν σπάνει, τῶν τε καρποφόρων δένδρων [4] ἐκκεκομμένων καὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδηωμένης. μένοντες δὲ ὑπὸ σκηναῖς αὐτοσχεδίοις, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ὑπὸ γυμνῷ τῷ ἄερι, ὄμβρων τε καὶ ἡλίου ἠνείχοντο, λιμῷ τε διεφθείροντο, μηδὲ ἐπεισάκτου τροφῆς αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ὑποζυγίοις εἰσκομιζομένης. πανταχόθεν γὰρ τὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὺς παραφράζαντες ἦσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τειχίων [5] τε ἐγέρσει καὶ πυλίδων ἀσκήσεσιν. ἄνδρας τε ὑπατευκότας ἐξέπεμψεν ἡ σύγκλητος σὺν ἐπιλέκτοις καὶ λογάσιν ἀπ' Ἰταλίας πάσης ἀνδράσιν, ἵν' αἰγιαλοί τε πάντες καὶ λιμένες φρουρῶνται καὶ μηδενὶ ἔκπλους συγχωρῇται, ὥς ἄπυστα καὶ ἄγνωστα εἶναι Μαξιμίνῳ τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πραττόμενα· αἱ τε λεωφόροι ὁδοὶ καὶ ἀτραποὶ πᾶσαι ἐφυλάττοντο ὥς μηδένα διαβαίνειν. συνέβαινε δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δοκοῦντα πολιορκεῖν αὐτὸν πολιορκεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ μήτε τὴν Ἀκυληίαν ἐλεῖν ἐδύνατο, μήτε ἀποστάς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην χωρῆσαι διὰ τε νηῶν καὶ ὀχημάτων ἀπορίαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ προκατεῖληπτο καὶ συνεκέκλειστο.

[6] φῆμαι δὲ ἐξ ὑποψίας μείζους ἀληθείας διεδίδοντο, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅπλοις εἴη, Ἰταλία τε πᾶσα συμπεπνεύκοι, πάντα τε ἔθνη Ἰλλυρικὰ καὶ βάρβαρα τά τε ὑπ' ἀνατολαῖς καὶ μεσημβρίαῖς στρατὸν ἀγείρει,

μιᾷ τε γνώμῃ καὶ ψυχῇ ὁμοίως Μαξιμίνοσ μεμίσηται. ὅθεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει ἦσαν καὶ πάντων σπάνει [7] οἱ στρατιῶται, σχεδὸν καὶ ὕδατος αὐτοῦ. ὁ γὰρ ἦν μόνον ἐκ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ ποτόν, αἷματι καὶ φόνοις μεμιασμένον ἐπίνετο· οἱ τε γὰρ Ἀκυλήσιοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τελευτῶντας οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅπως θάψωσιν, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερρίπτουν, οἱ τε ἐν τῷ στρατῷ φονευόμενοι ἢ διαφθειρόμενοι νόσῳ ἐδίδοντο τῷ ρεύματι, οὐκ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν τὰ πρὸς ταφὰς ἐπιτήδεια.

[8] παντοδαπῆς οὖν ἀπορίας καὶ δυσθυμίας τὸν στρατὸν κατεχούσης, αἰφνιδίως ἀναπαυομένου τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ἀνέσει τοῦ πολέμου οὔσης, τῶν τε πλείστων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα τῆς φρουρᾶς χωρία ἀνακεχωρηκότων, ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει στρατόπεδον εἶχον ὑπὸ τὸ καλούμενον ὄρος Ἀλβανόν, ἔνθα παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καταλελοίπεσαν, φονεῦσαι τὸν Μαξιμῖνον, ὥς παύσαιντο μὲν χρονίου καὶ ἀπεράντου πολιορκίας, μηκέτι δὲ πορθοῖεν Ἰταλίαν ὑπὲρ τυράννου [9] κατεγνωσμένου καὶ μεμισημένου. τολμήσαντες οὖν ἐπίασι τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ περὶ μέσσην ἡμέραν, συναραμένων δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν φρουρούντων δορυφόρων τάς τε εἰκόνας ἐκ τῶν σημείων κατασπῶσι, καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ παιδὶ προελθόντα τῆς σκηνῆς, ὥς δὴ ἄρα διαλέξαιτο αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι ἀναιροῦσι. φονεύουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντα τε τοὺς ἐκείνῳ θυμῆρεις φίλους· ρίψαντές τε τὰ σώματα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ πατεῖν εἶασαν κυσί τε καὶ ὄρνισι βοράν. τοῦ δὲ Μαξιμίνου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν.

τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει <ὁ> Μαξιμῖνος καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ

SECTION 6

[1] ἐχρήσαντο, δίκας πονηρᾶς ἀρχῆς ὑποσχόντες· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς πᾶς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ γενόμενα, ἔν τε ἀφασίᾳ ἦσαν καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι τῷπραχθέντι πάντες ἠρέσκοντο, καὶ μάλιστά γε οἱ Παῖονες καὶ ὅσοι βάρβαροι Θρᾶκες, οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἐγκεχειρίκεσαν. πλὴν τοῦ ἔργου ἅπαξ γεγονότος ἄκοντες μὲν, ἔφερον δέ· ἀνάγκη τε ἦν [2] συνήδεσθαι τοῖςπραχθεῖσιν ὑποκρινομένους. καταθέμενοί τε τὰ ὅπλα ἐν εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι προσήεσαν τοῖς τείχεσι τοῖς Ἀκυλησίων, ἀγγέλλοντες τὸν φόνον τοῦ Μαξιμίνου· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἀνοίγειν ἠξίουں, δέχεσθαι τε φίλους τοὺς χθῆς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀκυλησίων στρατηγοὶ τὰς μὲν πύλας ἀνοῖζαι οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν, προθέντες δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας Μαξίμου καὶ Βαλβίνου Γορδιανοῦ τε Καίσαρος στεφάνοις καὶ δάφναις κεκοσμημένας αὐτοὶ τε εὐφήμουν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠξίουں γνωρίσαι καὶ ἀνειπεῖν εὐφημησαί τε τοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ συγκλήτου [3] ἀναδειχθέντας αὐτοκράτορας. Γορδιανούς δὲ ἔλεγον ἐκείνους ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ θεὸν ἀνακεχωρηκένοι. προύθεσάν τε ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν ἀγοράν, ὧνιον παρέχοντες πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τροφῶν τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ ποτῶν ἀφθονίαν, ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἐδύνατο παρέχειν ἐς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώποις [4] πόλεις εὐδαιμονοῦσα καὶ ἀκμάζουσα. ὅθεν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξεπλάγη ὁ στρατός, συνεῖς ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πάντα αὐτάρκη ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον πολιορκοῖντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν σπάνει πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων θᾶπτον <ἄν> διεφθάρησαν ἢ εἶλον πάντα ἔχουσιν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἔμενε περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἔχων τὰ χρειώδη, ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐλάμβανον, ὅσα ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο· διελέγοντό τε ἀλλήλοις. καὶ ἦν εἰρήνης μὲν καὶ φιλίας διάθεσις, σχῆμα δὲ ἔτι πολιορκίας, τῶν τειχῶν κεκλεισμένων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ διαιτωμένου.

[5] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀκυληίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς οἱ τὴν Μαξιμίνου κεφαλὴν κομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκυληίας μετὰ πάσης ἐπέιξεως ὠδοιπόρησάν τε, καὶ ἐπιφοιτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις <αἱ> πύλαι ἀνέωγνυντο, καὶ δαφνηφοροῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ δῆμοι ὑπεδέχοντο. ὡς δὲ διέπλευσαν τὰς τε λίμνας καὶ τὰ τενάγη <τὰ> μεταξύ Ἀλτίνου καὶ Ῥαβέννης, περιέτυχον Μαξίμῳ αὐτοκράτορι διατρίβοντι ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ, ἔνθα τοὺς τε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας λογάδας [6] ἤθροιζεν. ἀφῆκτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γερμανῶν οὐκ ὀλίγη συμμαχία, πεμφθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατ' εὐνοίαν ἦν εἶχον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν, ἐξ οὗπερ ἦν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἄρξας. παρασκευάζοντι οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν ὡς πολεμήσουσαν τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ

στρατῶ προσίασιν οἱ ἱππεῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ τε Μαξιμίνου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς φέροντες, νίκην τε καὶ εὐπραγίαν ἀγγέλλοντες, ὅτι τε ἄρα ὁ στρατὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖ, καὶ σέβει αὐτοκράτορας οὓς ἡ [7] σύγκλητος ἐποίησε. τούτων δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀγγελθέντων θυσίαι τε βωμοῖς εὐθὺς προσήγοντο, καὶ νίκην ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες ἦν ἀκονιτὶ ἐνίκησαν· ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος καλλιερήσας ἐκπέμπει τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγγελοῦντάς τε τὰ πραχθέντα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κομιοῦντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰσέπεσόν τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν δεικνύντες τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ πολεμίου ἀνεσκολοπισμένην, ὡς πᾶσι περίοπτος εἶη, οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἔστι [8] λόγῳ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν ἑορτήν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡλικία τις ἦν ἢ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἡπείγετο, οὔτε τις ἔμενεν οἴκοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες ἐφέροντο συνηδόμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον συνθέοντες ὥσπερ ἐκκλησιάζοντες «ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ» χωρίῳ. ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκατόμβας ἔθυνεν, ἀρχαί τε πᾶσαι καὶ σύγκλητος, ἕκαστός τε ὥσπερ ἀποσεισάμενος πέλεκυν τοῖς αὐχέσιν ἐπικείμενον ὑπερευφραίνοντο· ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκες δαφνηφόροι διεπέμποντο.

SECTION 7

[1] καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην [έορτῆς] εἶχεν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥαβέννης ἀπάρας ἐπέστη Ἀκυληία, διαβὰς τὰ τενάγη, ἃ ὑπὸ τε Ἡριδανοῦ ποταμοῦ πληρούμενα καὶ τῶν περικειμένων ἐλῶν ἐπτά στόμασιν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκχεῖται· ἔνθεν καὶ τῇ ... φωνῇ καλοῦσιν οἱ [2] ἐπιχώριοι Ἑπτά πελάγη τὴν λίμνην ἐκείνην. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ Ἀκυλήσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ὑπεδέχοντο, αἶτε [ἀπὸ] Ἰταλίας πόλεις πρεσβείας ἔπεμπον τῶν πρωτεύοντων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν, οἱ λευχειμονοῦντες καὶ δαφνηφόροι θεῶν πατρίων ἕκαστοι προσεκόμιζον ἀγάλματα καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν στέφανοι χρυσοῦ ἐξ ἀναθημάτων, εὐφήμουν τε καὶ ἐφυλλοβόλουν τὸν Μάξιμον. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τὴν Ἀκυληίαν πολιορκήσας προῆει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι δαφνηφόρος, οὐκ ἐξ ἀληθοῦς μὲν διαθέσεως πᾶς, προσποιήτῳ δὲ εὐνοία καὶ τιμῇ διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν [3] ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῆς βασιλείας τύχην. οἱ πλεῖστοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡγανάκτουν καὶ λανθανόντως ἤλγουν «ὀρῶντες» τὸν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεχθέντα βασιλέα καθηρημένον, κρατοῦντας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ συγκλήτου ἡρημένους. ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος ἐν τῇ Ἀκυληίᾳ γενόμενος πρώτης μὲν καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ἱερουργίας ἐσχόλαζε, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν συγκαλέσας ἐς τὸ πεδῖον πάντα τὸν στρατόν, βήματός τε αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντος, ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·

[4] ὅσον μὲν ὑμᾶς ὤνησε μεταγνόντας τε καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονήσαντας, πείρα μεμαθήκατε, ἀντὶ πολέμου μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχοντες, πρὸς «δὲ» θεοὺς οὕς ὁμωμόκατε, [καὶ] νῦν φυλάσσοντες τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, ὅς ἐστι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς σεμνὸν μυστήριον. χρὴ δ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ διὰ παντὸς τούτων ἀπολαύειν, τὰ πιστὰ τηροῦντας Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ συγκλήτῳ καὶ αὐτοκράτορσιν ἡμῖν, οὕς ἐξ εὐγενείας καὶ πολλῶν πράξεων [καὶ] μακρὰς διαδοχῆς ὥσπερ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀναβάντας [5] κρίναντες ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπελέξαντο. οὐ γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἴδιον κτῆμα ἡ ἀρχή, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ἵδρυται τύχη· ἡμεῖς δὲ διοικεῖν καὶ διέπειν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς σὺν ὑμῖν ἐγκεχειρίσμεθα. ταῦτα δὲ μετ' εὐταξίας τε καὶ κόσμου τοῦ πρέποντος, αἰδοῦς τε καὶ τιμῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὑμῖν μὲν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πάντων ἀνενδεῆ παρέξει βίον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις εἰρήνην καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους πειθῶ. βιώσεσθαι τε ... καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις, οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοδαπῇ κακοπαθοῦντες.

[6] ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα ἡσυχάζειν ἔθνη, διὰ φροντίδος ἡμεῖς

ἔξομεν. δύο μὲν γὰρ ὄντων βασιλέων εὐμαρέστερον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διοικῆσεται καὶ εἴ τι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἐπείγοι, πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀεὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὰ καλοῦντα ῥαδίως παρόντος. μηδὲ τις ὑμῶν οἰέσθω τῶν πεπραγμένων εἶναι τινα μνήμην, εἴτε ὑφ' ἡμῶν (ἐκελεύεσθε γὰρ) εἴτε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, οἱ ἀδικούμενοι ἀπέστησαν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔστω πάντων ἀμνηστία, καὶ σπονδαὶ φιλίας βεβαίου, εὐνοίας τε καὶ εὐκοσμίας πίστις αἰώνιος.

[7] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Μάξιμος, νομάς τε χρημάτων μεγαλοφρόνως αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγείλας, ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν διατρίψας ἐν τῇ Ἀκυληίᾳ τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπάνοδον συγκροτεῖ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στρατιωτικὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα στρατόπεδα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν τε τοῖς δορυφόροις, οἱ τὴν βασιλείον φρουροῦσιν αὐλήν, σὺν τε τοῖς ὑπὸ Βαλβίνῳ στρατευομένοις.

[8] ἐπανῆλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Γερμανίας ἐληλυθότες σύμμαχοι· ἐθάρσει γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἅτε καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιεικῶς πρότερον ἄρξας, ὅτε ιδιώτευν. εἰσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὃ τε Βαλβίνος ὑπῆντετο, ἐπαγόμενος Γορδιανὸν Καίσαρα, ἥ τε σύγκλητος καὶ ὁ δῆμος εὐφημοῦντες ὥσπερ θριαμβεύοντα ὑπεδέχοντο.

SECTION 8

[1] ἦρχον δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας τε καὶ εὐταξίας, ἰδία τε καὶ δημοσία πανταχοῦ εὐφημούμενοι· ἔχαιρέ τε ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς, σεμνυνόμενος εὐπατρίδαις καὶ ἀξίοις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοκράτορσιν. οἱ μέντοι στρατιῶται διοίδαινον τὰς ψυχάς, καὶ οὔτε ταῖς εὐφημίαις τοῦ δήμου ἠρέσκοντο, ἐβαροῦντό τε αὐτῶν αὐτὴν τὴν εὐγένειαν, καὶ ἡγανάκτουν ὅτι ἄρα ἔχοιεν ἐκ [2] συγκλήτου βασιλέας. ἐλύπουν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ Γερμανοὶ παρόντες τῷ Μαξίμῳ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντες· ἀντιπάλους γὰρ ἔξιν ἡλπίζον, εἴ τι τολμῶεν, καὶ ἐφεδρεῦειν αὐτοῖς ὑπόπτειον, εἴ τιτι δόλω ἀποζωσθεῖεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἅτε παρόντες ῥαδίως ὑποκατασταῖεν· τό τε Σεβήρου ὑπόδειγμα, ὃς τοὺς Περτίνακα ἀποκτείναντας ἀπέζωσεν, εἰσῆι αὐτούς.

[3] ἐπιτελουμένου δὲ ἀγῶνος τοῦ τῶν Καπετωλίων, πάντων τε περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τὰς θεὰς ἀσχολουμένων, αἰφνιδίως ἦν εἶχον γνώμην λανθάνουσαν ἐξέφηναν, καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ μὴ κρατήσαντες, ὁρμῇ δὲ ἀλόγῳ χρησάμενοι, ἀνῆλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐς τὰ βασιλεια, τοῖς τε πρεσβύταις [4] βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεισῆλθον. συνέβαινε δὲ κάκείνους μὴ πάνυ τι ἀλλήλοις ὁμονοεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷα περ μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ ἀκοινώνητον ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις «εἶωθε ποιεῖν,» ἕκαστος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν δύναμιν ἀνθεῖλκεν, ὁ μὲν Βαλβίνος κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ διτλὴν προάγουσαν ὑπατείαν πρωτεύειν ἀξίων, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος διὰ τε τὸ ἑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι καὶ ἔχειν ὑπολήψεις ἐμπειρίας πραγμάτων· ἐκατέρωθεν τε εὐγενεῖς καὶ εὐπατρίδαι καὶ γένους πλῆθος αὐταρκες ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν [5] μοναρχίας ἔπειθεν. ὅπερ αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα γέγονεν ἀπωλείας αἴτιον. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθετο ὁ Μάξιμος ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ αὐτῶν τοὺς πραιτωριανοὺς καλουμένους, ἐβούλετο μεταπέμψασθαι τοὺς Γερμανοὺς συμμάχους, ὄντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, αὐτάρκεις ἐσομένους ἀντιστῆναι τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν. ὁ δὲ Βαλβίνος οἰόμενος δόλον τινὰ εἶναι καθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σόφισμα (ἦδει γὰρ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς τῷ Μαξίμῳ εὐνοοῦντας) ἐκώλυε, φάσκων οὐκ ἐς κωλύμην οὐδ' ἐς ἀντίστασιν αὐτοὺς τῶν πραιτωριανῶν ἀφίξεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ περιποιῆσαι τῷ Μαξίμῳ τὴν [6] μοναρχίαν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ τούτων διαφέρονται, εἰσδραμόντες οἱ στρατιῶται ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες, ἐκστάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ τὰς αὐλείους εἰσόδους φυλασσόντων, ἀρπάζουσι τοὺς πρεσβύτας, περιρρήξαντες δὲ ἃς εἶχον περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐσθῆτας λιτὰς ἅτ' οἴκοι διατρίβοντες, γυμνοὺς τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς ἐξέλκουσι μετὰ πάσης αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ὕβρεως· παίοντές τε καὶ ἀποσκώπτοντες τοὺς ἀπὸ συγκλήτου

βασιλέας, γενείων τε καὶ ὀφρύων σπαραγμοῖς καὶ πάσαις τοῦ σώματος λώβαις ἐμπαροινούντες, διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆγον, οὐ θελήσαντες οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποκτεῖναι ἀλλὰ ζῶσιν ἐνυβρίσαι, ἵν' ἐπὶ πλέον ὦν πάσχουσιν [7] αἰσθοῖντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι οἱ Γερμανοί, λαβόντες ὄπλα, ἠπεύγοντο ὡς ἀμυνοῦντες αὐτοῖς, μαθόντες οἱ πραιτωριανοὶ ἀφικνουμένους φονεύουσιν ἤδη πᾶν τὸ σῶμα λελωβημένους τοὺς βασιλέας. καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰ σώματα ἐρριμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς λεωφόρου, ἀράμενοι δὲ τὸν Γορδιανὸν Καίσαρα ὄντα, αὐτοκράτορά τε ἀναγορεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἄλλον οὐχ εὔρον, βοῶντές τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι ἄρα εἴησαν ἀπεκτονότες οὓς ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἄρξαι, Γορδιανόν τε ἐπελέξαντο ἐκείνου τε ἀπόγονον καὶ ὃν αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξεβιάσαντο, ἔχοντες αὐτὸν ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας ἡσύχαζον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ μαθόντες ἀνηρημένους τε καὶ ἐρριμμένους ὦν χάριν ἠπεύγοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι πόλεμον μάταιον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν τεθνηκότων, ἐπανῆλθον, ἐς τὸ ἑαυτῶν καταγώγιον.

[8] τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ἐχρήσαντο ἀναξίῳ τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνοσίῳ σεμνοὶ καὶ λόγου ἄξιον πρεσβῦται, εὐγενεῖς τε καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐληλυθότες· ὁ δὲ Γορδιανὸς περὶ ἔτη που γεγονὼς τρισκαίδεκα αὐτοκράτωρ τε ἀνεδείχθη καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνεδέξατο.

The Dual Text



The forum at Rome — Herodian spent a considerable period of time living in Rome.

Dual Greek and English Text



Translated by Edward C. Echols

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Herodian's *Roman History*, alternating between the original Greek and Echols' English translation.

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BOOK I

SECTION 1

[1] Οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν περὶ συγκομιδὴν ἱστορίας ἀσχοληθέντων ἔργων τε πάλαι γεγονότων μνήμην ἀνανεώσασθαι σπουδασάντων, παιδείας κλέος αἰδίων μνώμενοι, ὥς ἂν μὴ σιωπήσαντες λάθοιεν ἐς τὸν πολλὸν ὄμιλον ἀριθμούμενοι, τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας ἐν ταῖς ἀφηγήσεσιν ὀλιγόρησαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐπεμελήθησαν φράσεως τε καὶ εὐφωνίας, θαρροῦντες, ὥς εἴ τι καὶ μυθῶδες λέγοιεν, τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ τῆς ἀκροάσεως αὐτοὶ καρπώσονται, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς τῆς

[1] THE majority of writers who have devoted themselves to compiling histories and to reviving the memory of past events have had in mind the eternal glory of learning. They feared too that if they remained silent they might be numbered among the countless hordes of the obscure. Such writers are little concerned with truth in their narratives, however, but pay particular attention to phrasing and euphony, since they are confident that even if their writings have no basis in fact, they will still win a hearing, and the accuracy of their research will not be challenged.

[2] ἐξετάσεως οὐκ ἐλεγχθήσεται. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ μῖσος τυράννων, κολακείαν τε ἢ τιμὴν βασιλέων πόλεώς τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν, εὐτελεῖ καὶ μικρὰ ἔργα λόγων ἀρετῇ δόξῃ

[2] Indeed, some writers, because they abhor tyrants and wish to flatter or honor rulers, countries, and individuals, have lent sparkle to trivial and unimportant events by the brilliance of their words rather than by the clear light of truth.

[3] παρέδωκαν τῆς ἀληθείας μείζονι. ἐγὼ δ' ἱστορίαν οὐ παρ' ἄλλων παραδεξάμενος ἄγνωστόν τε καὶ ἀμάρτυρον, ὑπὸ νεαρᾷ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἐντευζομένων μνήμῃ, μετὰ πάσης [ἀληθοῦς] ἀκριβείας ἡθροισα ἐς συγγραφὴν, οὐκ ἀτερπὴ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκίμας ἔργων

[3] Unwilling to accept from others hearsay evidence and unsubstantiated information, I have collected, in my history, material that is still fresh in the minds of my intended readers; nor do I think that knowledge of the many important events that occurred in a brief span of time will fail to bring pleasure to future readers.

[4] μεγάλων τε καὶ πολλῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ γενομένων. εἰ γοῦν τις παραβάλῃ πάντα τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ χρόνον, ἐξ οὗπερ ἡ Ῥωμαίων δυναστεία μετέπεσεν ἐς μοναρχίαν, οὐκ ἂν εὗροι ἐν ἔτεσι περί που διακοσίῳς μέχρι τῶν Μάρκου καιρῶν οὔτε βασιλειῶν οὕτως ἐπαλλήλους διαδοχὰς οὔτε πολέμων ἐμφυλίων τε καὶ ξένων τύχας ποικίλας ἐθνῶν τε κινήσεις καὶ πόλεων ἀλώσεις τῶν τε ἐν τῇ ἡμέδαπῃ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς βαρβάροις, γῆς τε σεισμοὺς καὶ ἀέρων φθορὰς τυράννων τε καὶ βασιλέων βίους παραδόξους πρότερον ἢ σπανίως ἢ μὴδ' ὅλως μνημονευθέντας·

[4] If we were to compare this period with all the time that has elapsed since the Augustan Age, when the Roman Republic became an aristocracy, we would not find, in that span of almost two hundred years down to the time of Marcus Aurelius, imperial successions following so closely; the varied fortunes of war, both civil and foreign; the national uprisings and destructions of cities, both in the empire and in many barbarian lands. We would not find the earthquakes, the pollutions of the air, or the incredible careers of tyrants and emperors.

[5] ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐπιμηκεστέραν ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δὲ πρόσκαιρον τὴν δυναστείαν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μέχρι προσηγορίας καὶ τιμῆς ἐφημέρου μόνης ἐλθόντες εὐθέως κατελύθησαν. μερισθεῖσα γὰρ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐξήκοντα ἐς πλείους δυνάστας ἢ ὁ χρόνος ἀπῆτει, πολλὰ καὶ

[5] Some of these rulers retained their power for a long time; others more briefly. There were even some who, having attained the imperial power and enjoyed the imperial honors for no more than a single day, were immediately killed. Since, in a period of sixty years, the Roman imperial power was held by more emperors than would seem possible in so short a time, many strange and wonderful events took place.

[6] ποικίλα ἦνεγκε καὶ θαύματος ἄξια. τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν πρεσβύτεροι διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελέστερον ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἥρξαν, οἱ δὲ κομιδῇ νέοι ῥαθυμότερον βιώσαντες πολλὰ ἐκαινοτόμησαν· διόπερ εἰκότως ἐν ἡλικίαις τε καὶ ἐξουσίαις διαφόροις οὐχ ὅμοια γέγονε τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα. ὥς δ' ἕκαστα τούτων πέπρακται, κατὰ χρόνους καὶ δυναστείας διηγῆσομαι.

[6] The emperors who were advanced in years governed themselves and their

subjects commendably, because of their greater practical experience, but the younger emperors lived recklessly and introduced many innovations. As might have been expected, the disparities in age and authority inevitably resulted in variations in imperial behavior. How each of these events occurred, I shall now relate in detail, in order of time and emperors.

SECTION 2

[1] τῷ βασιλεύοντι Μάρκῳ θυγατέρες μὲν ἐγένοντο πλείους, ἄρρενες δὲ δύο. τῶν δὲ ἀρρένων τούτων ὁ μὲν ἕτερος κομιδῇ νέος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε (Βηρίσσιμος δ' ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), τὸν δὲ περιόντα Κόμοδόν τε καλούμενον ὁ πατὴρ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀνεθρέψατο, πάντοθεν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ λόγους δοκιμωτάτους ἐπὶ συντάξουσιν

[1] THE emperor Marcus Aurelius had a number of daughters but only two sons. One of them (his name was Verissimus) died very young; the surviving son, Commodus, his father reared with great care, summoning to Rome from all over the empire men renowned for learning in their own countries.

[2] οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτοις καλῶν, ὅπως συνόντες αἰεὶ παιδεύουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν υἱόν. τάς τε θυγατέρας ἐν ὥρᾳ γενομένας ἐξέδοτο ἀνδράσι τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοῖς ἀρίστοις, οὐ τοὺς γένους μακραῖς διαδοχαῖς εὐπατρίδας οὐδὲ τοὺς πλούτου περιβολαῖς λαμπροῦς, κοσμίους δὲ τὸν τρόπον καὶ σώφρονας τὸν βίον γαμβροὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι θέλων· ταῦτα γὰρ μόνᾳ ψυχῇ ἴδια καὶ ἀναφαίρετα ἡγεῖτο κτήματα.

[2] He paid these scholars large fees to live in Rome and supervise his son's education. When his daughters came of age, he married them to the most distinguished of the senators, selecting his sons-in-law not from the aristocrats, with their excessive pride in their ancestry, nor from the wealthy, with their protective shield of riches; he preferred men who were modest in manner and moderate in their way of life, for he considered these virtues to be the only fit and enduring possessions of the soul.

[3] ἀρετῆς δὲ πάσης ἔμελεν αὐτῷ, λόγων τε ἀρχαιότητος ἣν ἐραστῆς, ὥς μηδενὸς μήτε Ῥωμαίων μήτε Ἑλλήνων ἀπολείπεσθαι· δηλοῖ δὲ ὅσα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦλθεν ἢ λεχθέντα

[3] He was concerned with all aspects of excellence, and in his love of ancient literature he was second to no man, Roman or Greek; this is evident from all his sayings and writings which have come down to us.

[4] πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἢ γραφέντα. παρεῖχε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιεικῇ καὶ μέτριον βασιλέα, τοὺς τε προσιόντας δεξιούμενος καλύων τε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν δορυφόρους ἀποσοβεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. μόνος τε βασιλέων φιλοσοφίαν

οὐ λόγοις οὐδὲ δογματῶν γνώσεσι, σεμνῶ δ' ἦθει καὶ σώφρονι βίῳ ἐπιστώσατο. πολὺ τε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἤνεγκε τῶν ἐκείνου καιρῶν ἡ φορά· φιλεῖ γάρ πως αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ζήλω τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος γνώμης βιοῦν.

[4] To his subjects he revealed himself as a mild and moderate emperor; he gave audience to those who asked for it and forbade his bodyguard to drive off those who happened to meet him. Alone of the emperors, he gave proof of his learning not by mere words or knowledge of philosophical doctrines but by his blameless character and temperate way of life. His reign thus produced a very large number of intelligent men, for subjects like to imitate the example set by their ruler.

[5] ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκείνῳ πέπρακται ἀνδρεῖα καὶ σώφρονα, στρατηγικὴν ἢ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα, πρὸς τε τοὺς τὰ ἀρκτῶα τῆς γῆς [ἔθνη βάρβαρα] κατοικοῦντας πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ποιουμένους τὸν βίον, πολλοῖς καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι συγγέγραπται. ἃ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου τελευτὴν παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον εἰδόν τε καὶ ἤκουσα - ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ πείρα μετέσχον ἐν βασιλικαῖς ἢ δημοσίαις ὑπηρεσίαις γενόμενος - ταῦτα συνέγραψα.

[5] Many capable men have already recorded the courageous and moderate enterprises, marked by both political and military excellence, which he undertook against the barbarian nations to the North and in the East; but the events which, after the death of Marcus, I saw and heard in my lifetime — things of which I had personal experience in my imperial or civil service — these I have recorded.

SECTION 3

[1] γηραιὸν ὄντα Μάρκον, καὶ μὴ μόνον ὑφ' ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ καμάτοις τε καὶ φροντίσι τετρυχωμένον διατρίβοντά τε ἐν Παίοσι νόσος χαλεπὴ καταλαμβάνει. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἐλπίδας φαύλως ἔχειν ὑπώπτευν, ἑώρα τε τὸν παῖδα τῆς μεираκίων ἡλικίας ἀρχόμενον ἐπιβαίνειν, δεδιὼς μὴ νεότης ἀκμάζουσα καὶ ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ ἐξουσίαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀκώλυτον προσλαβοῦσα μαθημάτων μὲν καλῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀφηνιάσῃ, μέθαις δὲ καὶ κραιπάλαις ἐπιδῶ ἑαυτήν (ῥᾶστα γὰρ αἱ τῶν νέων ψυχαὶ ἐς ἡδονὰς ἐξολισθαίνουσαι ἀπὸ

[1] WHEN Marcus was an old man, exhausted not only by age but also by labors and cares, he suffered a serious illness while visiting the Pannonians. When the emperor suspected that there was little hope of his recovery, and realized that his son would become emperor while still very young, he was afraid that the undisciplined youth, deprived of parental advice, might neglect his excellent studies and good habits and turn to drinking and debauchery (for the minds of the young, prone to pleasures, are turned very easily from the virtues of education) when he had absolute and unrestrained power.

[2] τῶν παιδείας καλῶν μετοχετεύονται), οἷα δὲ ἄνδρα πολυίστορα μάλιστα ἐτάραττε μνήμη τῶν ἐν νεότητι βασιλείαν παραλαβόντων, τοῦτο μὲν Διονυσίου τοῦ Σικελιώτου τυράννου, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἀκρασίας καινὰς ἡδονὰς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις μισθοῖς ἐθηρᾶτο, τοῦτο δὲ αἱ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὕβρεις τε καὶ

[2] This learned man was disturbed also by the memory of those who had become sole rulers in their youth. The Sicilian despot Dionysus, in his excessive licentiousness, had sought out new pleasures and paid the highest prices for them. The arrogance and violence of Alexander's successors against their subject peoples had brought disgrace upon his empire.

[3] βίαι, δι' ὧν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρχὴν κατήσχυαν, Πτολεμαῖος μὲν καὶ μέχρις ἀδελφῆς γνησίας ἔρωτος προχωρήσας παρὰ [τε] τοὺς Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἑλλήνων νόμους, Ἀντίγονος δὲ Διόνυσον πάντα μιμούμενος καὶ κισσὸν μὲν περιτιθεὶς τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀντὶ καυσίας καὶ διαδήματος Μακεδονικοῦ,

[3] Ptolemy, too, contrary to the laws of the Macedonians and Greeks, went so

far as to marry his own sister. Antigonus had imitated Dionysus in every way, even wearing a crown of ivy instead of the Macedonian hat or the diadem, and carrying the thyrsus instead of a scepter.

[4] θύρσον δὲ ἀντὶ σκῆπτρου φέρων· ἔτι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐλύπει τὰ μὴ πρὸ πολλοῦ <γενόμενα> ἀλλ' ὑπόγυον ἔχοντα τὴν μνήμην, τὰ τε Νέρωνι πεπραγμένα ὧς ἐχώρησε μέχρι μητρῶου φόνου παρεῖχε τε τοῖς δήμοις ἑαυτὸν καταγέλαστον θέαμα, τὰ τε Δομετιανῷ τετολμημένα,

[4] Marcus was even more distressed when he recalled events of recent date. Nero had capped his crimes by murdering his mother and had made himself ridiculous in the eyes of the people. The exploits of Domitian, as well, were marked by excessive savagery.

[5] τῆς ἐσχάτης ὀμότητος οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντα. τοιαύτας δὴ τυραννίδος εἰκόνας ὑποτυπούμενος ἐδεδίδει τε καὶ ἥλιπεν οὐ μετρίως δ' αὐτὸν ἐταράττον καὶ οἱ Γερμανοὶ γεινιῶντες, οὓς οὐδέπω πάντας ἐκεχείρωτο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πειθοῖ ἐς συμμαχίαν προσηγάγετο, τῶν δὲ καὶ κρατήσας ἦν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἧσαν δέ τινες οἱ διαδράντες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν δέει τῆς παρουσίας τοιούτου βασιλέως. ὑπόπτειν οὖν, μὴ τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ μειρακίου καταφρονήσαντες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτῷ. ἐρᾷ δὲ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τυχούσαις ἀφορμαῖς ῥᾶστα κινεῖσθαι.

[5] When he recalled such spectacles of despotism as these, he was apprehensive and anticipated evil events. Then, too, the Germans on the border gave him much cause for anxiety. He had not yet forced all these tribes to submit; some he had won to an alliance by persuasion; others he had conquered by force of arms. There were some who, although they had broken their pact with him, had returned to the alliance temporarily because of the fear occasioned by the presence of so great an emperor. He suspected that, contemptuous of his son's youth, they would launch an assault upon him; for the barbarian is ever eager to revolt on any pretext.

SECTION 4

[1] κυμαίνουσιν οὖν ἔχων τοσαύταις φροντίσι τὴν ψυχὴν, συγκαλέσας τε τοὺς φίλους ὅσοι τε παρῆσαν τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα παραστησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ πάντες συνῆλθον, ἡσυχῇ τοῦ σκίμποδος κουφίσας ἑαυτὸν τοιούτων λόγων ἤρξατο·

[1] TROUBLED by these thoughts, Marcus summoned his friends and kinsmen. Placing his son beside him and raising himself up a little on his couch, he began to speak to them as follows:

[2] ἄχθεσθαι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐφ' οἷς ὁρᾷτέ με διακείμενον, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· φύσει τε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐλεεινὸν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμφοραῖς, τά τε δεινὰ ὑπ' ὅσιν πεσόντα οἶκτον προκαλεῖται μείζονα. ἐμοὶ δέ τι καὶ πλέον ὑπάρχειν παρ' ὑμῶν οἶομαι· ἐκ γὰρ ὧν αὐτὸς διάκειμαι

[2] “That you are distressed to see me in this condition is hardly surprising. It is natural for men to pity the sufferings of their fellow men, and the misfortunes that occur before their very eyes arouse even greater compassion. I think, however, that an even stronger bond of affection exists between you and me; in return for the favors I have done you, I have a reasonable right to expect your reciprocal good will.

[3] πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀμοιβαίαν εὐνοίαν εἰκότως ἤλπικα. νῦν δὲ καιρὸς εὐκαιρὸς ἐμοί τε αἰσθῆσθαι μὴ μάτην ἐς ὑμᾶς τοσούτου χρόνου τιμὴν τε καὶ σπουδὴν κατατεθεῖσθαι, ὑμῖν τε ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, δείξασιν ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτύχετε οὐκ ἀμνημονεῖτε. ὁρᾷτε δὴ μοι τὸν υἱὸν ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀνεθρέψασθε, ἄρτι τῆς μεираκίων ἡλικίας ἐπιβαίνοντα καὶ δεόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ζάλῃ τῶν κυβερνησόντων, μὴ ποι φερόμενος ὑπ' ἀτελοῦς τῆς τῶν δεόντων

[3] And now is the proper time for me to discover that not in vain have I showered honor and esteem upon you for so long, and for you to return the favor by showing that you are not unmindful of the benefits you have received from me. Here is my son, whom you yourselves have educated, approaching the prime of youth and, as it were, in need of pilots for the stormy seas ahead. I fear that he, tossed to and fro by his lack of knowledge of what he needs to know, may be dashed to pieces on the rocks of evil practices.

[4] ἐμπειρίας ἐς φαῦλα ἐπιτηδεύματα προσαραχθῇ. γένεσθε δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ὑμεῖς

ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἐμοῦ πατέρες πολλοί, περιέποντές τε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλευόντες. οὔτε γὰρ χρημάτων πλῆθος οὐδὲν αὐταρκες πρὸς τυραννίδος ἀκρασίαν, οὔτε δυρυφόρων φρουρὰ ἱκανὴ ρύεσθαι τὸν

[4] You, therefore, together take my place as his father, looking after him and giving him wise counsel. No amount of money is large enough to compensate for a tyrant's excesses, nor is the protection of his bodyguards enough to shield the ruler who does not possess the good will of his subjects.

[5] ἄρχοντα, εἰ μὴ προσυπάρχοι ἡ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοία. μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς ἀρχῆς μῆκος ἀκινδύνως ἤλασαν, ὅσοι μὴ φόβον ἐξ ὠμότητος, πόθον δὲ <ἐκ> τῆς αὐτῶν χρηστότητος ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς ἐνέσταξαν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δουλεύοντες ἀλλ' οἱ μετὰ πειθοῦς ὑπακούοντες ἀνύποπτα καὶ ἔξω κολακείας προσποιήτου δρῶντές τε καὶ πάσχοντες διατελοῦσι καὶ οὐδέ ποτε ἀφηνιάζουσιν,

[5] The ruler who implants in the hearts of his subjects not fear resulting from cruelty, but love occasioned by kindness, is most likely to complete his reign safely. For it is not those who submit from necessity but those who are persuaded to obedience who continue to serve and to suffer without suspicion and without pretense of flattery. And they never rebel unless they are driven to it by violence and arrogance.

[6] ἦν μὴ βία καὶ ὕβρει ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀχθῶσι. χαλεπὸν δὲ μετριάσαι τε καὶ ὄρον ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπιθυμίαις ὑπηρετούσης ἐξουσίας. τοιαῦτα δὴ συμβουλευόντες αὐτῷ, καὶ ὧν ἀκούει παρὼν ὑπομιμνήσκοντες, ὑμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον ἀποδείξετε βασιλέα, τῇ τε ἐμῇ μνήμῃ χαριεῖσθε τὰ μέγιστα, οὕτω τε μόνως αἰδίων αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι δυνήσεσθε.

[6] When a man holds absolute power, it is difficult for him to control his desires. But if you give my son proper advice in such matters and constantly remind him of what he has heard here, you will make him the best of emperors for yourselves and for all, and you will be paying the greatest tribute to my memory. Only in this way can you make my memory immortal."

[7] τοσαῦτα εἰπόντα τὸν Μάρκον ἐπιτεσοῦσα λιποθυμία κατεσίγασεν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀσθενείας τε καὶ ἀθυμίας αὐθις ὑπτίαζεν. οἶκτος δὲ πάντας ἐλάμβανε τοὺς παρόντας, ὥς μὴδὲ κατασχόντας αὐτῶν τινὰς ἐς οἰμωγὴν ἀναβοῆσαι. ὁ μὲν

οὖν νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπιβιώσας μιᾶς ἀνεπαύσατο, πόθον τε τοῖς καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐγκαταλιπὼν

[7] At this point Marcus suffered a severe fainting spell and sank back on his couch, exhausted by weakness and worry. All who were present pitied him, and some cried out in their grief, unable to control themselves. After living another night and day, Marcus died, leaving to men of his own time a legacy of regret; to future ages, an eternal memorial of excellence.

[8] ἀρετῆς τε αἰδίων μνήμην ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον αἰῶνα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Μάρκου, ἐπειδὴ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη, πᾶν τε τὸ παρὸν στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τὸ δημῶδες πλῆθος ὁμοίως πένθει κατείχετο, οὐδέ τις ἦν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὃς ἀδακρυτὶ τοιαύτην ἀγγελίαν ἐδέχετο. πάντες δ’ ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς φωνῆς, οἱ μὲν πατέρα χρηστόν, οἱ δ’ ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα, γενναῖον δὲ ἕτεροι στρατηγόν, οἱ δὲ σώφρονα καὶ κόσμιον ἄρχοντα ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐψεύδετο.

[8] When the news of his death was made public, the whole army in Pannonia and the common people as well were grief-stricken; indeed, no one in the Roman empire received the report without weeping. All cried out in a swelling chorus, calling him “Kind Father,” “Noble Emperor,” “Brave General,” and “Wise, Moderate Ruler,” and every man spoke the truth.

SECTION 5

[1] ὀλίγων δὲ διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν ὅσαις περὶ τὴν κηδεῖαν τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἀπησχόλουν, ἔδοξε τοῖς φίλοις προαγαγεῖν τὸ μειράκιον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥς ἂν διαλεχθεῖη τε τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ χρήματα δωρησάμενος, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς βασιλείαν διαδεχομένοις, μεγαλόφρονι

[1] DURING the next few days Commodus' advisers kept him busy with his father's funeral rites; then they thought it advisable to bring the youth into the camp to address the troops and, by distributing money to them — the usual practice of those who succeed to the throne — to win the support of the army.

[2] ἐπιδόσει οἰκειώσεται τὸ στράτευμα. παρηγγέλθη τε δὴ πᾶσιν ἔλθεῖν εἰς τὸ εἰωθὸς πεδῖον αὐτοῦς ὑποδέχεσθαι. προελθὼν δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος τάς τε βασιλείους θυσίας ἐπετέλει, καὶ βήματος αὐτῷ ἐς ὕψος ἀρθέντος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνελθὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ περιστησάμενος τοὺς πατρώους φίλους (πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ λόγιοι παρήσαν αὐτῷ) ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·

[2] Accordingly, all the soldiers were ordered to proceed to the assembly field to welcome them. After performing the imperial sacrifices, Commodus, surrounded by the advisers appointed by his father (and there were many learned men among them), mounted the high platform erected for him in the middle of the camp and spoke as follows:

[3] κοινὴν εἶναι μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καταλαβοῦσιν ἀλγηδόνα καὶ μηδέν τι ἦττον ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δυσφορεῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἀκριβῶς πέπεικα. οὐδὲ γὰρ περιόντος μοι τοῦ πατρὸς πλεονεκτεῖν ὑμῶν ἡξίουں. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς ὥς ἕνα ἠγάπα. ἔχαιρε γοῦν μᾶλλον συστρατιώτην με ἢ υἱὸν καλῶν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προσηγορίαν ἠγεῖτο φύσεως, τὴν δ' ἀρετῆς κοινωνίαν. φέρων τέ με πολλάκις ἔτι νήπιον ὄντα ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἐνεχείρισε πίστεσι.

[3] “I am fully persuaded that you share in my grief over what has occurred, and that you are no less distressed by it than I ==At no time when my father was with me did I see fit to play the despot with you. He took greater delight, I am convinced, in calling me ‘fellow soldier’ than in calling me ‘son,’ for he considered the latter a title bestowed by Nature, the former, a partnership based on excellence. While I was still an infant he often brought me to you and placed me in your arms, a pledge of the trust he had in you.

[4] διόπερ καὶ ῥᾷστα πάσης εὐνοίας μεθέξειν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἥλπικα, τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων τροφεῖά μοι ταῦτα ὀφειλόντων, τοὺς δ' ἡλικιώτας εἰκότως ἂν καὶ συμφοιτητὰς τῶν ἐν ὅπλοις ἔργων ἀποκαλοῖην· πάντα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὥς

[4] And for that reason I have every hope that I shall enjoy your universal good will, since I am indebted to you old soldiers for rearing me, and I may properly call you young soldiers my fellow students in deeds of arms, for my father loved us all and taught us every good thing.

[5] ἓνα ὁ πατὴρ ἐφίλει τε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐπαίδευεν. ἔδωκε δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐμὲ βασιλέα ἢ τύχη, οὐκ ἐπέισακτον, ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ προσκλήτῳ σεμνυνόμενοι ἀρχῇ, ἀλλὰ μόνος τε ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀπεκυήθην, καὶ μὴ πειραθέντα με ἰδιωτικῶν σπαργάνων ἅμα τῷ τῆς γαστροῦ προελθεῖν ἢ βασιλείου ὑπεδέξατο πορφύρα, ὁμοῦ

[5] To follow him, Fortune has given the empire not to an adopted successor but to me. The prestige of those who reigned before me was increased by the empire, which they received as an additional honor, but I alone was born for you in the imperial palace. I never knew the touch of common cloth. The purple received me as I came forth into the world, and the sun shone down on me, man and emperor, at the same moment.

[6] δέ με εἶδεν ἥλιος ἄνθρωπον καὶ βασιλέα. εἰκότως δ' ἂν ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι στέργοιτε οὐ δοθέντα ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ γεννηθέντα αὐτοκράτορα. ὁ μὲν οὖν πατὴρ ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀναπτάς ὁπαδὸς ἤδη καὶ σύνεδρός ἐστι θεῶν· ἡμῖν δὲ χρὴ μέλειν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς διοικεῖν. κατορθοῦν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ βεβαιοῦν ὑμέτερον ἔργον, εἰ τὰ τε τοῦ πολέμου λείψανα μετὰ πάσης ἀνδρείας ἀπαλείψαιτε καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ προαγάγοιτε.

[6] And if you consider the matter properly, you will honor me as an emperor born to you, not presented to you. Assuredly, my father has gone up to heaven, where he is already companion and counselor of the gods. But it is our task to devote ourselves to human affairs and to the administration of earthly matters. To set these affairs in order and make them secure is for you to undertake, if with resolute courage you would finish what is left of the war and carry forward to the northern seas the boundaries of the Roman empire.

[7] ὑμῖν τε γὰρ ταῦτα δόξαν οἴσει καὶ τὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην χάρισιν

ἀξίαις οὕτως ἀμείψεσθε· ὃν ἐπακοῦειν τε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ἐφορᾶν ἡγεῖσθε. εὐδαιμονοίημεν δ' ἂν τὰ δέοντα πράττοντες ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ μάρτυρι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρότερον ὑμῖν ἀνδρείως κατορθωθέντα ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου σοφίαν τε καὶ στρατηγίαν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει· ὅσα δ' ἂν σὺν ἐμοὶ βασιλεῖ νέῳ προθύμως ἐπιδείξησθε, τούτων «αὐτοὶ» τὴν δόξαν

[7] These exploits will indeed bring you renown, and in this way you will pay fitting respect to the memory of our mutual father. You may be sure that he hears and sees what we do. And we may count ourselves fortunate to have such a man as a witness when we do what has to be done. Up to now, all that you have courageously accomplished is attributable to his wisdom and his generalship. But now, whatever zeal you display in further exploits under me, your new emperor, will gain for you a reputation for praiseworthy loyalty and bravery. By these dauntless exploits you will confer upon us added dignity.

[8] πίστεώς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀποίσεσθε. τό τε ἐν ἡμῖν νέον σεμνότητος πληρώσετε τῇ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔργων ἀνδραγαθίᾳ. τὸ βάρβαρον δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ νέας ἡγεμονίας κολασθὲν οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρὸν καταθαρσήσει τῆς «ἡμετέρας» ἡλικίας [καταφρονῆσαν], τὰ τε μέλλοντα φοβήσεται δέει τῶν πεπειραμένων.

τοσαῦτα ὁ Κόμοδος εἰπὼν καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως δωρεαῖς χρημάτων οἰκειωσάμενος τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ἐς τὴν βασίλειον ἐπανῆλθεν αὐλήν.

[8] Crushed at the beginning of a new imperial reign, the barbarian will not be so bold to act at the present, scorning our youth, and will be cautious and fearful in the future, mindful of what he has suffered.”

After he had finished his speech, Commodus won the support of the army by a generous distribution of money and returned to the imperial quarters.

SECTION 6

[1] ὀλίγου μὲν οὖν τινὸς χρόνου πάντα ἐπράττετο τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πατρώων φίλων, οἱ πανημέριοι συνῆσαν αὐτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευόντες, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐνδιδόντες χρόνον, ὅσον ἐνόμιζον αὐτάρκη πρὸς σώφρονα τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν. παρεισδύντες δέ τινες τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς οἰκετῶν διαφθείρειν ἐπειρῶντο νέον ἥθος βασιλέως, ὅσοι τε κόλακες τραπέζης [καὶ] τὸ εὐδαιμον γαστρὶ καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις μετροῦσιν, ὑπεμίμησκον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς, θεάματά τε καὶ ἀκούσματα τερπνὰ διηγούμενοι τὴν τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δαψίλειαν καταριθμοῦντες διαβάλλοντές τε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ὥραν, μήτε ὁπώρας εὐφορον κρυεράν

[1] THEN, for a short time, the emperor did everything as the advisers appointed by his father suggested. They were with him every day, giving him wise counsel; they allowed him only as much leisure as they thought necessary for the sensible care of his body. But some of his court companions interfered and tried to corrupt the character of the naive emperor. All the sycophants at his table, men who gauge their pleasure by their bellies and something a little lower, kept reminding him of the gay life at Rome, describing the delightful spectacles and musical shows and cataloguing the abundance of luxuries available there. They complained about wasting their time on the banks of the Danube, pointing out that the region was not productive in summer and that the fog and cold were unending.

[2] τε ἀεὶ καὶ συννεφεῖ. οὐ παύσῃ δὲ ἔλεγον ὧ δέσποτα, πηγνύμενόν τε καὶ ὀρυττόμενον πίνων ὕδωρ; ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπολαύσουσι πηγῶν τε θερμῶν καὶ ψυχροῦ νάματος ἀτμίδων τε καὶ ἀέρων, ὧν Ἰταλία μόνη εὐφορος. τοιαῦτα δὴ τινα τῷ μεираκίῳ ὑποτυπούμενοι ἤγειρον

[2] “Master,” they said again and again, “when will you stop drinking this icy liquid mud ? In the meantime, others will be enjoying warm streams and cool streams, mists and fine air too, all of which only Italy possesses in abundance.” By merely suggesting such delights to the youth, they whetted his appetite for a taste of pleasures.

[3] αὐτοῦ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἐς τὴν ἡδονῶν ἐπιθυμίαν. αἰφνιδίως δὲ καλέσας τοὺς φίλους ποθεῖν ἔλεγε τὴν πατρίδα· ὁμολογεῖν δὲ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς αἰφνιδίου ὀρμῆς αἰδούμενος, δεδιέναι προσεποιεῖτο, μή τις ἐκεῖσε προκαταλάβοι τὴν

βασίλειον ἐστὶν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν πλουσίων, εἴθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀχυρᾶς ἀκροπόλεως δύναμιν καὶ περιβολὴν συγκροτήσας ἐπιθῆται τῇ ἀρχῇ. αὐτάρκης δὲ ὁ δῆμος χορηγῆσαι πλῆθος ἐπιλέκτων νεανιῶν.

[3] And so he immediately summoned his advisers and informed them that he longed to see his native land. But, ashamed to admit the real reason for his sudden interest in returning, he pretended to be fearful that one of the wealthy aristocrats in Rome would seize the empire and, after raising an army and a rampart, take control of the empire, as if from an impregnable fortress. For the Roman populace was sufficiently large to supply numerous picked young men for such an army.

[4] τοιαῦτά τινα προφασιζομένου τοῦ μαιρακίου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνεστάλησάν τε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ σκυθρωπαῖς ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐς γῆν ἔνευσαν. Πομπηιανὸς δέ, ὃς πρεσβύτατός τε ἦν ἀπάντων καὶ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν προσήκων αὐτῷ (συνώκει γὰρ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Κομόδου), ποθεῖν μὲν σε, ἔφη, τέκνον καὶ δέσποτα, τὴν πατρίδα εἰκός· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν οἴκοι ὁμοίᾳ ἐπιθυμία ἐαλώκαμεν.

[4] While the youth was alleging such specious excuses, the rest, sick at heart, kept their eyes fixed on the ground in dismay. But Pompeianus, the oldest of his advisers and a relation of the emperor by marriage (his wife was Commodus' oldest sister), said to him: "Child and master too, it is entirely reasonable for you to long to see your native land; we too are gripped by hunger to see those we left at home.

[5] ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐνταῦθα προυργαίτερα ὄντα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπείγοντα ἐπέχει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αἰῶνα ἀπολαύσεις, ἐκεῖ τε ἡ Ῥώμη, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾗ. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἀτελεῖ καταλιπεῖν μετὰ τοῦ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ἐπισφαλές. θάρσος γὰρ ἐμβαλοῦμεν τοῖς βαρβάροις, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνόδου πόθον

[5] But more important and more urgent matters here put a curb on that yearning. For the rest of your life you will have the enjoyment of things at home; and for that matter, where the emperor is, Rome is. But to leave this war unfinished is both disgraceful and dangerous. That course would increase the barbarians' boldness; they will not believe that we long to return to our home, but will rather accuse us of a cowardly retreat.

[6] ἀλλὰ φυγὴν καὶ δέος ἡμῶν καταγνοῦσι. καλὸν δέ σοι χειρωσαμένῳ πάντα αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ὠκεανῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρίσαντι ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε θριαμβεῦντί τε καὶ δεσμίους ἀπάγοντι καὶ αἰχμαλώτους βασιλεῖς τε καὶ σατράπας βαρβάρους. τούτοις γὰρ οἱ πρὸ σοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλοι τε καὶ ἔνδοξοι γεγόνασι. δεδιέναι δέ σε οὐ χρή, μή τις ἐκεῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιθῇται. οἱ τε γὰρ ἄριστοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα σὺν σοί, ἢ τε στρατιωτικὴ δύναμις παροῦσα πᾶσα τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προασπίζει· ταμιεῖά τε χρημάτων βασιλικῶν ἐνταῦθα πάντα· ἢ τε τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμη αἰώνιον σοι πίστιν καὶ εὖνοιαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐβεβαίωσεν.

[6] After you have conquered all these barbarians and extended the boundaries of the empire to the northern seas, it will be glorious for you to return home to celebrate your triumph, leading as fettered captives barbarian kings and governors. The Romans who preceded you became famous and gained renown in this way. There is no reason to fear that someone at home may seize control. The most distinguished senators are right here with you; the imperial troops are here to protect you; all the funds from the imperial depositories are here; and finally, the memory of your father has won for you the eternal loyalty and good will of your subjects.”

[7] τοιαῦτά τινα ἐς προτροπὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ κρείττονα ὁρμὴν ὁ Πομπηιανὸς εἰπὼν διέτρεψε πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ μειράκιον. αἰδεσθεῖς γὰρ ὁ Κόμοδος τὰ λεχθέντα, οὐδὲν τε οἷός τε ὦν εὐλόγως ἀποκρίνασθαι, τοὺς φίλους ἀπεπέμψατο, φήσας ἀκριβέστερον καθ’ αὐτὸν ἐπισκεῖσθαι

[7] Eager to improve the situation, Pompeianus, by his exhortations, restrained the youth for a short time. Commodus, shamed by his words and unable to make a suitable reply, dismissed the group, saying that he would consider personally and at greater length what he should do.

[8] τὸ πρακτέον. ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν θεραπόντων οὐκέτι μὲν τοῖς φίλοις οὐδὲν ἐκοινώσατο, ἐκπέμψας δὲ γράμματα, καὶ διανείμας οἷς ἔδοκίμασε τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ἰστρου τὴν πρόνοιαν προστάξας τε αὐτοῖς ἀνέχειν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομάς, ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἔξοδον. οἱ μὲν οὖν διώκουν τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα· οἱ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πλείστους τῶν βαρβάρων ὅπλοις ἐχειρώσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ μεγάλας συντάξεις ἐς φιλίαν ἐπηγάγοντο

[8] Then, yielding to his companions, he no longer consulted his advisers about

anything. He sent off letters and, after assigning command of the Danube to men whom he considered capable, ordering them to block the barbarians' attacks, he announced his departure for Rome. Those left behind carried out their assignments; soon they subdued most of the barbarians by force of arms, and easily won the friendship of the rest by substantial bribes.

[9] ῥᾶστα πείσαντες. φύσει γὰρ τὸ βάρβαρον φιλοχρήματον, καὶ κινδύνων καταφρονήσαντες ἢ δι' ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ἐφόδου τὸ χρεῖᾰδες πρὸς τὸν βίον πορίζονται, ἢ μεγάλων μισθῶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικαταλλάσσονται. ἅπερ ὁ Κόμοδος εἰδὼς καὶ τὸ ἀμέριμνον ὠνούμενος ἀφειδῶς τε ἔχων χρημάτων, πάντα ἐδίδου τὰ αἰτούμενα.

[9] The barbarians are by nature fond of money; contemptuous of danger, they obtain the necessities of life either by pillaging and plundering or by selling peace at a huge price. Commodus was aware of this practice; since he had plenty of money, he bargained for release from care and gave them everything they demanded.

SECTION 7

[1] τῆς δὲ ἐξόδου διαγγελθείσης κίνησις δὴ μεγίστη καταλαμβάνει τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ πάντες αὐτῷ συναπελθεῖν ἤθελον, ὥς ἂν ἀπαλλαγεῖεν μὲν τῆς ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατριβῆς, ἀπολαύσειαν δὲ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη ἄγγελοί τε ἦκον κηρύττοντες τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄφιξιν, ὑπερήσθη τε ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος καὶ χρηστὰς εἶχεν ἐλπίδας νέου αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιδημίας,

[1] WHEN the emperor's decision was announced, the army was in turmoil; all the soldiers wanted to leave with him, so that they might stop wasting their time in the war and enjoy the pleasures at Rome. When the news was circulated and messengers arrived to report the approach of the emperor, the Roman people were overjoyed; they had the highest hopes for the reign of the young emperor, believing that he would rule as his father had ruled.

[2] πατρώζειν τὸ μεράκιον ἡγούμενοι. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ὁ Κόμοδος μετὰ νεανικῆς σπουδῆς καὶ διαδραμὼν τὰς ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις, ὑποδεχθεὶς τε πανταχοῦ βασιλικῶς καὶ δῆμοις ἐορτάζουσιν ἐπιφανείς, ἀσπαστός τε

[2] Speeding with the vigor of youth, Commodus passed quickly through the cities between Pannonia and Rome. Received everywhere with imperial pomp, he appeared in person before the celebrating crowds, a pleasing sight to all.

[3] καὶ ποθεινὸς πᾶσιν ὤφθη. ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῆς Ῥώμης, πᾶσά τε ἡ σύγκλητος βουλὴ καὶ πανδημεὶ ὅσοι τὴν Ῥώμην κατέκουν ἄνθρωποι, μὴ κατασχόντες αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἕκαστος φθάσαι θέλων, δαφνηφόροι τε καὶ πάντα ἐπιφερόμενοι ἄνθη τότε ἀκμάζοντα, ὥς ἕκαστος οἶός τε ἦν, πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ὑπὶντων, θεασόμενοι τὸν νέον

[3] As he drew near Rome, the entire senate and the people of the city cast aside all restraint. Bearing laurel branches and every kind of flower then in bloom, each man carrying as much as he could manage and eager to be first, they came out some distance from the city to welcome their young and nobly born emperor.

[4] καὶ εὐγενῇ βασιλείᾳ. ἐπόθουν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀληθεῖ ψυχῆς διαθέσει ἅτε παρ' αὐτοῖς γεννηθέντα τε καὶ τραφέντα καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τριγωνίας βασιλείᾳ τε καὶ

εὐπατρίδην ὄντα Ῥωμαίων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῷ γένος ἐκ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπισήμων ἦν· Φαυστίνα δ' ἡ μήτηρ βασίλισσα γεγέννητο θυγάτηρ τε οὖσα Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπικληθέντος, καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος κατὰ θηλυγονίαν, ἀνήνεγκε δὲ τὸ γένος αὕτη ἐπὶ Τραϊανὸν πρόπαππον.

[4] For they did indeed give him all their affection, since he was born and reared among them and was of imperial ancestry through three generations of distinguished Romans. His father's family tree included a number of distinguished senators; his mother, the empress Faustina, was the daughter of Antoninus Pius; she was the granddaughter of Hadrian on her mother's side and traced her ancestry to Trajan, her great-grandfather.

[5] γένους μὲν οὖν ὁ Κόμοδος οὕτως εἶχε, πρὸς δὲ τῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀκμῇ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἦν ἀξιοθέατος σώματός τε συμμετρία καὶ κάλλει προσώπου μετ' ἀνδρείας. ὀφθαλμῶν τε γὰρ ἀρθμιαίαι καὶ πυρώδεις βολαί, κόμη τε φύσει ξανθὴ καὶ οὖλη, ὥς, εἴποτε φοιτῶν δι' ἡλίου, τοσοῦτον ἐκλάμπειν αὐτῷ πυροειδές τι, ὥς τοὺς μὲν οἶεσθαι ρίνημα χρυσοῦ προιόντι ἐπιπάσσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκθειάζειν, λέγοντας αἴγλην τινὰ οὐράνιον περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ συγγεγενῆσθαι αὐτῷ· ἰουλοὶ τε αὐτοῦ κατιόντες ταῖς

[5] Such was Commodus' family background. At this time he was in the prime of youth, striking in appearance, with a well-developed body and a face that was handsome without being pretty. His commanding eyes flashed like lightning; his hair, naturally blond and curly, gleamed in the sunlight as if it were on fire; some thought that he sprinkled his hair with gold dust before appearing in public, while others saw in it something divine, saying that a heavenly light shone round his head. To add to his beauty, the first down was just beginning to appear on his cheeks.

[6] παρειαῖς ἐπὶ ἦνθουν. τοιοῦτον δὲ θεασάμενοι βασιλέα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, εὐφημίαις τε παντοδαπαῖς καὶ στεφάνων καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ὑπεδέχοντο. ὥς δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσήλασεν, ἐς τε τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νεῶς ἀνελθὼν εὐθὺς τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καταλειφθεῖσι στρατιώταις χαριστήρια ὁμολογήσας τῆς φυλαχθείσης πίστεως, ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλὴν ἀνεχώρησεν.

[6] This was the emperor upon whom the Romans feasted their eyes and

welcomed with garlands and showers of blossoms. Entering the city, Commodus went immediately to the temple of Jupiter and the other shrines. After expressing his gratitude to the senate and to the soldiers on duty in Rome for their loyal protection, he entered the imperial palace.

SECTION 8

[1] χρόνου μὲν οὖν τινὸς ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἀπένευμε τοῖς πατράοις φίλοις, πάντα τε ἔπραπτεν ἐκείνοις συμβούλοις χρώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐνεχείρισε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑαυτῷ, ἐπιστήσας τοῖς στρατοπέδοις Περέννιον, ἄνδρα τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰταλιώτην, στρατιωτικὸν δ' εἶναι δοκοῦντα (διὸ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἔπαρχον ἐποίησε τῶν στρατοπέδων), τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου ἀποχρώμενος ἡλικία ἐκεῖνος [εἶασεν] αὐτὸν τρυφαῖς σχολάζοντα καὶ κραιπάλαις, τῆς φροντίδος καὶ τῶν βασιλείων καμάτων ἀπῆγεν

[1] FOR several years the emperor deferred to the advisers appointed by his father, following their advice in everything. But when he assumed absolute control of the empire, he put in command of the Praetorian Guard an Italian, Perennis, who seemed to be a capable soldier. (Indeed, it was for this reason that Commodus made him praetorian prefect.) Perennis indulged the emperor's youthful appetites, permitting him to spend his time in drinking and debauchery, and relieved him of imperial cares and responsibilities.

[2] [αὐτόν], πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο πλούτου τε ἀκρατήτῳ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ τῶν μὲν προσκτωμένων ἀεὶ καταφρονήσει, τῶν δ' οὐπω παρόντων ἀπλήστῳ ἀντιποιήσει. τοὺς τε πατέρας φίλους πρῶτος διαβάλλειν ἤρξατο, καὶ ὅσοι πλούσιοί τε ἦσαν καὶ εὐγενεῖς, τούτους ἐς ὑποψίαν ἄγων τὸ μειράκιον ἐφόβει, ὥς ἂν αὐτοὺς διαχρησάμενος ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ παράσχοι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀρπάζειν τὰ ἐκείνων κτήματα.

[2] Perennis assumed full personal charge of the empire, driven by his insatiable lust for money, his contempt for what he had, and his greedy longing for what was not yet his. To begin with, he launched an attack upon Commodus' advisers and upon all the wealthy and nobly born; by casting suspicion upon these men, Perennis aroused the fears of the emperor and provided the youth with reason and opportunity to destroy them and confiscate their property.

[3] μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἐπεῖχε τὸν νεανίσκον ἢ τε τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμη καὶ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους αἰδῶς. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὥσπερ τινὸς πονηρᾶς καὶ βασκάνου τύχης ἀνατρεπούσης αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔτι σῶφρον καὶ κόσμιον, συνέβη τι τοιοῦτον. Λουκίλλα ἦν τῷ Κομόδῳ πρεσβυτάτῃ πάντων ἀδελφῇ. αὕτη πρότερον Λουκίῳ Βήρῳ αὐτοκράτορι συνώκει, ὃν κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας Μάρκος

ποιησάμενος, ἐκδούς [τε] αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, δεσμὸν εὐνοίας ἐχυρώτατον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποίησατο. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ συνέβη τὸν Λούκιον τελευτῆσαι, μενόντων τῇ Λουκίλλῃ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας συμβόλων Πομπηιανῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἐξέδοτο αὐτήν.

[3] For the present, however, the memory of his father and his respect for his advisers held Commodus in check. But then a disastrous stroke of ill fortune completely altered his previously mild, moderate disposition. It happened this way. The oldest of the emperor's sisters was Lucilla. She had formerly been married to Lucius Verus Caesar, whom Marcus had made his associate in governing the empire; by marrying Lucilla to Lucius, Marcus had made her marriage to his Caesar the strongest bond of mutual good will. But after Lucius died, Lucilla, who retained all the privileges of her imperial position, was married by her father to Pompeianus.

[4] οὐδὲν ἤττον μέντοι καὶ ὁ Κόμοδος ἐφύλαττε τὰς τιμὰς τῇ ἀδελφῇ· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου καθῆστο ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, καὶ τὸ πῦρ προεπόμπευεν αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος γυναῖκα ἡγάγετο, Κρισπῖναν ὄνομα, ἀνάγκη τε ἐγένετο τὴν προεδρίαν ἀπονέμεσθαι τῇ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος γυναικί, δυσφόρος τοῦτο φέρουσα ἡ Λουκίλλα, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης τιμὴν ἑαυτῆς ὕβριν νομίζουσα, τὸν μὲν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα Πομπηιανὸν εἰδυῖα ἀγαπᾶντα τὸν Κόμοδον, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐπιθέσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνακοινοῦται, Κοδράτου δέ, νεανίσκου εὐγενοῦς τινος καὶ πλουσίου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ λανθανούσῃ συνουσίᾳ διεβάλλετο, πείραν τῆς γνώμης λαμβάνουσα, περὶ τε τῆς προεδρίας συνεχῶς ἀπωδύρετο, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνέπεισε τὸν νεανίσκον ὀλέθρια βουλευσασθαι αὐτῷ τε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ συγκλήτῳ.

[4] Commodus, too, allowed his sister to retain the imperial honors; she continued to occupy the imperial seat at the theaters, and the sacred fire was carried before her. But when Commodus married Crispina, custom demanded that the front seat at the theater be assigned to the empress. Lucilla found this difficult to endure, and felt that any honor paid to the empress was an insult to her; but since she was well aware that her husband Pompeianus was devoted to Commodus, she told him nothing about her plans to seize control of the empire. Instead, she tested the sentiments of a wealthy young nobleman, Quadratus, with whom she was rumored to be sleeping in secret. Complaining constantly about this matter of imperial precedence, she soon persuaded the

young man to set in motion a plot which brought destruction upon himself and the entire senate.

[5] συνωμότας γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν τινὰς τῶν ἐξεχόντων ἀναπεῖθει νεανίσκον τινά, καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα τῆς βουλῆς, Κυντιανὸν ὄνομα, προπετὴ δὲ καὶ θρασύν, λαβόντα ἐγχειρίδιον ὑπὸ κόλπου, καιρὸν φυλάξαντα καὶ τόπον ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπιτεσεῖν τε τῷ Κομόδῳ καὶ φονεῦσαι, τὰ λοιπὰ φήσας αὐτὸς κατορθώσεσθαι

[5] Quadratus, in selecting confederates among the prominent senators, prevailed upon Quintianus, a bold and reckless young senator, to conceal a dagger beneath his robe and, watching for a suitable time and place, to stab Commodus; as for the rest, he assured Quintianus that he would set matters straight by bribes.

[6] χρημάτων ἐπιδόσει. ὃ δ' ὑποστὰς ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου εἰσόδῳ (ζοφώδης δὲ αὕτη, διὸ καὶ λήσεσθαι ἤλπισε), γυμνώσας τὸ ξιφίδιον, ἐπελθὼν τε αἰφνιδίως τῷ Κομόδῳ, καὶ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ προειπὼν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτῷ ἐπιτεπέμφθαι, τρῶσαι μὴ φθάσας, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ περὶ τὴν τῶν ῥημάτων προφορὰν ἡσχολεῖτο καὶ τὴν δεῖξιν τοῦ ξίφους, συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως δίκην ἀνοίας ὑπέσχεεν, ὃς προεῖπε τὸ βεβουλευμένον μᾶλλον ἢ ἔδρασε, παρέσχε τε αὐτῷ μὲν προγνωσθέντι ἀλῶσαι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ προμαθόντι φυλάξασθαι.

[6] But the assassin, standing in the entrance to the amphitheater (it was dark there and he hoped to escape detection), drew his dagger and shouted at Commodus that he had been sent by the senate to kill him. Quintianus wasted time making his little speech and waving his dagger; as a result, he was seized by the emperor's bodyguards before he could strike, and died for his stupidity in revealing the plot prematurely. Thus found out beforehand, Quintianus brought about his own death, and Commodus was put on his guard by this forewarning.

[7] αὕτη μὲν δὴ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη αἰτία τῷ μειρακίῳ μίσους ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλήν· ἔτρωσέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ λεχθέντα, καὶ κοινούς ἐχθροὺς πάντας ἡγεῖτο, μεμνημένος ἀεὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐπιδραμόντος

[7] This was the initial reason for the young emperor's hatred of the senate. He

took Quintianus' words to heart and, ever mindful of what his attacker had said, now considered the entire senate his collective enemy.

[8] φωνῆς. ὑπῆρξε δὲ καὶ τῷ Περεννίῳ πρόφασις τε καὶ ὑπόθεσις αὐτάρκης· ἐκκόπτειν γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ κολοῦειν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, ὧν ἀρπάζων τὰς οὐσίας ῥᾶστα πλουσιώτατος ἐγένετο τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων. γενομένης δ' ἐξετάσεως διὰ τοῦ Περεννίου ἀκριβεστέρας τήν τε ἀδελφὴν ὁ Κόμοδος διεχρήσατο καὶ πάντας ἀφειδῶς τοὺς τε ὄντας ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' οἵσις δὴποτε διαβληθέντας ὑποψίαις.

[8] This incident also gave Perennis sufficient excuse for taking action, for he was always advising the emperor to eliminate and destroy the prominent men. By confiscating their property, Perennis easily made himself the richest man of his time. After the attempt at assassination had been thoroughly investigated by the prefect, Commodus without mercy put to death his sister, all those actually involved in the plot, and any who were under the slightest suspicion as well.

SECTION 9

[1] ὁ δὲ Περέννιος ἀποσκευασάμενος πάντας, οὓς καὶ ὁ Κόμοδος ἠδεῖτο καὶ ὅσοι πατρῶαν αὐτῷ εὖνοιαν ἐπεδείκνυντο τῆς τε ἐκείνου σωτηρίας προμήθειαν εἶχον, ποιησάμενός τε αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας, ἐπεβούλευε τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ τοῖς τε υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ νεανίας οὓσιν ἐγχειρίσαι πείθει τὸν Κόμοδον <τὴν> πρόνοιαν τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν στρατευμάτων, αὐτός τε πλεῖστα χρήματα ἤθροιζεν ἐς τὸ ἐπιδόσει λαμπραῖς ἀποστήσαι τὸ στρατιωτικόν. οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ λανθάνοντες συνεκρότουν δύναμιν, ὥς ἂν τοῦ Περεννίου κατεργασαμένου τὸν Κόμοδον ἐπιθοῖντο τῇ ἀρχῇ.

[1] AFTER he had removed the men whom Commodus had reason to fear, those who showed him good will for his father's sake, and those who were concerned for the emperor's safety, Perennis, now a powerful figure, began to plot for the empire. Commodus was persuaded to put the prefect's sons in command of the army of Illyricum, though they were still young men; the prefect himself amassed a huge sum of money for lavish gifts in order to incite the army to revolt. His sons quietly increased their forces, so that they might seize the empire after Perennis had disposed of Commodus.

[2] ἐγνώσθη δ' ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ παραδόξῳ τρόπῳ. ἱερὸν ἀγῶνα τελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Διὶ Καπετωλίῳ, θεάματά τε <θυμέλης> καὶ ἰσχύος πάντα ἀθροίζεται ὥς ἐς βασιλῖδα πόλιν πανηγυρίζουσιν. θεατῆς δὲ καὶ ἀθλοθέτης σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱερεῦσιν, οὓς ἐκ περιόδων χρόνον ἢ τάξεις καλεῖ, ὁ

[2] This plot came to light in a curious fashion. The Romans celebrate a sacred festival in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus, and all the stage shows and athletic exhibitions are sent to take part in this festival in the capital. The emperor is both spectator and judge, together with the rest of the priests, who are summoned in rotation for this duty.

[3] βασιλεὺς γίγνεται. κατελθόντος δὴ τοῦ Κομόδου ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀγωνιστῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν προκαθίσαντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ἔδρᾳ, πληρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας, τῶν τε ἐν ἀξιώσεσιν <ἐν> ἐξαιρέτοις ἔδραις καὶ ὥς ἐκάστοις διετέτακτο ἰδρυμένων, πρὶν τι λέγεσθαι ἢ πράττεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀνὴρ φιλοσόφου φέρων σχῆμα (βάκτρον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ μετὰ χεῖρας, ἡμιγύμνω τε αὐτῷ ἐκκρεμῆς πήρα) εἰσδραμῶν καὶ στὰς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σκηνῇ τῷ τε χειρὸς νεύματι

[3] Upon his arrival for the performance of the famous actors, Commodus took his seat in the imperial chair; an orderly crowd filled the theater, quietly occupying the assigned seats. Before any action took place on the stage, however, a man dressed as a philosopher (half-naked, carrying a staff in his hand and a leather bag on his shoulder) ran out and took his stand in the center of the stage. Silencing the audience with a sweep of his hand, he said:

[4] τὸν δῆμον κατασιγάσας οὐ πανηγυρίζειν σοι καιρός ἔφη Κόμοδε, νῦν, οὐδὲ θέαις καὶ ἑορταῖς σχολάζειν. ἐπικείται γάρ σου τοῖς αὐχέσι τὸ τοῦ Περεννίου ξίφος, καὶ εἰ μὴ φυλάξῃ κίνδυνον οὐκ ἐπαιωρούμενον ἀλλ' ἤδη παρόντα, λήσεις ἀπολόμενος. αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δύναμιν ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζει, οἳ τε παῖδες αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰλλυρικὴν στρατιὰν ἀναπεύθουσιν. εἰ

[4] “Commodus, this is no time to celebrate festivals and devote yourself to shows and entertainments. The sword of Perennis is at your throat. Unless you guard yourself from a danger not threatening but already upon you, you shall not escape death. Perennis himself is raising money and an army to oppose you, and his sons are winning over the army of Illyricum. Unless you act first, you shall die.”

[5] δὲ μὴ φθάσεις, διαφθείρη. ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ὑπὸ τινος δαιμονίου τύχης ἐπειχθέντος, εἴτε καὶ τολμήσαντος ἵνα δόξαν ἄρῃται πρότερον ἄγνωστος καὶ ἄσημος ὢν, εἴτε ἐλπίσαντος ἀμοιβῆς μεγαλοδώρου τεύξεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀφασία τὸν Κόμοδον καταλαμβάνει. καὶ πάντες ὑπώπτευν μὲν τὰ λεχθέντα, πιστεύειν δὲ οὐ προσεποιοῦντο. κελεύει δὲ αὐτὸν συλληφθῆναι ὁ Περέννιος, οἷά τε μεμνηότα καὶ ψευδῇ λέγοντα πυρὶ παραδοθῆναι.

[5] Whether he said this by divine inspiration, or whether, obscure and unknown before, he was making an effort to gain fame, or hoped to receive a generous reward from the emperor — whatever the reason, Commodus was thunderstruck. Everyone was suspicious of the man's words, and no one believed him. Perennis ordered the philosopher to be seized and burned for making insane and lying accusations.

[6] ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀκαίρου παρρησίας τοιαύτην ὑπέσχε δίκην· οἱ μέντοι περὶ τὸν Κόμοδον, ὅσοι τε εὐνοεῖν προσεποιοῦντο, καὶ πάλοι μὲν ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς τὸν Περέννιον διακαίμενοι (βαρὺς γὰρ καὶ ἀφόρητος ἦν ὑπεροψία καὶ ὕβρις), τότε

«δὲ» καιρὸν εὐκαιρον ἔχοντες, διαβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο, ἐχρῆν τε ἄρα τὸν Κόμοδον τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ τὸν Περέννιον σὺν τοῖς παισὶ διολέσθαι

[6] Such was the penalty that the beggar paid for his ill-timed outspokenness. The emperor's intimate friends, however, who had long been secretly hostile to Perennis (for the prefect was harsh and unbearable in his insolence and arrogance), believed that the time had come and began to bring charges against him. As a result, Commodus escaped the plot, and Perennis and his sons perished miserably.

[7] κακῶς. ἦλθον γὰρ μετ' οὐ πολὺ στρατιῶταί τινες λαθόντες τὸν τοῦ Περεννίου παῖδα, καὶ νομίσματα ἐκόμισαν ἐκτετυπωμένα τὴν ἐκείνου εἰκόνα. λαθόντες δὲ καίτοι ἔπαρχον ὄντα τὸν Περέννιον καὶ δείξαντες τῷ Κομόδῳ τὰ νομίσματα διδάξαντές τε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὰ λανθάνοντα

[7] For not much later, some soldiers visited Perennis' son in secret and carried off coins bearing the prefect's portrait. And, without the knowledge of Perennis, the praetorian prefect, they took the coins directly to Commodus and revealed to him the secret details of the plot. They were richly rewarded for their service.

[8] αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔτυχον μεγάλων δωρεῶν· ἀγνοοῦντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Περεννίου μηδὲν τέ τι τοιοῦτον προσδεχομένου νύκτωρ ὁ Κόμοδος πέμψας ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν· καὶ τὴν ταχίστην, ὅπως τὴν τῶν πραττομένων γνῶσιν φθάσωσιν, ἐκπέμπει τοὺς πορευσομένους φήμης ὀξυτέρῳ δρόμῳ ἐπιστῆναί τε δυνησομένους τῷ παιδί τοῦ Περεννίου τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀγνοοῦντι, γράμματά τε φιλικὰ ποιήσας καὶ «ἐπὶ» μείζοσι φήσας καλεῖν ἐλπίσιν αὐτὸν ἤκειν κελεύει.

[8] While Perennis was still ignorant of these developments and anticipated nothing of the sort, the emperor sent for him at night and had him beheaded. And he dispatched men to Perennis' son by the fastest route, so that they might reach him before he knew what had happened. These men were to take a route shorter than the one by which news was regularly carried; in this way they would be able to come to the youth before he was aware of events at Rome. Commodus wrote the youth a friendly letter, telling him that he was recalling him to greater expectations, and ordering him to come to Rome.

[9] ὁ δὲ μήτε <τι> τῆς παρασκευῆς πω καὶ τῶν βεβουλευμένων μήτε τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν πατέρα εἰδώς, τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰπόντων ταῦτα καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐντετάλθαι ῥήμασι, μηδὲν δὲ ἐπεσταλκέναι τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀρκούμενον γράμμασι, πιστεύσας ὁ νεανίας, ἀσχάλλων μὲν καὶ δυσφορῶν ὅτι δὴ ἀτελῇ κατέλιπε τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ὅμως δὲ θαρρῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς ἔτι συνεστῶση δυνάμει,

[9] Perennis' son knew nothing of the reception awaiting him and was unaware of his father's fate. When the messengers informed him that his father had given these same orders orally but, satisfied with the emperor's letter, had not written a separate note, the youth was convinced, although he was concerned about leaving the plot unfinished. Nevertheless, relying on his father's power as if that power still existed, he left Illyricum.

[10] ποιεῖται τὴν ἔξοδον. γενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἷς τοῦτο ἐντέταλτο, διεχρήσαντο. τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἐκείνους κατέλαβεν· ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος δύο τοὺς ἐπάρχους καταστήσας ἀσφαλέστερον ᾤθη μὴ ἐνὶ πιστεύειν τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀσθενεστέραν ἔσεσθαι ἤλπισε πρὸς τὴν βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν.

[10] On the way to Italy the youth was killed by the emperor's men. Such was the fate of Perennis and his son. Thereafter Commodus regularly appointed two praetorian prefects, believing that it was safer not to place too much authority in the hands of one man; he hoped that this division of authority would discourage any desire to seize the imperial power.

SECTION 10

[1] χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διαγενομένου ἑτέρα τις ἐπιβουλὴ τοιαύτη κατ' αὐτοῦ συνεσκεύασθη. Μάτερνος ἦν τις στρατιώτης μὲν πρότερον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δεινὰ τολμήσας, τὴν τε τάξιν λιπὼν καὶ πείσας ἑτέρους ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων συναποδρᾶναι, χεῖρα πολλὴν κακούργων ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀθροίσας χρόνῳ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κώμαις τε καὶ ἀγροῖς ἐπιτρέχων ἐλήστευεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, μεῖζον τι πλῆθος ἤθροισε κακούργων μεγάλαις τε δωρεῶν ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων κοινωνίᾳ, ὥς μηκέτι ληστῶν ἀλλὰ πολεμίῳν ἔχειν ἀξίωμα.

[1] BUT before long another plot was organized against Commodus. It involved a former soldier named Maternus, who had committed many frightful crimes. He deserted from the army, persuading others to flee with him, and soon collected a huge mob of desperadoes. At first they attacked and plundered villages and farms, but when Maternus had amassed a sizable sum of money, he gathered an even larger band of cutthroats by offering the prospect of generous booty and a fair share of the loot. As a result, his men no longer appeared to be brigands but rather enemy troops.

[2] πόλεσι γὰρ ἤδη μεγίσταις ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς δεσμοτήρια βία ῥηγνύντες, τοὺς ἐφ' οἰαισδὴ καθειρχθέντας αἰτίαις δεσμῶν ἐλευθέρους ἀφιέντες ἄδειάν τε ὑπισχνούμενοι, εὐεργεσίαις ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν προσήγοντο· πᾶσάν τε κατατρέχοντες τὴν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἰβήρων χώραν, πόλεσί τε ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐπιόντες, καὶ μέρη μὲν ἐμπιπράντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ <δι'> ἄρπαγῆς ποιοῦμενοι ἀνεχώρουν.

[2] They now attacked the largest cities and released all the prisoners, no matter what the reasons for their imprisonment. By promising these men their freedom, he persuaded them to join his band in gratitude for favors received. The bandits roamed over all Gaul and Spain, attacking the largest cities; a few of these they burned, but the rest they abandoned after sacking them.

[3] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐδηλώθη τῷ Κομόδῳ, μετὰ πάσης ὀργῆς τε καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγουμένοις ραθυμίαν ἐγκαλῶν καὶ κελεύει στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀθροισθῆναι. μαθόντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι δύναμιν ἀγειρομένην ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν μὲν χωρίων ἃ ἐπόρθουν ἀπέστησαν, λαθόντες δὲ διὰ ταχέας καὶ ἀβάτου ὁδοιπορίας κατ' ὀλίγους ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρεδύοντο, καὶ περὶ

βασιλείας ἤδη καὶ μειζόνων πραγμάτων ὁ Μάτερνος ἐβουλεύετο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ προπεπραγμένα πάσης ἐλπίδος μειζόνως ἦν προχωρήσαντα, φήθη δεῖν μέγα τι δράσας κατορθῶσαι, ἢ ἐπεὶ περ ἅπαξ ἐν κινδύνῳ καθειστῆκει, μὴ ἀσήμως

[3] When he was informed of these developments, Commodus, in a towering rage, sent threatening dispatches to the governors of the provinces involved, charging them with negligence and ordering them to raise an army to oppose the bandits. When the brigands learned that an army was being raised against them, they left the regions which they had been ravaging and slipped unnoticed, a few at a time, into Italy, by a quick but difficult route. And now Maternus was plotting for the empire, for larger stakes indeed. Since everything he had attempted had succeeded beyond his fondest hopes, he concluded that if he were to undertake something really important it was bound to succeed; having committed himself to a hazard from which it was impossible to withdraw, he would, at least, not die obscure and unknown.

[4] μηδ' ἀδόξως τελευτῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ τοσαύτην ὑπάρχειν δύναμιν ἡγεῖτο ὥς ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως ἰσορρόπου καὶ φανεράς ἐφόδου συστήναι πρὸς τὸν Κόμοδον (τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἐλογίζετο εὖνουν ἔτι τῷ Κομόδῳ ὑπάρχον, τὴν τε περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν δορυφόρων εὖνοιαν), τέχνη καὶ σοφία ἡλπισε περιέσεσθαι. καὶ μηχανᾶται τοιόνδε τι·

[4] But when he reflected that he did not have an army sufficiently powerful to resist Commodus on equal terms and in open opposition (for it was thought that the majority of the Roman people were still well disposed toward Commodus, and he also had the support of the Praetorian Guard), Maternus hoped to balance this inequality of forces by guile and cunning. This is the way he undertook to accomplish it.

[5] ἥρος ἀρχῇ ἐκάστου ἔτους ὠρισμένης ἡμέρας μητρὶ θεῶν πομπὴν τελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· καὶ πάντα ὅσα παρ' ἐκάστοις πλούτου σύμβολα κειμήλιά τε βασιλέων ὕλης τε ἢ τέχνης θαύματα, τῆς θεοῦ προπομπεύει. ἀνετός τε πᾶσι δέδοται ἐξουσία παντοδαπῆς παιδιᾶς, ἕκαστός τε ὁ βούλεται σχῆμα ὑποκρίνεται· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτως μέγα ἢ ἐξαίρετον ἀξίωμα, ὃ μὴ παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀμφιεσθέντι ὑπάρχει παῖξαι τε καὶ κρύψαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὥς μὴ ῥαδίως

[5] Every year, on a set day at the beginning of spring, the Romans celebrate a festival in honor of the mother of the gods. All the valuable trappings of each deity, the imperial treasures, and marvelous objects of all kinds, both natural and man-made, are carried in procession before this goddess. Free license for every kind of revelry is granted, and each man assumes the disguise of his choice. No office is so important or so sacrosanct that permission is refused anyone to put on its distinctive uniform and join in the revelry, concealing his true identity; consequently, it is not easy to distinguish the true from the false.

[6] διαγνῶναι τὸν τε ὄντα καὶ τὸν μιμούμενον. ἔδοξε δὴ τῷ Ματέρνῳ καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι ἐς τὸ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν λαθεῖν. ἤλπισε γὰρ αὐτός τε ἀναλαβὼν τὸ τῶν δορυφόρων σχῆμα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπλίσας ὁμοίως ἀναμίξας τε τῷ πλήθει τῶν αἰχμοφόρων καὶ τῆς πομπῆς νομισθεὶς μέρος, μηδενὸς [τε] προφυλαττομένου αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσὼν

[6] This seemed to Maternus an ideal time to launch his plot undetected. By donning the uniform of a praetorian soldier and outfitting his companions in the same way, he hoped to mingle with the true praetorians and, after watching part of the parade, to attack Commodus and kill him while no one was on guard.

[7] τὸν Κόμοδον διαχρήσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ προδοσίας γενομένης [καὶ] τινῶν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ προκατελθόντων ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κατειπόντων (φθόνος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦτο παρώξυνεν, εἰ δὴ ἔμελλον ἀντὶ ἀρχιληιστοῦ δεσπότην ἔξιν βασιλέα), πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτός τε ὁ Μάτερνος συλληφθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη, καὶ οἱ συνωμόται ἀξίας ὑπέσχον δίκας. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος θύσας τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ χαριστήρια ὁμολογήσας τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπετέλει, παρέπεμπε τε τὴν θεὸν χαίρων. καὶ σωτήρια τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπανηγύριζεν.

[7] But the plan was betrayed when some of those who had accompanied him into the city revealed the plot. (Jealousy led them to disclose it, since they preferred to be ruled by the emperor rather than by a bandit chief.) Before he arrived at the scene of the festivities, Maternus was seized and beheaded, and his companions suffered the punishment they deserved. After sacrificing to the goddess and making thank offerings, Commodus completed the festivities and did honor to the goddess, rejoicing at his escape. The people continued to

celebrate their emperor's deliverance after the festival came to an end.

SECTION 11

[1] θρησκεύουσι δὲ μάλιστα τὴν θεὸν τήνδε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης, ὡς ἱστορία παρειλήφαμεν, ἥς ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἔδοξε διὰ τὴν παρ' Ἑλλήνων τισὶν ἀγνωσίαν. αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμα διοπετέες εἶναι λέγουσιν, οὔτε δὲ τὴν ὕλην οὔτε τεχνιτῶν ὅστις ἐποίησεν ἐγνωσμένον οὐδὲ ψαυστὸν χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης. τοῦτο δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθῆναι λόγος ἔς τινα τῆς Φρυγίας χῶρον (Πεσσινοῦς δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν λαβεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐκ τοῦ πεσόντος ἀγάλματος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ) καὶ

[1] As we have discovered by research, the Romans are devoted to this goddess for the following reason — a reason which it seems worth while to relate here, since it is unknown to some of the Greeks. They say that this statue of the goddess fell from the sky; the exact material of the statue is not known, nor the identity of the artists who made it; in fact, it is not certain that the statue was the work of human hands. Long ago it fell from the sky in Phrygia (the name of the region where it fell is Pessinus, which received its name from the fall of the heavenly statue); the statue was discovered there.

[2] πρῶτον ἐκεῖσε ὀφθῆναι. ὡς δὲ παρ' ἑτέροις εὗρομεν, Ἴλῳ τῷ Φρυγὶ καὶ Ταντάλῳ τῷ Λυδῷ πόλεμον ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ μὲν περὶ ὄρων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῆς Γανυμήδους ἀρπαγῆς· ἰσορρόπου δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἐκατέρωθεν πεσεῖν ἱκανούς, καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ὄνομα δοῦναι τῷ χωρίῳ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Γανυμήδην ἀρπασθέντα ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι λόγος, ἀνθελκόντων αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἑραστοῦ, ἀφανοῦς δὲ γενομένου τοῦ σώματος ἐκθειαςθῆναι τὸ πάθος τοῦ μειρακίου ἐς μῦθον καὶ τὴν Διὸς ἀρπαγὴν. ἐν δὲ τῷ προειρημένῳ Πεσσινοῦντι πάλαι μὲν Φρύγες ὠργίαζον ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Γάλλῳ παραρρέοντι, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν φέρουσιν

[2] As we learn from other sources, a battle is said to have taken place there between Ilus the Phrygian and Tantalus the Lydian. Some say it was a boundary dispute; others, that it was concerned with Ganymede's kidnapping. The battle continued for a long time on even terms, and a large number of men fell on both sides; this disaster gave the region its name. It was there, so the story goes, that Ganymede was spirited away and disappeared from mortals' view when his brother and lover tore him limb from limb. After the youth's body vanished, his sufferings made him immortal when Zeus spirited

him away to heaven. The Phrygians of old staged their revels in Pessinus, on the banks of the river Gallus, from which the eunuch priests of Cybele derive their name.

[3] οἱ τῇ θεῷ τομίαι ἱερωμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἠϋξετο τὰ πράγματα, φασὶν αὐτοῖς χρησθῆναι μενεῖν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐς μέγα προχωρήσειν, εἰ τὴν Πεσσινουντίαν θεὸν μεταγάγοιεν ὡς αὐτούς. πέμπαντες δὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Φρύγας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἤτουν· ἔτυχον δὲ ῥαδίως συγγένειαν προβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰνείου τοῦ Φρυγὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς διαδοχὴν καταλέγοντες. κομισθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ νεὼς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ γενόμενον ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Θύμβριδος ἐκβολαῖς (ταύταις γὰρ ἀντὶ λιμένων ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) ἔστησε

[3] When Roman affairs prospered, they say that an oracle prophesied that the empire would endure and soar to greater heights if the goddess were brought from Pessinus to Rome. The Romans therefore sent an embassy to Phrygia and asked for the statue; they easily got it by reminding the Phrygians of their kinship and by recalling to them that Aeneas the Phrygian was the ancestor of the Romans. The statue was carried aboard ship, but when the vessel arrived at the mouth of the Tiber (the Romans use this as their harbor) it came to a halt, stopped by divine power.

[4] θεῖα δυνάμει τὸ σκάφος. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ πανδημεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν ναὺν ἐφελκόντων, ἀντεχούσης τῆς ἰλὸς οὐ πρότερον ἢ ναὺς ἀνέδραμε, πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἰέρειαν ἐνεχθῆναι [τῆς] θεοῦ ἥτις [τῆς Ἑστίας] ἦν τοιαύτης, ὥστ' ἔδει παρθενεύεσθαι, αἰτίαν δὲ διαφθορᾶς εἶχεν. μέλλουσα δὲ κριθῆσεσθαι, ἰκετεύει τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ Πεσσινουντίᾳ θεῷ τὴν κρίσιν· καὶ λυσαμένη τὴν ζώνην ἐπαφῆκε τῇ πρῶρᾳ τῆς νεὼς προσευξαμένη, εἰ παρθένος

[4] For a long time the Romans tried in every way to dislodge the ship, which was held fast as if by a sand bar, but it refused to move until one of the Vestal Virgins, who was charged with breaking her oath of chastity, was led forward. The priestess, who was about to be put to death, begged the people to submit her case to the goddess from Pessinus. She unfastened the sash at her waist and attached it to the prow of the ship, praying that if she were still virgin and pure the ship would follow her.

[5] εἶη καὶ ἀγνή, πεισθῆναι τὸ σκάφος. ῥαδίως δὲ τῆς ζώνης ἐξηρτημένη ἡ ναὺς ἠκολούθησεν· ὁμοῦ δὲ τὸ ἐναργὲς τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς παρθένου

Ῥωμαῖοι ἐθαύμασαν. τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ <περὶ> τῆς Περσινουντίας θεοῦ φιλοτιμότερον ἱστορήσθω, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἔξοντα γῶσιν τοῖς τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ἐκφυγὼν τὴν Ματέρνου ἐπιβουλὴν πλείονί τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχρήτο φρουρᾶ καὶ σπανίως τοῖς δήμοις ἐπεφαίνετο, τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν προαστείοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως βασιλικοῖς κτήμασιν διατρίβων καὶ ἑαυτὸν δικαστηρίων ἀπείργων καὶ βασιλικῶν πράξεων.

[5] The ship, secured to her sash, followed her readily. The Romans were struck with awe both by the manifestation of the goddess and by the piety of the maiden. Let this suffice as an inquiry into the history of the goddess from Pessinus, but it will prove a not unwelcome digression to those unfamiliar with Roman affairs. After escaping Maternus' plot, Commodus strengthened his personal bodyguard and seldom appeared in public. He spent most of his time at his suburban estate and at the imperial estates far from Rome, having given up his judicial and administrative duties.

SECTION 12

[1] συνέβη δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ λοιμώδη νόσον κατασχεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν· μάλιστα δὲ τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἤκμασεν ἅτε πυλυνθρώπων τε οὕσῃ φύσει καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ὑποδεχομένη, πολλή τέ τις φθορὰ ἐγένετο

[1] ABOUT this time, plague struck all Italy. The suffering was especially severe in Rome, since the city, which received people from all over the world, was overcrowded. The city suffered great loss of both men and animals.

[2] ὑποζυγίων ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρώπων. τότε ὁ Κόμοδος συμβουλευσάντων αὐτῶ τινῶν ἱατρῶν ἐς τὴν Λαύρεντον ἀνεχώρησεν· εὐψυχέστερον γὰρ ὄν τὸ χωρίον καὶ μεγίστοις κατάσκιον δαφνηφόροις ἄλσεσιν (ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ) σωτήριον εἶναι ἐδόκει, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος φθορὰν ἀντέχειν ἐλέγετο εὐωδία τε τῆς τῶν δαφνῶν ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῇ τῶν δένδρων ἡδεῖα σκιᾷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν κελευόντων τῶν ἱατρῶν μύρου εὐωδεστάτου τάς τε ὀσφρήσεις καὶ τὰ ὠτα ἐνεπίμπλασαν, θυμιάμασί τε καὶ ἀρώμασι συνεχῶς ἐχρῶντο, φασκόντων τινῶν τὴν εὐωδίαν φθάσασαν ἐμπιπλάναι τοὺς πόρους τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ κωλύειν δέχεσθαι τὸ φθορῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος, ἢ εἰ καὶ τι προεμπέσοι, κατεργάζεσθαι δυνάμει κρείττονι. πλὴν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ νόσος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤκμασε, πολλῆς ἀνθρώπων φθορᾶς γενομένης πάντων τε ζώων <τῶν> τοῖς ἀνθρώπων συνοίκων.

[2] Then, on the advice of his physicians, Commodus left Rome for Laurentum.¹⁷ This region enjoyed the shade from extensive laurel groves (whence the area derives its name); it was cooler there and seemed to be a safe haven. The emperor is said to have counteracted the pollution in the air by the fragrant scent of the laurels and the refreshing shade of the trees. At the direction of their doctors, those who remained in Rome filled their nostrils and ears with fragrant oils and used perfume and incense constantly, for some said that the sweet odor, entering first, filled up the sensory passages and kept out the poison in the air; or, if any poison should enter, it would be neutralized by the stronger odors. The plague, however, continued to rage unchecked for a long time, and many men died, as well as domestic animals of all kinds.

[3] ἐπέσχε δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ καὶ λιμὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. Κλέανδρός τις ἦν, τὸ μὲν γένος Φρύξ, τῶν δημοσία εἰωθότων ὑπὸ κήρυκι πιπράσκεσθαι. οἰκέτης δὲ βασιλικὸς γενόμενος συναυξηθεὶς τε τῷ Κομόδῳ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπ'

αὐτοῦ τιμῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας προήχθη, ὥς τὴν τε τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξουσίαν τὴν τε τῶν <βασιλικῶν> στρατιωτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρισθῆναι. ὑπὸ δὲ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς ἀνεπείσθη καὶ πρὸς βασιλείας

[3] Famine gripped the city at the same time. Responsible for it was a Phrygian named Cleander, one of the slaves offered for sale by the public auctioneer for the benefit of the state. As a slave in the imperial household, Cleander grew up with Commodus and eventually was raised to a position of honor and authority: the command of the bodyguard, the stewardship of the imperial bedroom, and the control of the imperial armies were all entrusted to him. Because of his wealth and wantonness, Cleander coveted the empire.

[4] ἐπιθυμίαν. ἀθροίζων δὲ χρήματα καὶ πλεῖστον σῖτον συνωνούμενος καὶ ἀποκλείων, ἤλπιζε<ν> ὑπάξεσθαι τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ πρῶτον ἐν σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καταστήσας ἐπιδόσει λαμπραῖς ἀλόντας πόθῳ τοῦ χρεώδους προσαγάγοιτο. μέγιστον δὲ γυμνάσιον κατασκευάσας λουτρὸν δημόσιον ἀνῆκεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ μὲν

[4] He bought up most of the grain supply and put it in storage; he hoped in this way to get control of the people and the army by making a generous distribution of grain at the first sign of a food shortage, anticipating that he would win the support of the people when they were suffering from a scarcity of food. He also built a huge gymnasium and public bath and turned them over to the people. In this way he tried to curry favor with the mob.

[5] οὖν οὕτως τὸν δῆμον ἐθελέαζεν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν δεινῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφέροντες μισοῦντές τε αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀκόρεστον τῆς τοῦ πλούτου ἐπιθυμίας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις συνιστάμενοι κατὰ πλήθη κακῶς ἠγόρευον, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, διάγοντος ἐν προαστείῳ τοῦ Κομόδου, ἐπελθόντες πανδημεὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Κλέανδρον ἐς θάνατον ᾔτουν.

[5] The Romans, however, hated the man and blamed him for all their difficulties; they especially despised him for his greed. At first they attacked him bitterly when they thronged the theaters; later, however, they went in a body to Commodus, who was passing the time on his estate near the city, and there, raising a fearful din, they demanded Cleander for execution.

[6] ταραχῆς δ' οὔσης περὶ τὸ προάστειον τοῦ τε Κομόδου ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεχωρηκόσι τόποις ἡδοναῖς σχολάζοντος ἀγνοοῦντός τε τὰ θρυλούμενα, ἐπεὶπερ ὁ Κλέανδρος ἀγγέλλεσθαί τι τῶν πραττομένων ἐκώλυνεν αὐτῷ, αἰφνιδίως, οὐ προσδοκῶντος τοῦ δήμου, ἐπιφαίνονται ὥπλισμένοι κελεύσαντος τοῦ Κλεάνδρου πάντες οἱ βασιλῆιοι ἱππεῖς

[6] During this tumult on the grounds of his suburban estate, Commodus was loitering in the pleasant, secluded inner rooms, for Cleander had kept him in ignorance of what was happening. Suddenly, unlooked for by the assembled mob, the imperial cavalry appeared fully armed and, at the order of the prefect, butchered those in their path.

[7] τοὺς τε ἐντυγχάνοντας ἔβαλλον καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐδ' ἀντιστῆναι οἷός τε ἦν, ἄνοπλοι πρὸς ὥπλισμένους καὶ πεζοὶ πρὸς ἱππεῖς· τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐφθείρετο δὲ ὁ δῆμος οὐ μόνον βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδὲ πατούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ὠθούμενοι καὶ [ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων] ἐπ' ἀλλήλους πίπτοντες πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο.

[7] The people were unable to withstand the assault, for they were unarmed men on foot fighting against armed men on horseback. And so they fell, not only because they were attacked by the cavalry and trampled by the horses, but also because they were overwhelmed by the sheer weight of their own numbers, and many died in the pile-ups.

[8] μέχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν τῆς Ῥώμης πυλῶν ἀκωλύτως οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ἀφειδῶς ἀνήρουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει μέιναντες αἰσθόμενοι τὸ κατελιγνός πάθος, ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς τῶν οἰκῶν εἰσόδους ἐς τε τὰ δωμάτια ἀναβάντες λίθοις καὶ κεράμοις ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἱππεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἔπασχον ἅπερ δεδράκεσαν, οὐδενὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς συστάδην μαχομένου, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἤδη βάλλοντος αὐτούς, τιτρωσκόμενοι τοίνυν καὶ μὴ φέροντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν διεφθείροντο·

[8] The horsemen pursued the fugitives right to the gates of Rome and slaughtered them without mercy as they attempted to force their way into the city. When those who had remained in Rome heard what had happened, they blocked the doors of their houses and went up on the roofs to throw down stones and roof tiles on the cavalry, who now suffered what they had inflicted,

for no one opposed them in formal battle; most of the people were hurling missiles at them from safe positions. Finally, unable to endure the onslaught any longer, the wounded horsemen turned and fled, leaving many dead behind.

[9] ὑπό τε τῆς τῶν λίθων συνεχοῦς βολῆς οἱ ἵπποι κυλινδουμένοις τοῖς λίθοις ἐπιβαίνοντες ὠλίσθανον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπεωθοῦντο. πολλῶν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν πιπτόντων ἐπεβοήθουν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως πεζοὶ στρατιῶται μίσει τῶν ἰππέων.

[9] In the steady hail of missiles, their horses stumbled and fell on the round stones, throwing their riders. After many had been killed on both sides, the infantry in the city, who despised the cavalry, came to the aid of the mob.

SECTION 13

[1] ὄντος δὲ πολέμου ἐμφυλίου ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀγγεῖλαι τὰ πραττόμενα τῷ Κομόδῳ ἐβούλετο δέει τῆς Κλεάνδρου ἐξουσίας, ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν Κομόδου ἀδελφῶν (Φαδίλλα ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῇ) εἰσδραμοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (ῥαδίᾳ δὲ ἡ εἰσοδος αὐτῇ καὶ ἀκώλυτος ἄτε ἀδελφῇ) λυσαμένη τὰς τρίχας ῥίψασά τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑαυτήν, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ πένθους σχῆμα δείξασα σὺ μὲν ἔφην ὦ

[1] EVEN though a civil war was raging, no one was willing to report to Commodus what was happening, for fear of Cleander. Finally the emperor's eldest sister (her name was Phadilla) rushed into the palace (as his sister, she had free and easy access to the emperor), and, loosing her hair, threw herself down and cried out in anguish:

[2] βασιλεῦ, μένων ἐπὶ ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν πραττομένων ἀγνοίᾳ, «ἐν» ἐσχάτῳ κατέστηκας κινδύνῳ· ἡμεῖς δέ, τὸ σὸν γένος, ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπολούμεθα. οἴχεται δέ σοι ὁ τε δῆμος Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. ἂ δὲ πρὸς μηδενὸς βαρβάρων πείσεσθαι προσεδοκῶμεν, ταῦτα δρῶσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκεῖοι, καὶ οὐς μάλιστα εὐηργέτησας,

[2] “Here you are, emperor, taking your leisure, ignorant of what is happening, when you are actually in the gravest danger. And we, your own flesh and blood, are at this very moment threatened with murder. Already the Roman people and most of the army are lost to you. What we would not think of enduring at the hands of barbarians, our own people are doing to us. And those people whom you have treated with special consideration, you now find to be your enemies.

[3] τούτους ἐχθροὺς ἔχεις. Κλεάνδρος ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὥπλισεν· ἐκ δὲ διαφόρου καὶ ἐναντίας γνώμης οἱ μὲν μισοῦντες αὐτόν, [ὁ δῆμος,] οἱ δὲ στέργοντες, [πᾶν τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα,] ἐν ὅλοις εἰσὶ, καὶ φθείροντες ἀλλήλους ἐμφυλίου αἵματος τὴν πόλιν ἐπλήρωσαν. τὰ δ' ἑκατέρου τοῦ πλήθους δεινὰ ἡμᾶς προσλήπεται, εἰ μὴ τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκδώσεις «τὸν» πονηρὸν οἰκέτην, ὀλέθρου τοσούτου τοῖς μὲν αἴτιον ἦδη γεγονότα, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐσόμενον ὅσον οὐδέπω.

[3] Cleander has armed the people and the soldiers against you. Those who

hate him because they hold differing opinions, the mob, and the entire imperial cavalry, who support him, are up in arms, killing each other and choking the city with blood. The fury of both factions will fall upon us unless you immediately hand over to them for execution this scoundrelly servant of yours, who already has been the cause of so much destruction for the people and who threatens to be the cause of so much destruction for us.”

[4] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰποῦσα ῥηξαμένη τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ τῶν παρόντων τινές (ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ τοῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως λόγοις) τὸν Κόμοδον ἐτάραξαν. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸν τε ἐπικείμενον κίνδυνον οὐ μέλλοντα ἀλλὰ παρόντα ἤδη φοβηθεὶς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Κλεάνδρον, οὐδὲν μὲν τι εἰδότα τῶν ἀπηγγελεμένων, οἰόμενον δέ. ἐλθόντα οὖν αὐτὸν συλληφθῆναι κελεύει καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν δόρατί τε ἐπιμήκει ἐγκαταπῆξας ἐκπέμπει

[4] After she had made these statements, tearing her clothes in grief, others who were present (for they became bolder at the words of the emperor’s sister) urged Commodus to take action. He was terrified by this pressing danger, which did not merely threaten but was already upon him. In his panic he sent for Cleander, who knew nothing of what had been reported to the emperor, but had his suspicions. When the prefect appeared, Commodus ordered him seized and beheaded, and, impaling his head on a long spear, sent it out to the mob, to whom it was a welcome and long-desired sight.

[5] τερπνὸν καὶ ποθεινὸν τῷ δήμῳ θέαμα. ἔσθῃ γὰρ οὕτως τὸ δεινόν, καὶ ἑκάτεροι πολεμοῦντες ἐπαύσαντο, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ἀνηρημένον ἰδόντες ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐμάχοντο, δέει τε τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς (συνέισαν γὰρ ἐξηπατῆσθαι καὶ τὰ δρασθέντα παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ τετολμηκέναι), ὁ δὲ δῆμος κεκόρεστο τιμωρίαν παρὰ τοῦ τὰ δεινὰ δράσαντος

[5] In this way he terminated the danger, and both sides stopped fighting: the soldiers, because they saw that the man for whom they had been fighting had been killed and also because they feared the wrath of the emperor (for they realized that he had been deceived and that Cleander had done everything without imperial approval); the people, because their desire for vengeance was satisfied by the arrest of the man responsible for the appalling crimes.

[6] εἰληφώς, προσανέϊλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Κλεάνδρου (δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἄρρενες αὐτῷ), πάντας τε ὅσους ἤδεσαν ἐκείνῳ φίλους διεχρήσαντο·

σύροντές τε τὰ σώματα καὶ πᾶσαν ὕβριν ἐνυβρίσαντες, τέλος λελωβημένα ἐς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς φέροντες ἔρριψαν. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει Κλέανδρός τε καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχρήσαντο, φιλοτιμουμένης, ὥς ἂν τις εἴποι, τῆς φύσεως ἐν ἐνὶ δεῖξαι, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἐσχάτης εὐτελείας ἐς τὸ μέγιστον ὕψος ἄραι καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀρθέντα ρῖναι ὀλίγη καὶ ἀνέλπιτος δύναται τύχης ῥοπή.

[6] They put Cleander's children to death (for he had two sons), and killed all his known friends. They dragged their bodies through the streets, subjecting them to every indignity, and finally brought the mutilated corpses to the sewer and threw them in. Such was the fate of Cleander and his associates; it was as if Nature had undertaken to demonstrate that a small and unexpected twist of fate can raise a man from the lowest depths to the greatest heights and then plunge the man so exalted down to the depths again.

[7] ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος δεδιὼς μὲν τὴν τοῦ δήμου κίνησιν, μή τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν νεωτερίσειεν, ὅμως δὲ παρορμησάντων αὐτὸν τῶν οἰκείων κατελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ πάσης εὐφημίας τε καὶ παραπομπῆς τοῦ δήμου ὑποδεχθεὶς ἐς τὴν βασιλείον ἐπανήλθεν αὐλήν. πειραθεὶς δὲ τοσούτων κινδύνων ἀπίστως προσεφέρετο πᾶσιν ἀφειδῶς τε φονεύων καὶ πάσαις διαβολαῖς ῥαδίως πιστεύων μηδέ τινα προσιέμενος τῶν λόγου ἀξίων· ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν περὶ τὰ καλὰ σπουδῆς ἀπῆγεν ἑαυτόν, δεδούλωντο δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπάλληλοι

[7] Although he feared a popular uprising and a new attempt upon his life, Commodus nevertheless, at the urging of his advisers, entered the city. Received there with great enthusiasm, he went to the imperial palace, escorted by the people. After undergoing such risks, the emperor trusted no one; he killed now without warning, listening to all accusations without question and paying no heed to those worthy of a hearing. He no longer had any regard for the "good life"; night and day, without interruption, licentious pleasures of the flesh made him a slave, body and soul.

[8] καὶ ἀκόλαστοι σώματος ἡδοναί. καὶ σώφρων μὲν πᾶς καὶ παιδείας κἂν ἔτι μετρίως μεμνημένος τῆς αὐλῆς ὥς ἐπίβουλος ἐδιώκετο, γελωτοποιοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων ὑποκριταὶ εἶχον αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον. ἀρμάτων τε ἡνιοχείας καὶ θηρίων ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως μάχας ἐπαιδεύετο, τῶν μὲν κολάκων ἐς ἀνδρείας δόξαν αὐτὰ ὑμνούντων, τοῦ δὲ ἀπρεπέστερον μετιόντος ἢ βασιλεῖ σώφρονι

ἥρμοξε.

[8] Men of intelligence and those who had even a smattering of learning were driven from the palace as conspirators, but the emperor gave enthralled attention to the filthy skits of comedians and actors. He took lessons in driving the chariot and trained to take part in the wild-animal fights; his flatterers praised these activities as proof of his manliness, but he indulged in them more often than befitted an intelligent emperor.

SECTION 14

[1] ἐγένοντο δέ τινες κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ καὶ διοσημεῖαι. ἀστέρες γὰρ ἡμέριοι συνεχῶς ἐβλέποντο ἕτεροί τε ἐς μῆκος κεχαλασμένοι ὥς ἐν μέσῳ ἀέρι κρέμασθαι δοκεῖν· ζῳά τε παντοῖα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν μὴ τηροῦντα σχήμασί τε ἄλλοδαποῖς καὶ μέρεσι σώματος ἀναρμόστοις

[1] IN THAT time of crisis a number of divine portents occurred. Stars remained visible during the day; other stars, extending to an enormous length, seemed to be hanging in the middle of the sky. Abnormal animals were born, strange in shape and deformed of limb.

[2] πολλάκις ἀπεκυήθη. τὸ μέγιστον δὲ δεινόν, ὃ καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἐλύπησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον οἰωνίσματι καὶ φαύλῳ συμβόλῳ χρωμένους πάντας ἐτάραξεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὄμβρου προὑπάρξαντος οὔτε νεφῶν ἀθροισθέντων, σεισμοῦ δὲ ὀλίγου προγενομένου γῆς, εἴτε σκηπτοῦ νύκτωρ κατενεχθέντος, εἴτε καὶ πυρός ποθεν ἐκ τοῦ σεισμοῦ διαρρύνεντος, πᾶν τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος κατεφλέχθη, μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον γενόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔργων.

[2] But the worst portent of all, which aggravated the present crisis and disturbed those who employ auguries and omens to predict the future, was this. Although no massing of dark clouds and no thunderstorm preceded it, and only a slight earthquake occurred beforehand, either as a result of a lightning bolt at night or a fire which broke out after the earthquake, the temple of Peace, the largest and most beautiful building in the city, was totally destroyed by fire.

[3] πλουσιώτατον δὲ ἦν πάντων ἱερῶν, δι' ἀσφάλειαν ἀναθήμασι κεκοσμημένον χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου· ἕκαστος δέ, ᾧ εἶχεν, ἐκεῖσε ἐθησαυρίζετο. ἀλλὰ τὸ πῦρ ἐκείνης νυκτὸς πολλοὺς ἐκ πλουσίων πένητας ἐποίησεν· ὅθεν ὠλοφύροντο κοινῇ μὲν πάντες τὰ δημόσια, ἕκαστος δὲ τὰ ἴδια αὐτοῦ.

[3] It was the richest of all the temples, and, because it was a safe place, was adorned with offerings of gold and silver; every man deposited his possessions there. But this fire, in a single night, made paupers of many rich men. All Rome joined in mourning the public loss, and each man lamented his

own personal loss.

[4] καταφλέξαν δὲ τὸ πῦρ τὸν τε νεῶν καὶ πάντα τὸν περίβολον, ἐπενεμήθη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως καὶ κάλλιστα ἔργα· ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νεῶ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς γυμνωθὲν ὤφθη τὸ τῆς Παλλάδος ἄγαλμα, ὃ σέβουσὶ τε καὶ κρύπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κομισθὲν ἀπὸ Τροίας, ὡς λόγος· ὃ τότε πρῶτον [καὶ] μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἄφριζιν εἶδον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς

[4] After consuming the temple and the entire sacred precinct, the fire swept on to destroy a large part of the city, including its most beautiful buildings. When the temple of Vesta went up in flames, the image of Pallas Athena was exposed to public view — that statue which the Romans worship and keep hidden, the one brought from Troy, as the story goes. Now, for the first time since its journey from Troy to Italy, the statue was seen by men of our time.

[5] ἄνθρωποι. ἀρπάσασαι γὰρ τὸ ἄγαλμα αἱ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱέρειαι παρθένοι διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴν μετεκόμισαν. κατεφλέχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως μέρη «καὶ» κάλλιστα, ἱκανῶν τε ἡμερῶν πάντα ἐπιὼν τὸ πῦρ ἐπεβόσκετο, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἢ κατενεχθέντες ὄμβροι ἐπέσχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν.

[5] For the Vestal Virgins snatched up the image and carried it along the Sacred Way to the imperial palace. Many other beautiful sections of the city were destroyed in this fire, which continued to burn for days, spreading in all directions. It was not finally extinguished until falling showers put an end to its raging.

[6] ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ἐξεθείασθη πιστευόντων κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅτι γνώμη θεῶν καὶ δυνάμει ἥρξατο τε τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐπαύσατο. συνεβάλλοντο δὲ τινες ἐκ τῶν καταλαβόντων, πολέμων σημεῖον εἶναι τὴν τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Εἰρήνης ἀπώλειαν. τὰ γοῦν ἀκολουθήσαντα, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν, ἐκ τῆς ἀποβάσεως τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν φήμην ἐπιστάσατο.

[6] For this reason the disaster was held to be of divine origin; in that critical period, men believed that the fire was started and stopped by the will and power of the gods. Some conjectured from these events that the destruction of the temple of Peace was a prophecy of war. And subsequent events, as we shall relate in the books to follow, confirmed this prophecy by actual events.

[7] πολλῶν δὴ καὶ δεινῶν συνεχῶς κατελιφόντων τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος μετ' εὐνοίας τὸν Κόμοδον ἐπέβλεπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἀλλεπαλλήλων συμφορῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἀκρίτους φόνους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βίου ἀνέφερεν ἁμαρτήματα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλάνθανε τὰ πραττόμενα πάντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς λανθάνειν ἤθελεν· ἃ δὲ πράττων οἴκοι διεβάλλετο, ταῦτα καὶ δημοσίᾳ

[7] With so many disasters befalling the city in rapid succession, the Roman people no longer looked with favor upon Commodus; they attributed their misfortunes to his illegal murders and the other mistakes he had made in his lifetime. He no longer concealed his activities, nor did he have any desire to keep them secret. What they objected to his doing in private he now had the effrontery to do in public. He fell into a state of drunken madness.

[8] δεῖξαι ἐτόλμησεν· ἐς τοσοῦτόν τε μανίας καὶ παροινίας προὔχρησεν, ὥς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πατρώαν προσηγορίαν παραιτήσασθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ Κομόδου καὶ Μάρκου υἱοῦ Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διὸς υἱὸν αὐτὸν κελεύσας καλεῖσθαι ἀποδυσάμενός τε τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ βασιλείον σχῆμα λεοντήν ἐπεστρώννυτο καὶ ῥόπαλον μετὰ χειρας ἔφερεν· ἀμφιέννυτό τε ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσομφεῖς ἐσθῆτας, ὥς εἶναι καταγέλαστον αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σχήματι καὶ θηλειῶν πολυτέλειαν

[8] First he discarded his family name and issued orders that he was to be called not Commodus, son of Marcus, but Hercules, son of Zeus. Abandoning the Roman and imperial mode of dress, he donned the lion skin, and carried the club of Hercules. He wore purple robes embroidered with gold, making himself an object of ridicule by combining in one set of garments the frailty of a woman and the might of a superman.

[9] καὶ ἡρώων ἰσχὺν μιμούμενον. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ προίων ἐφαίνετο, ἥλλαξε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων μηνῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ὅσα μὲν ἀρχαῖα καταλύσας, πάντας δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ προσηγορίαις ὀνομάσας, ὧν αἱ πλεῖσται ἐς Ἡρακλέα δῆθεν ὥς ἀνδρείοτατον ἀνεφέροντο. ἔστησε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς συγκλήτου συνεδρίου τόξον διηγκυλημένον· ἐβούλετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῷ φόβον ἀπειλεῖν.

[9] This was the way he looked in his public appearances. He assigned new names to the months of the year; abolishing the old ones, he called the months

after his own list of names and titles, most of which actually referred to Hercules as the manliest of men. He erected statues of himself throughout the city, but opposite the senate house he set up a special statue representing the emperor as an archer poised to shoot, for he wished even his statues to inspire fear of him.

SECTION 15

[1] τὸν μὲν οὖν ἀνδριάντα μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν καθελούσα ἡ σύγκλητος Ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα ἵδρυσεν· ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος μηκέτι κατέχων ἑαυτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θέας ἐπετέλεσεν, ὑποσχόμενος τὰ τε θηρία πάντα ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ κατακτενεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις τῶν νεανιῶν μονομαχήσειν. διαδραμούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης συνέθεον ἔκ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων ἐθνῶν, θεασόμενοι ἃ μὴ πρότερον μήτε ἑώρακεσαν μήτε ἠκηκόεσαν. καὶ γὰρ διηγγέλλετο αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ εὖστοχον, καὶ ὅτι ἔμελεν

[1] THE senate removed this statue of Commodus after his death and replaced it with a statue of Freedom. Now the emperor, casting aside all restraint, took part in the public shows, promising to kill with his own hands wild animals of all kinds and to fight in gladiatorial combat against the bravest of the youths. When this news became known, people hastened to Rome from all over Italy and from the neighboring provinces to see what they had neither seen nor even heard of before. Special mention was made of the skill of his hands and the fact that he never missed when hurling javelins or shooting arrows.

[2] αὐτῷ ἀκοντίζοντι καὶ τοξεύοντι μὴ πταίειν. συνῆσαν δὲ παιδεύοντες αὐτὸν Παρθυαίων οἱ τοξικὴν ἀκριβοῦντες καὶ Μαυρουσίων οἱ ἀκοντίζειν ἄριστοι, οὓς πάντας εὐχειρία ὑπερέβαλλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβον αἱ τῆς θέας ἡμέραι, τὸ μὲν ἀμφιθέατρον πεπλήρωτο, τῷ δὲ Κομόδῳ περιδρομος κύκλω κατεσκεύαστο, ὥς μὴ συστάδην τοῖς θηρίοις μαχόμενος κινδυνεύοι, ἄνωθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀκοντίζων εὖστοχίας μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρείας παρέχοιτο

[2] His instructors were the most skillful of the Parthian bowmen and the most accurate of the Moroccan javelin men, but he surpassed them all in marksmanship. When the days for the show arrived, the amphitheater was completely filled. A terrace encircling the arena had been constructed for Commodus, enabling him to avoid risking his life by fighting the animals at close quarters; rather, by hurling his javelins down from a safe place, he offered a display of skill rather than of courage.

[3] δεῖξιν. ἐλάφους μὲν οὖν καὶ δορκάδας ὅσα τε κερασφόρα πλὴν ταύρων, συνθέων αὐτοῖς καὶ καταδιώκων ἔβαλλε φθάνων τε αὐτῶν τὸν δρόμον καὶ πληγαῖς καιρίοις ἀναιρῶν· λέοντας δὲ καὶ παρδάλεις ὅσα τε ζῶα γενναῖα περιθέων ἄνωθεν κατηκόντιζεν. οὐδέ τις εἶδεν ἀκόντιον δευτέρον οὐδέ

τραῦμα ἄλλο πλὴν τοῦ θανατηφόρου·

[3] Deer, roebuck, and horned animals of all kinds, except bulls, he struck down, running with them in pursuit, anticipating their dashes, and killing them with deadly blows. Lions, leopards, and other animals of the nobler sort he killed from above, running around on his terrace. And on no occasion did anyone see a second javelin used, nor any wound except the death wound.

[4] ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τοῦ ζῴου ὀρμῇ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου ἢ κατὰ καρδίας ἔφερε τὴν πληγὴν, καὶ οὐδέποτε σκοπὸν ἄλλον ἔσχεν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλο μέρος ἦλθε τὸ ἀκόντιον τοῦ σώματος, ὥς μὴ ἅμα τε τρῶσαι καὶ φονεῦσαι. τὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν ζῶα ἠθοροίετο αὐτῷ. τότε γοῦν εἶδομεν ὅσα ἐν γραφαῖς

[4] For at the very moment the animal started up, it received the blow on its forehead or in its heart, and it bore no other wound, nor did the javelin pierce any other part of its body: the beast was wounded and killed in the same instant. Animals were collected for him from all over the world. Then we saw in the flesh animals that we had previously marveled at in paintings.

[5] ἐθαυμάζομεν· ἀπὸ τε γὰρ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν, εἴ τι πρότερον ἄγνωστον ἦν, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ τῆς ἀρκτώας γῆς ζῶα πάντα φονεύων Ῥωμαίοις ἔδειξε. τὸ δ' εὖστοχον τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐξεπλήττοντο. λαβὼν οὖν ποτὲ βέλη ὧν αἱ ἀκμαὶ ἦσαν μηνοειδεῖς, ταῖς Μαυρουσίαις στρουθοῖς ὀξύτατα φερομέναις καὶ ποδῶν τάχει καὶ κολπώσει πτερῶν ἐπαφιεῖς τὰ βέλη κατ' ἄκρου τοῦ τραχήλου ἐκαρπτόμει, ὥς καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀφηρημέναις ὀρμῇ τοῦ βέλους ἔτι περιθεῖν αὐτὰς ὥς μὴδὲν παθούσας.

[5] From India and Ethiopia, from lands to the north and to the south, any animals hitherto unknown he displayed to the Romans and then dispatched them. On one occasion he shot arrows with crescent-shaped heads at Moroccan ostriches, birds that move with great speed, both because of their swiftness afoot and the sail-like nature of their wings. He cut off their heads at the very top of the neck; so, after their heads had been severed by the edge of the arrow, they continued to run around as if they had not been injured.

[6] παρδάλεως δέ ποτε ὀξύτάτῳ δρόμῳ τὸν ἐκκαλούμενον καταλαβούσης φθάσας τῷ ἀκοντίῳ μέλλουσιν δῆξεσθαι, τὴν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν δὲ ἐρρύσατο, φθάσας τῇ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμῇ τὴν τῶν ὀδόντων ἀκμὴν. λεόντων δέ ποτε ἐξ

ὑπογαίων ἐκάτὸν ἅμα ἀφεθέντων ἰσαριθμοῖς ἀκοντίοις πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ κειμένων τῶν πτωμάτων δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σχολῆς πάντας ἀριθμῆσαι καὶ μηδ' ἐν ἰδεῖν περιττὸν ἀκόντιον.

[6] Once when a leopard, with a lightning dash, seized a condemned criminal, he thwarted the leopard with his javelin as it was about to close its jaws; he killed the beast and rescued the man, the point of the javelin anticipating the points of the leopard's teeth. Again, when a hundred lions appeared in one group as if from beneath the earth, he killed the entire hundred with exactly one hundred javelins, and all the bodies lay stretched out in a straight line for some distance; they could thus be counted with no difficulty, and no one saw a single extra javelin.

[7] μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων, εἰ καὶ βασιλείας τὰ πραπτόμενα ἦν ἀλλότρια, πλὴν ἀνδρείας καὶ εὐστοχίας παρὰ τοῖς δημώδεσιν εἶχέ τινα χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ γυμνὸς ἐς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον εἰσῆλθεν ὅπλα τε ἀναλαβὼν ἐμονομάχει, τότε σκυθρωπὸν εἶδεν ὁ δῆμος θέαμα, τὸν εὐγενῆ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα μετὰ τοσαῦτα τρόπαια πατρός τε καὶ προγόνων οὐκ ἐπὶ βαρβάρους ὅπλα λαμβάνοντα στρατιωτικὰ ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ πρέποντα, καθυβρίζοντα δὲ

[7] As far as these activities are concerned, however, even if his conduct was hardly becoming for an emperor, he did win the approval of the mob for his courage and his marksmanship. But when he came into the amphitheater naked, took up arms, and fought as a gladiator, the people saw a disgraceful spectacle, a nobly born emperor of the Romans, whose fathers and forebears had won many victories, not taking the field against barbarians or opponents worthy of the Romans, but disgracing his high position by degrading and disgusting exhibitions.

[8] τὸ ἀξίωμα αἰσχίστῳ καὶ μεμιασμένῳ σχήματι. ὁ μὲν οὖν μονομαχῶν ῥαδίως τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν περιεγίνετο καὶ μέχρι τραυμάτων προεχώρει ὑπεικόντων ἀπάντων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα οὐ τὸν μονομάχον ἐννοούντων, ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ προεχώρησε μανίας, ὥς μηκέτι βούλεσθαι μηδὲ τὴν βασιλείον οἰκεῖν ἐστίαν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετοικισθῆναι ἐβούλετο ἐς τὸ τῶν μονομάχων καταγώγιον. ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐκέτι Ἑρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων ἐνδόξου τινὸς

[8] In his gladiatorial combats, he defeated his opponents with ease, and he did no more than wound them, since they all submitted to him, but only because

they knew he was the emperor, not because he was truly a gladiator. At last he became so demented that he was unwilling to live in the imperial palace, but wished to change his residence to the gladiatorial barracks. He gave orders that he was no longer to be called Hercules, but by the name of a famous gladiator then dead.

[9] προτετελευτηκότος ὀνόματι καλεῖσθαι προσέταξε. τοῦ δὲ μεγίστου ἀγάλματος κολοσσιαίου, ὅπερ σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι εἰκόνα φέρον ἡλίου, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν ἰδρύσατο <τὴν> ἑαυτοῦ, ὑπογράψας τῇ βάσει [οὐχ] ὥς εἰώθασι βασιλικὰς καὶ πατρῶας προσηγορίας, ἀντὶ δὲ Γερμανικοῦ μονομάχους χιλίους νικήσαντος.

[9] He removed the head of a huge Colossus which the Romans worship and which bears the likeness of the Sun, replacing it with his own head, and inscribed on the base not the usual imperial and family titles; instead of “Germanicus” he wrote: “Conqueror of a Thousand Gladiators.”

SECTION 16

[1] ἔδει δὲ ἄρα ποτὲ κάκεῖνον παύσασθαι μεμνηνότα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν τυραννουμένην. νέου μὲν γὰρ ἔτους τῆς εἰσιούσης ἔμελλεν ἡμέρας <.... ἐκείνης γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας> σέβουσι [τε] τὴν ἑορτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς θεὸν ἀρχαιότατον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιχώριον ἀναφέροντες. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Κρόνον ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐκβληθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελθόντα ἐς γῆν γενέσθαι ξένον, δεδιότα δὲ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς δυναστείαν παρ’ αὐτῷ κρυπτόμενον λαθεῖν· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα δοθῆναι τῷ χώρῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας Λατίον τε

[1] BUT the time had finally come for Commodus to cease his mad antics and for the Roman empire to be rid of this tyrant. This occurred on the first day of the new year, when the Romans celebrate the festival which they trace back to the most ancient of the Italic native gods. They believe that Saturn, ousted from his realm by Jupiter, came down to earth and was the guest of Janus. Fearful of his son’s power, he escaped when Janus hid him.

[2] κληθῆναι, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς ἐς τὴν ἐπιχώριον παραχθέν. διὰ ταῦτά τοι καὶ μέχρι νῦν Ἰταλιῶται τὰ μὲν Κρόνια προεορτάζουσι θεῷ τῷ λαθόντι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἱερομηνίαν ἄγουσι τῷ τῆς Ἰταλίας θεῷ. διπρόσωπον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἱδρύται, ἐπειδὴ ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἄρχεται τε καὶ παύεται. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς προσιούσης, ἐν ἣ ἡ μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι δεξιοῦνται τε ἀλλήλους καὶ προσαγορεύουσι νομισμάτων τε ἀντιδόσεις καὶ

[2] This episode gave the region of Latium its name, which is derived from the Greek word lathein, “to escape notice.” For this reason the Italians continue to celebrate the Saturnalia down to the present time, to commemorate the sheltering of the god, and they observe at the beginning of the year the festival of the Italic god Janus. The statues of Janus have two faces because the year begins and ends with him. On the day of this festival the Romans go out of their way to greet each other and exchange gifts.

[3] κοινωνία τῶν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καλῶν εὐφραίνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀρχαί τε ἐπώνυμοι τότε πρῶτον τὴν ἑνδοξον καὶ ἐνιαύσιον πορφύραν περιτίθενται, πάντων ἑορταζόντων ὁ Κόμοδος ἐβούλετο οὐκ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείου, ὡς ἔθος, προελθεῖν οἰκίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν μονομάχων καταγωγίου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐπαρύφου καὶ βασιλικῆς πορφύρας ὅπλα τε αὐτὸς φέρων καὶ συμπριόντων τῶν λοιπῶν μονομάχων ὀφθῆναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

[3] On this day, too, they dine together gaily on the delicacies of land and sea. This is also the day on which the consuls who give their names to the year first don the purple robes of office for their one-year term. When all were occupied in the celebration, Commodus had it in mind to appear not from the imperial palace, in the customary fashion, but from the gladiatorial barracks, clad in armor instead of in the splendid imperial purple, and accompanied by the rest of the gladiators.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἀνήνεγκε πρὸς Μαρκίαν, ἣν εἶχε τῶν παλλακίδων τιμιωτάτην, καὶ οὐδέν τι ἀπέιχε γαμετῆς γυναικός, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπῆρχεν ὅσα Σεβαστῇ πλήν τοῦ πυρός, [ῆ] μαθοῦσα τὴν παράλογον οὕτω καὶ ἀπρεπῇ βούλῃσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρῶτα ἐλιπάρει καὶ προσπίπτουσα μετὰ δακρύων ἔδεῖτο μήτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καθυβρίσαι μηθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδόντα μονομάχοις καὶ ἀπεγνωσμένοις ἀνθρώποις κινδυνεύσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ ἰκετεύουσα οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτοῦ, ἥ μὲν δακρύουσα ἀπέστη, ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος μεταπεμψάμενος Λαϊτὸν τε τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῶν στρατοπέδων Ἐκλεκτὸν τε τὸν τοῦ θαλάμου προεστῶτα ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ «πάντα» παρασκευασθῆναι ὡς διανυκτερεύσων ἐν τῷ τῶν μονομάχων καταγωγίῳ κάκειθεν προελυσόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας τῆς ἱερομηνίας, ὡς Ῥωμαίοις ἔνοπλος ὁφθεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἰκέτευον καὶ πείθειν

[4] He announced his intentions to Marcia, whom, of all his mistresses, he held in highest esteem; he kept nothing from this woman, as if she were his legal wife, even allowing her the imperial honors except for the sacred fire. When she learned of his plan, so unreasonable and unbecoming an emperor, she threw herself at his feet, entreating him, with tears, not to bring disgrace upon the Roman empire and not to endanger his life by entrusting it to gladiators and desperate men. After much pleading, unable to persuade the emperor to abandon his plan, she left him, still weeping. Commodus then summoned Laetus, the praetorian prefect, and Eclectus, his bedroom steward, and ordered them to make arrangements for him to spend the night in the gladiatorial barracks, telling them that he would leave for the festival sacrifices from there, and show himself to the Romans under arms. And these men, too, pleaded with the emperor not to do anything unworthy of his imperial position.

SECTION 17

[1] ἐπειρῶντο μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ἀσχάλλων τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ὡς δὴ καθεδήσων (καὶ γὰρ μεσημβρίας εἰώθει τοῦτο ποιεῖν), λαβὼν γραμματεῖον τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐκ φυλῦρας ἐς λεπτότητα ἡσκημένων ἐπαλλήλῳ τε ἀνακλάσει ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπτυγμένων γράφει,

[1] COMMODUS, enraged, dismissed them and retired to his bedroom for a nap (for this was his custom in the middle of the day). First he took a wax tablet — one made from a thin strip of basswood, which grows under the bark of the linden tree — and wrote down the names of those who were to be put to death that night.

[2] ὅσους χρή τῆς νυκτὸς φονευθῆναι. ὧν πρώτη μὲν ἦν Μαρκία, εἶποντο δὲ Λαϊτός τε καὶ Ἑκλεκτος, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου πρωτευόντων. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἔτι λοιποὺς πατρώους φίλους ἀποσκεύασσθαι πάντας ἠθέλεν, αἰδούμενος ἔχειν αἰσχυρῶν ἔργων σεμνοῦς ἐπόπτας· τῶν δὲ πλουσίων τὰς οὐσίας χαρίσασθαι ἐβούλετο μερίσαι τε ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς μονομαχοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν ἵνα φυλάττειεν

[2] Marcia's name was at the top of the list, followed by Laetus and Eclectus and a large number of the foremost senators. Commodus wanted all the elder statesmen and the advisers appointed for him by his father, those who still survived, to be put to death, for he was ashamed to have these revered men witness his disgraceful actions. He planned to confiscate the property of the wealthy and distribute it to the soldiers, so that they would protect him, and to the gladiators, so that they would entertain him.

[3] αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ ἵνα τέρποιεν. γράψας δὴ <τὸ> γραμματεῖον τίθησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος, οἰηθεὶς μηδένα ἐκεῖσε εἰσελεύσεσθαι. ἦν δέ τι παιδίον πάνυ νήπιον, τούτων δὴ τῶν γυμνῶν μὲν ἐσθῆτος χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ λίθοις πολυτίμοις κεκοσμημένων, οἷς ἀεὶ χαίρουσι Ῥωμαίων οἱ τρυφῶντες. ὑπερηγάπα δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος αὐτὸ ὡς συγκαθεύδειν πολλάκις. Φιλοκόμοδος τε ἐκαλεῖτο, δεικνυούσης καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τὴν στοργὴν τὴν ἐς τὸν

[3] After composing his list, Commodus placed the tablet on his couch, thinking that no one would come into his bedroom. But there was in the

palace a very young little boy, one of those who went about bare of clothes but adorned with gold and costly gems. The Roman voluptuaries always took delight in these lads. Commodus was very fond of this child and often slept with him; his name, Philocommodus, clearly indicates the emperor's affection for him.

[4] παῖδα τοῦ βασιλέως. τὸ δὴ παιδίον τοῦτο ἄλλως ἀθύρον, προελθόντος τοῦ Κομόδου ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη λουτρά τε καὶ κραιπάλας, εἰσδραμὸν ἐς τὸν θάλαμον ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος κείμενον ἀνελόμενον, ἵνα δὴ παίζειν ἔχοι, πρόεισι τοῦ οἴκου. κατὰ δέ τινα δαίμονα συνήντετο τῇ Μαρκίᾳ. ἣ δὲ (καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔστεργε τὸ παιδίον) περιπτύξασα καὶ φιλοῦσα «αὐτὸ» τὸ γραμματεῖον ἀφαιρεῖται, δεδοκυῖα δὴ μὴ τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπὸ νηπιότητος ἀγνοοῦν παίζον διαφθεῖρη. γνωρίσασα δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κομόδου χεῖρα, ταύτη καὶ μᾶλλον

[4] Philocommodus was playing idly about the palace. After Commodus had gone out to his usual baths and drinking bouts, the lad wandered into the emperor's bedroom, as he usually did; picking up the tablet for a plaything, he left the bedroom. By a stroke of fate, he met Marcia. After hugging and kissing him (for she too was fond of the child), she took the tablet from him, afraid that in his heedless play he might accidentally erase something important. When she recognized the emperor's handwriting, she was eager to read the tablet.

[5] ἐσπούδαζε διεξελθεῖν τὴν γραφὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εὔρεν αὐτὸ θανατηφόρον καὶ πρὸ πάντων αὐτὴν τε μέλλουσιν τεθνήξεσθαι, Λαϊτόν τε καὶ Ἑκλεκτόν ἐπακολουθήσοντας, τῶν τε λοιπῶν τοσοῦτον φόνον, ἀνοιμώξασα καθ' ἑαυτὴν τε εἰποῦσα εὔγε, ὦ Κόμοδε. ταῦτ' ἄρα χαριστήρια εὐνοίας τε καὶ στοργῆς <τῆς ἐμῆς> ὕβρεώς τε καὶ παροινίας τῆς σῆς, ἧς ἐτῶν τοσούτων ἠνεσχόμην. ἀλλ' οὐ

[5] Discovering that it was a death list and that she was scheduled to die first, followed by Laetus and Eclectus and many others marked for murder, she cried out in grief and then said to herself: "So, Commodus, this is my reward for my love and devotion, after I have put up with your arrogance and your madness for so many years. But, you drunken sot, you shall not outwit a woman deadlly sober!"

[6] καταπρόϊξη αὐτὸς μεθύων νηφούσης γυναικός. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τὸν Ἑκλεκτον μεταπέμπεται. ἔθος δ' εἶχεν αὐτῇ προσιέναι ἅτε τοῦ θαλάμου φύλαξ, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ διεβάλλετο. δοῦσα δὲ τὸ γραμματεῖον ὅρα ἔφη ποίαν μέλλομεν παννυχίζειν ἑορτήν. ὁ δ' Ἑκλεκτος ἀναγνούς τε καὶ ἐκπλαγείς (ἦν δὲ τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος, τολμησαί τε ἅμα καὶ δρᾶσαι θυμῷ τε δουλεῦσαι πεφυκώς) κατασημηνάμενος οὖν τὸ γραμματεῖον δία τινος τῶν ἐαυτῷ πιστῶν ἀναγνωσθησόμενον πέμπει

[6] She then summoned Eclectus; he was in the habit of visiting her anyway, since he was the bedroom steward, and it was rumored that she was sleeping with him. She handed him the tablet, saying: "See what a party we are to enjoy tonight!" Eclectus read it and was dumfounded (but he was an Egyptian, bold by nature and quick-tempered, a man of action). Sealing the tablet, he sent it off to Laetus by one of his trusted slaves.

[7] τῷ Λαίτῳ. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ταραχθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Μαρκίαν ὡς δὴ συσκευόμενος αὐτοῖς περὶ ὧν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ τῶν μονομάχων καταγωγίου· προσποιησάμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ διαφερόντων σκέπτεσθαι συντιθένται φθάσαι τι δράσαντες ἢ παθεῖν, οὐδὲ καιρὸν

[7] After reading the tablet, Laetus hurried to Marcia as if to discuss the emperor's orders with her, especially about his proposed stay with the gladiators. And while they pretended to be arguing about this matter, they concluded that they must act first or suffer the consequences, agreeing that it was no time for indecision or delay.

[8] εἶναι μελλήσεως ἢ ἀναβολῆς. ἀρέσκει δὴ δοῦναι φάρμακον δηλητήριον τῷ Κομόδῳ, ὑπέσχετο δ' αὐτὸ ῥᾶστα δώσειν ἡ Μαρκία. εἰώθει γὰρ αὐτὴ κιρνάναι τε καὶ διδόναι τὴν πρώτην πόσιν, ὡς ἡδίων πίοι παρ' ἐρωμένης. ἐλθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἐμβαλοῦσα ἔς τε κύλικα τὸ φάρμακον οἶνω τε κεράσασα εὐώδει δίδωσι πιεῖν. ὁ δ' ὡς συνήθη φιλοτησίαν μετὰ πολλὰ λουτρὰ καὶ γυμνάσια

[8] They decided to poison Commodus, and Marcia assured them that she could administer a potion with the greatest ease. For it was her custom to mix the wine and give the emperor his first cup, so that he might have a pleasant drink from the hand of his beloved. When Commodus returned from his bath, she poured the poison into the cup, mixed it with a pungent wine, and gave it

to him to drink. Since it was his practice to take a cup of friendship after his many baths and jousts with animals, he drained it without noticing anything unusual.

[9] τὰ πρὸς θηρία διψῶν ἔπιεν ἀναισθητῶς. εὐθέως δὲ κάρος ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐς ὕπνον καθελκόμενος ὑπὸ καμάτου <τοῦτο> πάσχειν οἰηθεὶς ἀνεπαύσατο. ὁ δὲ Ἑκλεκτος καὶ Μαρκία πάντας ἀποστῆναι κελεύσαντες ἐς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπιέναι, ἡσυχίαν δὴ παρεσκεύαζον αὐτῷ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων <καιρῶν> τοῦτο πάσχειν ὁ Κόμοδος ὑπὸ κραυπάλης· πολλάκις γὰρ λουόμενος καὶ πολλάκις ἐσθίων οὐδένα καιρὸν εἶχεν ἐς ἀνάπαυσιν ὠρισμένον, ἀλλεπαλλήλοις καὶ διαφόροις συνεχόμενος ἡδοναῖς,

[9] Immediately he became drowsy and stupefied and fell asleep, believing that it was the natural result of his exertions. Eclectus and Marcia ordered all the rest to return to their homes, and made everything quiet for him. Commodus had acted like this on other occasions when overcome by wine. Since he bathed often and drank often, he had no set time for sleeping; in addition, he indulged in all kinds of pleasures, to which he was a willing slave at any hour.

[10] αἷς δὴ καταλαβούσῃ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἄκων ἐδούλευεν. ἐπ' ὀλίγον μὲν οὖν ἡσύχασε, περὶ στόμαχον δὲ καὶ κοιλίαν τοῦ φαρμάκου γενομένου ἱλιγγός τε αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνει ἔμετός τε πολὺς ἐπιγίνεται, ἢ τῆς προεγκειμένης τροφῆς ἅμα πτότῳ πολλῷ ἐξωθούσης τὸ φάρμακον, ἢ διὰ τὸ προκαταλαμβανόμενον, ὅπερ εἰώθασι βασιλεῖς ἐκάστοτε πρὸ πάσης τροφῆς λαμβάνειν, κώλυμα δηλητηρίων.

[10] For a short time he lay quiet, but, when the poison spread through his stomach and bowels, he became nauseated and began to vomit violently, either because his excessive eating and drinking were expelling the poison, or because he had taken beforehand an antidote for poison, as emperors regularly did before eating or drinking.

[11] πλὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ γε τοῦ ἐμέτου ὄντος, φοβηθέντες μὴ πᾶν ἐξεμέσας τὸ φάρμακον ἀνανήψῃ καὶ πάντες ἀπόλωνται, νέον τινὰ ὄνομα Νάρκισσον, γενναῖόν τε καὶ ἀκμαστήν, πείθουσιν εἰσελθόντα τὸν Κόμοδον ἀποπνίξαι, μεγάλα δώσειν ἔπαθλα ὑποσχόμενοι. ὁ δ' εἰσδραμὼν παρειμένον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ μέθης ἀποσφίγγας τὸν τράχηλον φονεῖ.

[11] After much vomiting had occurred, the conspirators, afraid that Commodus would get rid of the poison, recover, and kill them, promised lavish rewards to a powerful young nobleman, Narcissus, if he would strangle the emperor. Narcissus rushed in where the emperor lay overcome by the poisoned wine, seized him by the throat, and finished him off.

[12] τοιούτω μὲν τέλει τοῦ βίου ὁ Κόμοδος ἐχρήσατο, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρισκαίδεκα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν, εὐγενέστατός τε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων βασιλέων, κάλλει τε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων εὐπρεπέστατος αὐταρκέστατός τε συμμετρία σώματος, εἰ δέ τι δεῖ καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὸς ἥττων εὐστοχία τε καὶ εὐχειρία, εἰ μὴ τὴν τούτων εὐμορίαν αἰσχροῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι κατήσχυνεν, ὥς προεῖρηται.

[12] Such was the fate Commodus suffered, after ruling for thirteen years from the date of his father's death. He was the most nobly born of all the emperors who preceded him and was the handsomest man of his time, both in beauty of features and in physical development. If it were fitting to discuss his manly qualities, he was inferior to no man in skill and in marksmanship, if only he had not disgraced these excellent traits by shameful practices.

BOOK II.

SECTION 1

[1] Ἀνελόντες δὲ τὸν Κόμοδον οἱ ἐπιβουλευσάντες, ὥς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ συντάγματι τῆς ἱστορίας δεδήλωται, κρύψαι τε τὸ γενόμενον βουλόμενοι, ὥς ἂν τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὴν βασιλείον αὐλήν δορυφόρους λάθοιεν, ἐνειλήσαντες στρωμνῇ τινι εὐτελεῖ τὸ σωματίον καὶ καταδήσαντες, ἐπιθέντες δὲ δυσὶν οἰκέταις τῶν πιστῶν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐκπέμπουσιν ὥς δὴ τι σκεῦος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου περισσόν.

[1] AFTER the conspirators had killed Commodus, as has been described in the first book of our history, they were anxious to keep the deed secret. And so, to prevent the praetorians on guard in the imperial palace from discovering what they had done, they wrapped the emperor's body in bed linen and tied it securely. They gave the bundle to two loyal slaves and sent it out of the palace as if it were no more than laundry, somewhat bulkier than usual.

[2] οἱ δὲ φέροντες διὰ μέσων ἐκφέρουσι τῶν φυλάκων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ μέθης ἐκραιπάλων, οἱ δὲ ἐγρηγορότες κάκεῖνοι ἐς ὕπνον κατεφέροντο κατεχούσαις τε ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ δοράτια ἐπανεπαύοντο, οἱ δ' οὐ πάνυ τὸ ἐκφερόμενον τοῦ θαλάμου, ὅτι ποτ' εἶη, ἐπολυπραγμόνουν, ἐπεὶ μηδ' αὐτοῖς διέφερε ταῦτ' εἰδέναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτως κλαπὲν ἐκκομισθὲν τε τῆς αὐλείου θύρας νύκτωρ ὁχήματι ἐπιθέντες ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἀπέπεμψαν.

[2] The slaves carried their burden past the guards; some of them were asleep, overcome by wine, others still awake, but dozing off leaning on their spears. The praetorians made no attempt to discover the contents of the bundle carried from the emperor's bedroom, since it was not their concern to look into such things. After the emperor's body had been carried out through the palace gates undetected, it was placed in a wagon and taken to the outskirts of the city.

[3] ὁ δὲ Λαῖτος καὶ Ἑκλεκτος ἅμα τῇ Μαρκίᾳ τὸ πρακτέον ἐβουλευόντο. ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ μὲν τοῦ θανάτου φήμην ἐγκατασπεῖραι, ὅτι δὴ αἰφνιδίως τετελευτήκοι ἀποπληξίας ἐπιτεσοῦσης· καὶ γὰρ ἐνδεχομένων πίστιν ἔξειν ᾧοντο τὴν φήμην προδιαβεβλημένης τῆς ἀκορέστου καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσης ἐκείνου τρυφῆς. πρῶτον δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέξασθαι ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην τινὰ καὶ σώφρονα τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε σωθεῖεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πικρᾶς καὶ ἀκολάστου τυραννίδος πάντες ἀναπνεύσειαν. καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἀναλογιζόμενοι οὐδένα οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον εὑρισκόν ὥς Περτίνακα. ἦν δ' ὁ Περτίναξ

[3] Then Laetus and Eclectus conferred with Marcia about the best course to follow. They

decided that an announcement should be made to the effect that the emperor had died suddenly of apoplexy. They were sure that this report would be accepted without question by those who heard it, since his endless and excessive orgies had prepared them for such an outcome. But before doing anything else, the conspirators thought it best to choose a sensible elder statesman as the successor to the throne, both to save themselves and to bring to all enjoyment of a respite from a tyrant so harsh and undisciplined. Discussing the matter among themselves, they found no man so well qualified for the post as a native-born Italian named Pertinax.

[4] τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰταλιώτης, ἐν δὲ πολλαῖς στρατιωτικαῖς τε καὶ πολιτικαῖς εὐδοκιμήσας πράξεισι, πολλὰ δὲ κατὰ Γερμανῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολήν βαρβάρων ἐγείρας τρόπαια, μόνος τε περιλειφθεὶς τῶν σεμνῶν πατρῶων τῷ Κομόδῳ φίλων· ὃν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν Μάρκου ἐταίρων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐντιμώτατον γενόμενον, ἣ διὰ σεμνότητα αἰδοῦμενος ἢ ὡς πένητα τηρήσας. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο μέρος τῶν ἐγκωμίων, ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων ἐγχειρισθεὶς πάντων οὐσίαν εἶχεν ἐλάττωνα.

[4] This Pertinax was famous for his accomplishments, both civil and military; he had won many victories over the Germans and the Eastern barbarians and was the only survivor of the revered advisers appointed for Commodus by his father. Commodus had not had him put to death — this most distinguished of Marcus' companions and generals — either out of respect for his noble qualities or indifference to him as a pauper. And yet his poverty had contributed in no small measure to the universal praise Pertinax enjoyed; for, despite responsibilities which far outweighed those of his colleagues, he was less wealthy than any of them.

[5] πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Περτίνακα νυκτὸς ἀκμαζούσης πάντων τε ὕπνῳ κατελημμένων ἀφικνοῦνται ὁ Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἐκλεκτος ὀλίγους τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι. ἐπιστάντες δὲ αὐτοῦ κεκλεισμένης τῆς οἰκίας ταῖς θύραις διεγείρουσι τὸν φυλάσσοντα. ἀνοίξας δὲ ἐκεῖνος καὶ θεασάμενος στρατιώτας ἐφεστῶτας καὶ Λαῖτον, ὃν ἦδει ἑπαρχον ὄντα, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ ταραχθεὶς <εἰς>αγγέλλει.

[5] That night, while all were sleeping, Laetus and Eclectus, accompanied by a few fellow conspirators, came to Pertinax. Standing at the locked gates of his house, they aroused the porter on guard there. When the man awoke and saw the soldiers standing before the gates with Laetus, whom he knew to be the praetorian prefect, he was alarmed and went inside to report to his master.

[6] ὁ δὲ ἥκειν αὐτοὺς κελεύει <οὐ> δεινὰ <τὰ> προσδοκώμενα ἑαυτῷ ἐκάστοτε συμβῆσθαι φάσκων. ἐν τοσαύτῃ γοῦν αὐτόν φασι μεῖναι ψυχῆς ἀταραξία ὥς μηδ' ἀναθορεῖν τοῦ σκίμποδος, μεῖναι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τὸν Λαῖτον

ἄμα τῷ Ἑκλέκτῳ εἰσελθόντα καίτοι δοκοῦντα ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἤκειν προσεῖπεῖν τε καὶ θαρροῦντι μηδὲ

[6] Pertinax directed his visitors to enter, remarking that the fate he had been expecting was at last about to overtake him. Yet even in this extremity, they say, he remained so serene that he did not get up, but received them lying in bed. Even though he believed that Laetus had come with Eclectus to kill him, he spoke to them calmly, with no sign of pallor.

[7] ὠχρίασαντι τῷ προσώπῳ πάλαι μὲν φάναι καὶ πάσης νυκτὸς τόδε τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου εἶχον δι' ἐλπίδος μόνος τε τῶν πατρῶων ἔτι περιλειπόμενος φίλων ἐθαύμαζον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ Κόμοδον βραδύνοντα. τί δὴ μέλλετε; ὑμεῖς τε γὰρ δράσετε τὸ κεκελευσμένον, ἐγὼ τε πονηρᾶς ἐλπίδος

[7] “For a long time now,” he said, “I have been waiting for my life to end in this fashion, and I was surprised that Commodus was so slow to act against me, the sole survivor of the advisers his father appointed for him. Why do you delay? You will be carrying out your orders, and I will be relieved from degrading hope and constant fear.”

[8] καὶ φόβου συνεχοῦς ἀπαλλάξομαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Λαῖτος οὐ παύσῃ ἔφη ἀνάξια σαντοῦ καὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων σοι λέγων; οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ σῷ ἦδε ἡμῶν ἢ ἄφιξις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ὁ τύραννος δίκην δούς τὴν προσήκουσαν, καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς δρᾶσαι διενоеῖτο, ταῦτα

[8] To this Laetus replied: “Please stop saying things unworthy of you and your past conduct. Our visit does not concern your death but our safety and the safety of the Roman empire. The tyrant is dead, victim of a fate he richly deserved. What he planned to do to us, we have done to him.

[9] πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔπαθεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἤκομέν σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειριοῦντες, ὃν ἴσμεν προύχοντα ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ σωφροσύνη βίου μεγέθει τε ἀξιώματος καὶ ἡλικίας σεμνότητι ποθοῦμένον τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· ὅθεν κἀκεῖνοις εὐκαταῖον καὶ ἡμῖν σωτήριον τὸ

[9] We have come to place the empire in your hands, aware that you are not only the most distinguished senator, because of your moderate life, and have won reverence for your greatness and the dignity of your years, but you also enjoy the love and esteem of the people. All these reasons lead us to believe that what we are doing will please the people and save our own lives.”

[10] πραττόμενον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶμεν. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Περτίναξ οὐ παύσεσθε ἔφη χλευάζοντες πρεσβύτην καὶ τοσαύτην μου δειλίαν κατεγνωκότες ὥς

πρῶτον ἀπατήσαι βούλεσθαι, εἴθ' οὕτως φονεῦσαι; ἀλλὰ μήν ἔφη ὁ Ἑκλεκτος ἐπεὶ λέγουσιν ἡμῖν οὐ πεπίστευκας, λαβὼν τουτὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον (γνωρίζεις δὲ τὴν Κομόδου χεῖρα, οὔσης σοι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἐν συνηθείᾳ) ἀνάγνωθι. οὕτως γὰρ γνώση, τίνα τε κίνδυνον ἐφύγομεν, καὶ ὅτι μὴ σκῆψις ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια πρόσσεσι τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὁ Περτίναξ, πεισθεὶς τε ἀνδράσι καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ φίλοις, πάντα πυθόμενος τὰ πεπραγμένα

[10] Pertinax said in reply: "Why do you mock an old man ? Why do you judge me such a coward that you wish first to taunt and then to kill me?" At this point Eclectus spoke up: "If you do not believe what we say, read this tablet (you know Commodus' handwriting — you see it regularly). From this you will see the danger we have escaped, and you will know that there is no treachery but only truth in what we tell you." After he had read the tablet, Pertinax believed these old friends of his. Now fully understanding everything that had occurred, he placed himself at their disposal.

SECTION 2

[1] ἐπιδίδωσιν ἑαυτόν. καὶ πρῶτον ἀρέσκει προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ πεῖραν τῆς γνώμης τῶν στρατιωτῶν λαβεῖν· πείσειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λαῖτος ὑπισχνεῖτο, ἐπέπερ

[1] THEY decided that as the first step Pertinax should go to the praetorian camp to learn the attitude of the soldiers of the guard. Laetus undertook to secure the support of the praetorians, since they owed him, as their commanding officer, a measure of respect.

[2] αὐτῷ ἐπάρχω ὄντι μετρίαν ἀπένεμον αἰδῶ. συμπαραλαβόντες οὖν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὅσοι παρῆσαν, ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠπείγοντο. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς νυκτὸς προκεχωρήκει καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐνεστώσης πρὸ ἡμέρας πάντα ἐπράττετο. διαπέμπουσι δὴ τινας τῶν πιστῶν τοὺς διαβοήσοντας ὅτι ὁ Κόμοδος μὲν τέθνηκε, Περτίναξ δὲ

[2] Accompanied by all those present, they set out for the praetorian camp. The night had almost passed, and the festival was about to begin; so everything had to be done before daybreak. A number of trusted men were sent out to spread the news that Commodus was dead and that Pertinax was on his way to the praetorian camp to take command of the empire.

[3] ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον βασιλεύσων ἄπεισι. διαδραμούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐνθουσιῶντι ἑοικῶς ἐξεβακχεύετο διέθεόν τε, καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕκαστος χαίρων ἀπήγγελλε καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐπ' ἀξιώσεως ἢ πλουσίοις· ἐκείνοις γὰρ καὶ «μάλιστα» ἐπιβουλευόντα ἥδεσαν τὸν Κόμοδον. ἔθεόν τε περὶ τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ βωμούς, χάριτας

[3] When these events became known, the people milled about in a frenzy of joy, like men possessed, and everyone took delight in telling the news to his neighbors, especially if they happened to be men of wealth and position, for Commodus was particularly dangerous to such men. Rushing to the temples and altars, the people united in giving thanks to the gods, shouting all sorts of things: “The tyrant is dead!” “The gladiator is slain!” and other blasphemies more scurrilous.

[4] θεοῖς ὁμολογοῦντες. ἐβόων δὲ διάφορα, οἱ μὲν κεῖσθαι τὸν τύραννον λέγοντες, οἱ δὲ τὸν μονομάχον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπρεπέστερα βλασφημοῦντες. καὶ ὅσα πρότερον ἐπεῖχεν ὁ φόβος ῥήματα, ταῦτα προελθούσης ἀδείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ῥαδίως ἐλέγετο. πλεῖστον δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνέθει δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἠπείγοντο δὲ μάλιστα δεδιότες, μή πως ἄρα οἱ στρατιῶναι ὀκνηρότερον ὑπακούσωσι

[4] All the insults which had hitherto been left unsaid through fear were now voiced openly,

with freedom and safety restored. Most of the people ran swiftly to the praetorian camp, because they feared that the praetorians would be reluctant to accept Pertinax as emperor.

[5] τῇ τοῦ Περτίνακος ἀρχῇ ἐσομένην γὰρ σὺφρονα μὴ πάνυ τι ἀποδέξεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας προσεδόκων τυραννίδι δουλεύειν εἰθεσμένους ἀρπαγαῖς τε καὶ βίαις ἐγγεγυμνασμένους. ἴν' οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐκβιάσονται ὑπακοῦσαι, πανδημεὶ συνῆλθον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ὃ τε Λαῖτος καὶ Ἑκλεκτος εἰσῆλθον ἄγοντες τὸν Περτίνακα· συγκαλέσας <τε> τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Λαῖτος ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[5] Indeed, they suspected that in the future these soldiers would show little moderation; they were conditioned to blind obedience to a tyrant and were masters in the use of violence. All the people therefore went out to the camp to force the praetorians to submit. They were in the camp when Laetus and Eclectus arrived, bringing Pertinax with them. Laetus then ordered the praetorians to assemble and addressed them as follows:

[6] Κόμοδος μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τέθηκεν ἀποπληξία· αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου θανάτου οὐκ ἄλλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ· συμβουλεύουσι γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀεὶ τὰ ἄριστα καὶ σωτήρια [οἷς] μὴ πειθόμενος, βιούς δὲ ὥς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὑπὸ πλήθους <τροφῆς> ἀποπνιγείς διεφθάρη. τὸν μὲν οὖν κατέλαβε τέλος τὸ πεπωμένον. οὐδὲ γὰρ μία οὐδ' ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις θανάτου αἰτία, διάφοροι δὲ οὔσαι ἐς ἓν τέρμα

[6] “Commodus, your emperor, is dead of apoplexy. In a case of this kind, the blame can be put on no one else. The emperor was responsible for his own death. He paid no attention when we urged him time and again to adopt a safer and saner course. You know the way he lived his life. Now he lies dead, choked by his own gluttony. The death he was destined for has overtaken him at last. As you are aware, the cause of death is not one and the same for all men. The most diverse causes bring us to life’s inevitable outcome.

[7] βίου συντελοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἀντ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄγομεν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρα τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν σεμνόν, τὸν δὲ βίον σὺφρονα, ἀρετῆς δὲ τῆς ἐν ἔργοις ἔμπειρον· ὧν οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεων ἐπειράθητε, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχοντα τοσούτων ἐτῶν ἀεὶ διὰ τιμῆς τε καὶ

[7] In place of Commodus we bring to you, and the whole Roman people bring to you, a man respected for his years, temperate in his way of life, and renowned for his courageous exploits. You old soldiers have taken part in his military campaigns, and the rest of you always held him in high honor and esteem during his years of service as prefect of the city.

[8] θαύματος ἔσχετε. δίδωσί τε ἡμῖν ἡ τύχη οὐ βασιλέα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα

χρηστόν. εὐφρανεῖ τε ἡ τοῦδε ἀρχὴ οὐχ ὑμᾶς μόνον τοὺς ἐνταῦθα δορυφοροῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἰδρυμένους, οἱ τὴν πεῖραν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων φέρουσι διὰ μνήμης. τό τε βάρβαρον οὐ χρήμασιν ἔτι θεραπεύσομεν, πείρα δὲ ὧν πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασι στρατηγοῦντος φόβῳ ὑποτάσσονται.

[8] Now Fortune is giving you an emperor who is also a kindly father to you. His reign will please not only you praetorian soldiers on duty here in Rome but also the soldiers stationed on the banks of the far-off rivers and the borders of the Roman empire, men who are familiar with his exploits from their own recollections of them. No longer will we pacify the barbarians with money. They will obey us because they fear us, mindful of what they suffered at this man's hands when he campaigned against them."

[9] τοιαῦτα δὴ λέγοντος τοῦ Λαίτου μὴ κατασχὼν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ δῆμος μελλόντων καὶ ὀκνούντων ἔτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν Σεβαστὸν τε ἀναγορεύει καὶ πατέρα καλεῖ πάσαις τε γεραίρει εὐφημίας. τότε καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οὐχ ὁμοία μὲν προθυμία τῇ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος πλήθους ἀνάγκη (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου περιειλημμένοι ὀλίγοι τε καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ὡς ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ) πλήν συνεξεβόησαν καὶ Σεβαστὸν προσεῖπον τὸν Περτίνακα·

[9] After this speech of Laetus, the people restrained themselves no longer. While the praetorians were still hesitating, undecided, the people proclaimed Pertinax emperor, calling him father and shouting his praises to all. At this the soldiers, not because they were equally enthusiastic but because they were compelled by the great number of people present (they were surrounded by the mob and were themselves few in number and unarmed, as was customary during the festival), at last added their voices to the others and proclaimed Pertinax emperor.

[10] ἔς τε τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα τοὺς συνήθεις ὅρκους ὁμόσαντες καὶ θύσαντες, δαφνηφοροῦντες πᾶς ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ἐπειδὴ προσήει καὶ τὸ περίορθρον, ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλὴν ἀνήγαγον τὸν Περτίνακα.

[10] After they had sworn the usual oaths in his name and had performed the sacrifices, all the people, together with the praetorians, took up laurel branches and escorted Pertinax to the imperial palace just before daylight.

SECTION 3

[1] ὁ δὲ ἐπέπειρ ἰδρῦθι ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ἐστία τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ὥς προεῖρηται, νύκτωρ ἀναγαγόντων, φροντίσι μεγίσταις τὴν γνώμην ἐταράττετο· πάνυ τε αὐτόν, καίτοι δοκοῦντα ψύχης εἶναι ἐρρωμένης καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἀνδρεῖον, τὰ παρόντα ἐφόβει, οὐχ οὕτως προνοία τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας (κινδύνων γὰρ καὶ μειζόνων πολλάκις ἦν καταφρονήσας), ἐλογίζετο δὲ τὴν τε αἰφνίδιον τῆς τυραννίδος μεταβολὴν τὴν τε ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ τινων εὐγένειαν, οὕς ὑπώπτευσεν οὐκ ἀνεξομένους μετὰ βασιλέα εὐγενέστατον τὴν ἀρχὴν μεταπεσοῦσαν ἐς ἄνδρα ἐξ ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ ἀσήμου γένους

[1] AFTER he was established in the imperial palace, to which he had been escorted by the praetorians and the people by night, as has been related above, Pertinax was beset by serious doubts; indeed, although in all matters he gave the appearance of being calm and courageous, in the present situation he was very apprehensive. The emperor was little concerned about his own safety (he had many times scorned much greater dangers), but he was worried about this abrupt change from the autocracy of Commodus and about the noble ancestry of certain of the senators. He suspected that these senators, after having been ruled by the most nobly born of all the emperors, would not be willing to let the reins of government fall into the hands of a man who came to the high office from humble and undistinguished antecedents.

[2] ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντα. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτῷ διὰ σωφροσύνην ἐπηνεῖτο καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς πράξεσιν ἦν εὐκλεής, ἀλλ' ὅσον εὐγενείας χάριν πολὺ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἀπελείπετο. ἡμέρας οὖν καταλαβούσης κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς οὔτε τὸ πῦρ ἐάσας αὐτοῦ προπομπεῦσαι οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν βασιλικῶν συμβόλων ἐς ὕψος ἀρθῆναι πρὶν ἢ μαθεῖν τὴν γνώμην τῆς συγκλήτου

[2] Even if his life deserved admiration for its restraint, and even if his military exploits were famous, in nobility of birth he was much inferior to the aristocracy. When daylight came, he went to the senate house, but he did not allow the sacred fire to be carried before him nor did he permit any of the imperial tokens to be raised until he had determined how the senate felt about the situation.

[3] βουλῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ ἐπιφανῆναι πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφήμησαν Σεβαστόν τε καὶ βασιλέα προσηγόρευσαν, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρητεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἐπίφθονον γῆράς τε προῖσχύμενος συγγνώμης ἐδεῖτο εἶναί τε πολλοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἔφασκεν οἷς ἡ βασιλεία μᾶλλον ἀρμόζει· καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς Γλαβρίωνος εἶλκεν αὐτὸν καθίζεσθαι κελεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου

[3] But as soon as he appeared, all the senators with one voice shouted his praises, calling him

emperor and Augustus. At first he declined the envy-provoking title of emperor and, pleading his advanced years, begged to be permitted to decline the honor, pointing out that there were many men of noble birth by whom the empire might more fittingly be ruled. At this, Glabrianus took him by the hand and led him forward, bidding him take his seat upon the imperial throne.

[4] θρόνου. ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος εὐγενέστατος μὲν πάντων τῶν εὐπατριδῶν (ἀνέφερε γοῦν ἐς Αἰνείαν τὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀγχίσου τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν), ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν τελέσας δεύτερον. ὁ δὲ ἄλλ' αὐτός [τε] ἔφη ἐγὼ ὄν σὺ νομίζεις πάντων ἀξιώτατον, σοί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς παραχωρῶ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐπευφημίζομεν σοι διδόντες. τότε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐκβιασμένων ἐκλιπαρησάντων τε ὁκνῶν καὶ μόλις ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλείον θρόνον ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[4] This Glabrianus was the most nobly born of all the Roman aristocrats (for he traced his ancestry to Aeneas, son of Venus and Anchises, and he had served two terms as consul. “I myself,” Glabrianus said, “whom you consider the most eligible of all, yield the throne to you, and I together with all the rest happily concur in awarding you the supreme power.” Then, with all of them pleading with him and actually forcing him to accept the position, Pertinax mounted the imperial throne slowly and reluctantly and addressed the senate as follows:

[5] τὸ πᾶν δεξιὸν ὑμῶν τῆς πρὸς με τιμῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς σπουδῆς ὑπερβάλλον ἐπίλεκτόν τε ἐς πρόκρισιν τοσαύτης παρ’ ὑμῖν εὐγενείας, οὐκ ἔχον κολακείας ὑποψίαν ἀλλὰ δεῖξιν καὶ πίστιν εὐνοίας, ἄλλω μὲν ἂν τῷ θάρσος καὶ προθυμίαν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὸ ἐτοίμως ὑποδέξασθαι τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα ἐλπίδα τε ραστώνης ὑπέφηνεν ἂν ὡς εὐμαρῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν διοίσοντι ἐν ἀρχομένοις οὕτως εὐνοοῦσιν·

[5] “I am persuaded that your great readiness to do me honor, the extraordinary enthusiasm with which you acclaim me, and your selection of me as emperor in preference to those among you of such noble birth, has in it not the slightest intent to flatter, but is proof and pledge of your good will toward me. And this might make another ready and eager to accept without hesitation what has been entrusted to him, and he might reasonably entertain a hope of managing the empire with no difficulty among subjects so kindly disposed toward him.

[6] ἐμοὶ δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ ἐξαίρετα τιμῆς τε αἰσθήσει ἐκπλήττει δέος τε καὶ ἀγῶνα οὐ μικρὸν ἐμποιεῖ. μεγάλων γὰρ εὐεργεσιῶν προὔπαρχουσῶν τὸ ἰσότημον δυσέφικτον αἰεὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς, καὶ μικρὰ μὲν λαβοῦσιν ἀντιδοῦναι μεῖζον οὐχ οὕτως εὐμαρὲς ὡς εὐχάριστον δοκεῖ, ὁπνίκα δ’ ἂν ὁ πρῶτός τι δράσας ἀγαθὸν ἀνυπέρβλητον καταθῆται χάριν, τὸ μὴ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἀντιδοθὲν

οὐχ οὕτως δυσπρόριστον ὥς ἀναίσθητον ἅμα

[6] But these favors which I am receiving at your hands, so great and so flattering, although I am aware of the honor they do me, cause me no little apprehension and inner conflict. For, when the initial favors are so great, it is always difficult to do equal favors in return. Now when anyone who receives small favors does greater favors in return, the fact that this is an easy matter is never taken into consideration; it is thought to be merely evidence of his gratitude. But when the initial favor is virtually unsurpassable, if the recipient does not return one equally large, the fact that this is a difficult matter is never taken into consideration; it is thought to be merely evidence of his ingratitude and lack of appreciation.

[7] καὶ ἀχάριστον ὀνομάζεται. ὁρῶ δὴ οὐ τὸν τυχόντα μοι ἐπηρτημένον ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὸ ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχεῖν τῆς τοσαύτης παρ' ὑμῶν τιμῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ ἢ προεδρίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις, εἴ τις αὐτὴν μὴ καταισχύνει. ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὥς φαῦλα μισεῖται, τοσούτῳ τὰ μέλλοντα ὥς ἀγαθὰ μεγάλως ἐλπίζεται. καὶ τὰ μὲν δεινὰ τῶν ἔργων αἰεὶ μνημονεύεται (τὸ γὰρ λυπησαν δυσσάπλειπτον), τὰ δὲ χρηστὰ ἅμα τῇ ἀπολαύσει καὶ τὴν

[7] I see, therefore, that no ordinary task awaits me in proving myself worthy of such an honor as you have bestowed upon me. But the honor of the throne lies not in the throne itself, but in the acts which he who holds it must perform if he is not to disgrace his high office. The more men hate an unpleasant past, the more hopefully they look forward to a pleasant future. Injuries are remembered forever (the memory of pain is difficult to erase), but benefits and the memory of benefits disappear when the enjoyment of them is gone.

[8] περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην συναναλίσκει, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁμοίως εὐφραίνει ἐλευθερία ὥς λυπεῖ δουλεία, οὐδέ τις ἀδεῶς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων ἐν χάριτος μοίρᾳ τίθεται, τὰ ἴδια καρποῦσθαι νομίζων, ὁ δὲ τῶν οἰκείων στερηθεὶς αἰώνιον ἔχει τὴν μνήμην τοῦ λελυπηκότος. οὐδ' εἴ τις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν χρηστὴ γένοιτο μεταβολή, αὐτός τι πλεόν καρποῦσθαι νομίζει, ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν δημωφελοῦς καὶ κοινῇ διαφέροντος ὀλίγη τοῖς καθ' ἓνα φροντίς, τὸ δὲ καθ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος εἰ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην προχωροίη, οὐδέν τι μέγα ὠφελεῖσθαι

[8] Freedom is never so pleasant as slavery is unpleasant, and no one ever considers himself fortunate to possess what is his free from danger; he thinks that he is simply enjoying his own possessions. But the man who is deprived of his property never forgets the man responsible for his loss. And if any change takes place for the common good, no one thinks that he has derived from it any personal benefit, since, when the common good prospers, it is of little concern to the whole group as individuals. With respect to his own affairs, no one believes that anything is of value to him unless he happens to obtain something he personally desires.

[9] νομίζει. οἱ τ' εἰθισμένοι ταῖς τῆς τυραννίδος ἀκρίτοις καὶ ἀφειδέσι

μεγαλοδωρίαις ἐντρυφᾶν τὴν ἐς τὸ σωφρονέστερον καὶ μεμετρημένον διὰ σπάνιν χρημάτων μεταβολὴν οὐ φειδῶ σώφρονα οὐδὲ σύμμετρον καὶ κεκριμένην διοίκησιν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀθλιότητα βίου ὀνειδίζουσιν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι τὸ μὲν μέγαλα καὶ ὥς ἔτυχε χαρίζεσθαι οὐκ ἂν περιγένοιτο, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρπάζειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ λογισμῷ πάντα καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου νέμειν ἄνευ τοῦ δεινόν τι δρᾶσαι, μὴ παρέχον ἄδικον εὐπορίαν χρημάτων, διδάσκει

[9] But those who have grown accustomed to reveling in the extravagant excesses of a tyranny not only object to any change toward a more moderate and more economical way of life occasioned by a shortage of money, not terming it sensible economy or planned and judicious management, but they reject it as a mean and wretched way to live, oblivious to the fact that had it not been for the loot taken by pillage and plunder, they could never have enjoyed their luxurious way of life. On the other hand, to give to every man all things according to his worth and for logical reasons, without committing any injustices, and not to supply him with an abundance of money gained from illegal sources teaches prudent conservation of things supplied in quantity.

[10] φειδῶ σώφρονα τῶν καλῶς πορισθέντων. ταῦτα δὴ ὑμᾶς ἐγνωκότας χρὴ συναίρεσθαι καὶ κοινὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν διοίκησιν νομίζοντας, ἀριστοκρατίαν τε ἀλλ' οὐ τυραννίδα ὑπομενοῦντας αὐτούς τε ἀγαθὰς ἔχειν ἐλπίδας καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖσθαι.

[10] And so you, who are skilled in these matters, must cooperate with me and consider the management of the empire as a joint enterprise, and you must entertain high hopes of living under an aristocracy, not under a tyranny, and you must confirm this for all our subjects."

[11] τοιαῦτα ὁ Περτίναξ εἰπὼν ὑπερῆσέ τε τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν, καὶ πρὸς πάντων εὐφημηθεὶς πάσης τε τιμῆς καὶ αἰδοῦς παρ' αὐτῶν τυχὼν ἔς τε τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ <προ>πεμφθεὶς τάς τε ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας θυσίας τελέσας ἐς τὴν βασιλείον ἐπανῆλθεν αὐλήν.

[11] By this speech, Pertinax encouraged the senators and received the plaudits of them all. After awarding him every honor and every token of respect, they escorted the new emperor to the temple of Jupiter and the rest of the shrines; when he had completed the sacrifices for his reign, he entered the imperial palace.

SECTION 4

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη τῶν τε λεχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον γραφέντων, ὑπερήδοντο πάντες, σεμνὸν καὶ ἥπιον ἄρχοντα καὶ πατέρα, οὐ βασιλέα ἔξειν ἐλπίζοντες. τοὺς τε γὰρ στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε παύσασθαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δημότας ὕβρεως καὶ μήτε πελέκεις φέρειν μετὰ χειρᾶς μήτε παίειν τινὰ τῶν παριόντων, ἔς τε τὸ κόσμιον καὶ εὐτακτον μετάγειν πάντα ἐπειρᾶτο, ἔν τε ταῖς προόδοις καὶ τοῖς

[1] WHEN Pertinax' speech to the senate and his letters to the people were made public, all the Romans gave thanks, hoping that he would be for them not so much an emperor as a mild and pious ruler and father. He ordered the praetorians to curb their arrogant treatment of the people; he forbade them to carry axes or strike anyone they chanced to meet. He tried to manage everything with decency and discipline, and in his judicial duties he was mild and moderate.

[2] δικαστηρίοις πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον ἦθος ἐπεδείκνυτο. καὶ τῆς Μάρκου ἀρχῆς ζήλῳ τε καὶ μιμῆσει τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους ὑπομιμνήσκων εὐφραине, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πάντας ἐξ ὥμης καὶ ἐφυβρίστου τυραννίδος ἐς σῶφρονα καὶ ἀμέριμνον βίον μεταχθέντας ῥᾶστα ἐς εὖνοιαν ὠκειώσατο. τῆς τε ἡμέρου ἀρχῆς ἡ φήμη διαθέουσα πάντα ἔθνη, ὅσα τε Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα καὶ ὅσα φίλα, καὶ πάντα

[2] By his consistent and deliberate imitation of Marcus' reign, he delighted the older people, and won the good will of the others without difficulty, released as they were from savage and oppressive tyranny to lead a well-ordered life, free from care. When the mildness of his rule became known everywhere, all nations subject to Roman rule or friendly to the Romans, and all the armies in the field as well, came to regard his reign as that of a god.

[3] στρατόπεδα, ἐκθειάζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔπειθεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅσοι πρότερον ἀφηνίαζον ἢ ἐστασίαζον, φόβῳ τε καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις αὐτοῦ στρατείαις ἀρετῆς, πίσκει τε γνώμης ὅτι μηδένα ἐκὼν ἀδικήσει ποτὲ ἐκάστῳ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονέμων, χάριτος ἀπρεποῦς καὶ βίας ὥμης ἀλλότριος, ἐκόντες αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. πρεσβεῖαί τε πανταχόθεν ἀφικνοῦντο συνηδομένων ἀπάντων τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Περτίνακι ἀρχῇ.

[3] And indeed, the barbarians who were formerly restless and rebellious, mindful of his brilliant achievements in his previous campaigns, feared him and willingly submitted to him. They put their trust in his reputation for never purposely doing an injustice and always treating every man according to his deserts; improper conduct and savage violence were completely foreign to his nature. Embassies from all countries came to him, and everyone

delighted in the rule of the Romans under Pertinax.

[4] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῷ εὐτάκτῳ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔχαιρον. ὁ δὲ πάντας εὐφραине, τοῦτο μόνους ἐλύπει τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας, οἱ δορυφορεῖν εἰώθασι τοὺς βασιλέας. κωλυόμενοι γὰρ ἀρπάζειν τε καὶ ὑβρίζειν ἕς τε τὸ εὐτακτον καὶ κόσμιον ἀνακαλούμενοι, τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον τῆς ἀρχῆς ὕβριν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀτιμίαν καθαίρεσιν τε τῆς ἀνέτου ἐξουσίας νομίζοντες τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἔφερον εὐταξίαν.

[4] All, both publicly and privately, were pleased by the order and the moderation of his reign. But what pleased all the rest only galled the soldiers of the imperial bodyguard stationed in Rome. Now forbidden to loot and act with insolence, the praetorians were directed to return to an orderly and disciplined way of life. Since they considered the mild and moderate rule of Pertinax an insult and disgrace to them, as well as a diminution of their unlimited power, they refused to tolerate his well-ordered reign any longer.

[5] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγον ὀκνηροὺς τε καὶ ἀπειθεῖς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κελευομένοις παρῆχον. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, οὐδ' ὅλων μηνῶν δύο τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκυίας, ἐπιδειξαμένου τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλὰ σῶφρονα καὶ χρηστὰ ἔργα ἐλπίδων τε ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑποφαινομένων ἐβάσκηνε πάντα καὶ ἀνέτρεψε πονηρὰ τύχη ἐκώλυσέ τε θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἐπωφελῆ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἔργα ἐς τέλος ἀχθῆναι.

[5] At the beginning, they had obeyed his orders reluctantly and mutinously. But after he had been emperor for less than two months, during which he had put into effect in a short time many moderate and practical measures, and his subjects were just beginning to entertain high hopes for the future, a wretched turn of fortune upset the situation and ruined everything, preventing a number of excellent projects useful to his subjects from being carried to completion.

[6] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πᾶσαν τὴν κατ' Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀγεώργητόν τε καὶ παντάπασιν οὕσαν ἀργὸν ἐπέτρεπεν, ὁπόσῃν τις βούλεται καὶ δύνатаι, εἰ καὶ βασιλέως κτῆμα εἴη, καταλαμβάνειν, ἐπιμεληθέντι τε καὶ γεωργήσαντι δεσπότη εἶναι. ἔδωκέ τε γεωργοῦσιν ἀτέλειαν πάντων ἐς δέκα ἔτη καὶ διὰ παντὸς δεσποτείας

[6] To begin with, Pertinax assigned all the land in Italy and the rest of the provinces not under cultivation to anyone willing to care for it and farm it, to be his own private property; he gave to each man as much land as he wished and was able to manage, even if the land were imperial property. To these farmers he granted exemption from all taxes for ten years and freedom from government duties as well.

[7] ἀμεριμνίαν. τοῖς τε βασιλικοῖς κτήμασιν ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοῦ τοῦνομα ἐπιγράφεσθαι, εἰπὼν αὐτὰ οὐκ ἴδια τοῦ βασιλεύοντος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ καὶ δημόσια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τέλη τε πάντα «τὰ» πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐς εὐπορίαν χρημάτων ἐπινοηθέντα ἐπὶ τε ὄχθαις ποταμῶν καὶ λιμέσι πόλεων ἔν τε ὁδῶν πορείαις καταλύσας

[7] He refused to allow his name to be stamped on imperial property, stating that these effects were not the emperor's personal property but the common and public possessions of the Roman empire. Finally, he removed the tolls previously levied during the tyranny as an easy method of raising revenue, the fees collected at the banks of rivers, the harbors of cities, and the crossroads, restoring to all these their ancient freedom.

[8] ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν. ἐμέλλησε δ' ἂν ἔτι καὶ πλείονα, ὥς γε τὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐνεδείκνυτο, εὐεργετήσιν τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας τῆς πόλεως ἦν διώξας καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν κολασθῆναι κελεύσας, τοῦ μηδένα ἐπηρεάζεσθαι μηδὲ ματαίοις ἐγκλήμασι περιπίπτειν προνοούμενος. ἐν ἀδείᾳ τε καὶ μακαρίῳ βίῳ ἢ τε σύγκλητος μάλιστα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες βιώσεσθαι

[8] It is obvious that he would have done even more to benefit his subjects, as his general policy makes plain, for he banished informers from the city and ordered them to be persecuted elsewhere; he took precautions to prevent anyone from being threatened by informers or being embroiled in their false charges. Then the senate particularly, but all other men too, seemed to be living in a blessed state of security.

[9] προσεδόκων. οὕτω γὰρ μέτριος καὶ ισότιμος ἦν ὥς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἤδη μεῖράκιον ὄντα μηδὲ ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλήν ἀναγαγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τῇ πατρῷᾳ μένειν οἰκίᾳ, καὶ ἐς τὰ συνήθη προϊόντα διδασκαλεῖα καὶ γυμνάσια ἰδιωτεύοντα ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς παιδεύεσθαι τε καὶ πάντα πράττειν, οὐδαμοῦ τῷφον ἢ πομπὴν παρεχόμενον βασιλικήν.

[9] Pertinax was so modest and unassuming that he did not bring his own son, then a young man, into the imperial palace. The youth remained in his father's house and continued to attend his regular school and gymnasium; in his education, as in all his activities, he was an ordinary Roman citizen, and displayed none of the imperial pomp and arrogance.

SECTION 5

[1] τοιαύτης δὲ εὐμοιρίας καὶ εὐταξίας κατεχούσης τὸν βίον μόνοι οἱ δορυφόροι, ἀσχάλλοντες μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι, ποθοῦντες δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς προγεγενημένης τυραννίδος ἀρπαγὰς τε καὶ βίας ἔν τε ἀσωτίαις καὶ κραιπάλαις <διαγωγάς>, ἐβουλεύσαντο ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὸν Περτίνακα, ὡς ὄντα αὐτοῖς βαρὺν καὶ ἐπαχθῆ, ζητῆσαι δὲ τινα τὸν πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἄνετον καὶ ἀκόλαστον παρέξοντα ἐξουσίαν.

[1] IN A WAY of life so prosperous and well ordered, only the praetorians complained of their lot. Longing for a return to the violence and looting of the preceding tyranny and to their extravagant and dissolute pursuits, they plotted to remove Pertinax on the ground that he was a burden and a nuisance to them, and to choose an emperor who would restore to them their unbridled and uncontrolled power.

[2] αἰφνιδίως τοίνυν, οὐδενὸς προσδοκῶντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διατριβόντων, θυμῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ ὀρμῇ <ἐκ> τοῦ στρατοπέδου δρόμῳ φερόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἡμέρας ἀκμαζούσης ἐπεισῆλθον τοῖς βασιλείοις τὰ τε δόρατα

[2] And so, with no warning, the praetorians rushed headlong from their camp one day at noon, when they were off duty. Wild with unreasoning anger, they burst into the palace with spears raised and swords drawn.

[3] διατεινόμενοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι. τῷ δὲ παραδόξῳ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀνελπίστῳ οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ὑπηρεσία ταραχθέντες, ὀλίγοι τε πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ ἄνοπλοι πρὸς ὠπλισμένους, οὐκ ἔμενον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἦν ἐγκεχείριστο φρουρὰν λιπὼν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείῳ ἢ ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς εἰσόδοις ἔφευγον. ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες τῶν εὐνοούντων διαγγείλαντες τῷ Περτίνακι τὴν ἔφοδον συνεβούλευον φυγεῖν

[3] The imperial attendants on duty in the palace were astounded at this unbelievable and unexpected assault. Since they were only a handful of unarmed men against a horde of armed soldiers, the attendants deserted their assigned posts and fled into the palace grounds or the nearby passageways. But a few who were devoted to Pertinax informed him of the attack and advised him to flee and put his hope of safety in the people.

[4] τῇ τε τοῦ δήμου βοηθείᾳ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι, ὃ δὲ [καὶ] τοῖς συμβουλευούσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὠφέλιμα μὴ πεισθεῖς, ἀπρεπῇ δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερα βασιλείας τε ἀνάξια καὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων αὐτῷ καὶ προπεπραγμένων νομίσας, φεύγειν μὲν ἢ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ὁμόσε δὲ χωρήσας τῷ πράγματι προῆλθεν ὡς διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς ἐλπίσας πείσειν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ παύσειν τῆς

[4] The emperor, however, did not follow the advice of those who suggested this advantageous course of action in the present emergency; he considered this solution undignified and servile, unworthy of an emperor and unworthy of his previous way of life and his achievements. He therefore declined to flee or to hide; preferring to face the issue squarely, he came out to talk to the praetorians, hoping to win them over and put an end to their insane anger.

[5] ὁρμῆς. καὶ δὴ τοῦ δωματίου προελθὼν, ὑπαντῶμενος αὐτοῖς πυνθάνεσθαι τε ἐπειρᾶτο τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ὁρμῆς πείθειν τε ἐπεχείρει μὴ ἐνθουσιᾶν, μένων καὶ τότε ἐν σὼφρονι καὶ σεμνῷ σχήματι καὶ τηρῶν τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξίωμα, οὐδέν τι κατεπτηχότος οὐδὲ ἀποδελιδνός καὶ ἱκετεύοντος σχῆμα ἐνδεικνύμενος.

[5] And so he left the room and approached the praetorians, in an effort to discover the reason for their anger, and tried to persuade them not to act like madmen. Remaining cool and calm in this crisis and displaying the dignity of an emperor, he showed no evidence of fear or cowardice or servility.

[6] τὸ μὲν ἐμέ ἔφη πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι οὐδέν τι μέγα ἢ βαρὺ πρεσβύτῃ ἐς μακρὸν γῆρας ἐνδόξως ἐλάσαντι. παντὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων βίῃ ἀνάγκη τέλος ἐπιτεθῆναι· τὸ δὲ ὑμᾶς φύλακας καὶ φρουροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν κινδύνους ἀπείργοντας αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι φονεῖς καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐμφυλίῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείῳ μιᾶναι τὰς δεξιὰς αἵματι, ὁρᾶτε, μὴ πρὸς τὸ νῦν ἀνόσιον καὶ ὕστερον ὑμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον ᾗ.

[6] “For me,” he said, “to be murdered by you is neither important nor grievous to an old man who has received so many honors in the course of a long life. It is inevitable that every man must die someday. But for you who are supposed to be the emperor’s guardians and defenders to be his murderers, and for you to stain your hands with the blood of an emperor and, what is worse, that of a fellow Roman, be sure that this is not only an act of pollution at the present but also represents a danger for you in the future. I know in my heart that I have wronged you in no way.

[7] οὐ γάρ τι ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα λυπήσαντι ὑμᾶς. εἰ δέ [καὶ] ἐπὶ τῇ Κομόδου τελευτῇ δυσχεραίνετε, οὐδὲν παράδοξον, ἄνθρωπον ὄντα εἰ τελευτῇ κατέλαβεν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς οἴεσθε γεγενῆσθαι, οὐκ ἐμὸν τὸ ἀμάρτημα· ἵστε γὰρ ἔξω πάσης ὄντα «με» ὑπονίας καὶ οὐδὲν «ἥττον» ὑμῶν ἀγνοοῦντα τὰ τότε πεπραγμένα, ὥς εἴ τι

[7] If you are still grieved at the death of Commodus, remember that it is hardly surprising that death caught up with him. He was mortal. But if you think his death was the result of

treachery, the blame does not lie with me. For you know that I am free of all suspicion on that score, and I know no more about what happened then than you do. So, if you suspect anything, bring charges against someone else.

[8] ὑποπτεύετε, ἑτέροις ἐπιφέρειν τὸ ἔγκλημα. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ κεῖνον τελευτήσαντος οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν εὐπρεπῶς καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι με ἢ ἀρπάζειν <δοθῆναι δυναμένων> ἐνδεήσει.

τοιαῦτά τινα λέγειν αὐτοῖς πειρώμενος ἤδη τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ πείσειν ἔμελλε, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι γε ἀποστραφέντες ἀνεχώρουν σεμνοῦ βασιλέως γῆρας αἰδούμενοι· ἔτι δὲ λαλοῦντα τὸν πρεσβύτην <οἱ θρασύτεροι> ἐπιπεσόντες φονεύουσι.

[8] But even though Commodus is dead, you will not lack anything which can be supplied you fairly and deservedly, so long as it can be done without recourse to violence and confiscation of property.”

So persuasive were his words that he had now convinced some of them; indeed, quite a few of them began to withdraw, respecting the age of their revered emperor. But while he was still talking, the bolder praetorians attacked and killed him.

[9] δράσαντες τε οὕτως ὦμὸν ἔργον, δέει τῶν τετολμημένων φθάσαι θέλοντες τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἔφοδον ἐπισταμενοί τε, ὅτι χαλεπῶς ὁ δῆμος διοίσει τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον δρόμῳ ἀναχωρήσαντες πάσας πύλας τε καὶ εἰσόδους ἀποκλείσαντες ἐντὸς τείχους ἔμενον φρουρὰς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καταστήσαντες, ὥς ἀμύνοντο, εἰ τῷ τείχει προσβάλλοι ὁ δῆμος. τέλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε τὸν Περτίνακα χρησάμενον βίῳ καὶ προαιρέσει ὥς προείρηται.

[9] After they had committed this savage crime, alarmed by what they had done and wishing to anticipate the fury of the people, who would, they knew, be enraged by the murder, the praetorians rushed back to the camp. Shutting all the gates and blocking the entrances, they placed sentries in the towers and remained inside the walls to defend themselves if the mob should attack the camp. Such was the fate of Pertinax, whose life and policies have been described above.

SECTION 6

[1] ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσις, ταραχὴ τε καὶ πένθος πάντας κατεῖχε διέθρόν τε ἐνθουσιῶσιν ἐοικότες κίνησιν τε ἄλογος κατεῖχε τὸν δῆμον ζητούντων τοὺς δράσαντας, μήτε δὲ εὐρεῖν μήτε

[1] WHEN the assassination of the emperor was reported to the people, they ran about like madmen in their grief and rage. In the grip of unreasoning fury, the mob searched for the emperor's assassins, but were unable to find them and take their revenge.

[2] ἀμύνασθαι δυναμένων. μάλιστά τε δεινῶς ἔφερον τὸ πεπραγμένον καὶ συμφορὰν κοινὴν ἐποιοῦντο οἱ τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν νέμοντες πατέρα τε ἥπιον καὶ χρηστὸν προστάτην ἀποβαλόντες. πάλιν τε τυραννίδος ἦν δέος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' αἰρεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤλιζον.

[2] The senators were particularly distressed by what had happened. They considered the loss of their benevolent father and revered protector a public disaster, and once more there arose the fear of a tyranny, the praetorians' special delight.

[3] μιᾶς δὲ πού καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας διαδραμούσης οἱ μὲν δημόται ἕκαστος τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν δεδιὼς ὑπανεχώρει οἷ τε ἐν ἀξιώσεσιν ὄντες ἐς τὰ πορρωτάτω τῆς πόλεως κτήματα ἀπεδίδρασκον, ὥς ἂν μή τι δεινὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐσομένης

[3] But after a day or two had passed, with every man fearing for his life, the people grew calm. Men of position went out to their estates which were farthest from the city, to avoid the danger of being present at the selection of the new emperor.

[4] ἀρχῆς παρόντες πάθοιεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπεὶ τὸν τε δῆμον ἡσυχάζοντα ἔγνωσαν μήτε τινα τολμῶντα ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως αἵματι, ἔμενον μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατακλείσαντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἀναγαγόντες δὲ τοὺς εὐφωνοτάτους ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος προεκήρυττον ὄνιον τὴν βασιλείαν, τῷ τε πλεόν ἄργύριον δώσοντι ἐγχειριεῖν ὑπισχνοῦντο τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν

[4] When the praetorians saw that the people were quiet and that no one dared to avenge the murder of the emperor, they remained isolated inside the camp. Then, bringing forward to the walls the men with the loudest voices, they made proclamation that the empire was for sale, promising to hand it over to the man who offered the highest price, and promising to conduct the purchaser safely to the imperial palace under the protection of their arms.

[5] ἀδεῶς ἐς τὴν βασιλῆιον αὐλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κήρυγμα διεφοίτησεν, οἱ μὲν σεμνότεροί τε καὶ εὐσταθέστεροι τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὅσοι τε εὐπατρίδαι ἢ

ἔτι πλούσιοι, λείψανα ὀλίγα τῆς Κομόδου τυραννίδος, οὔτε προσῆλθον τῷ τείχει οὔτε ἀπρεπῇ καὶ ἐπονείδιστον χρήμασι κτήσασθαι

[5] When they made this proclamation, the more august and respected senators, those who were nobly born and still wealthy, the scattered survivors of Commodus' tyranny, did not go to the wall; they had no desire to use their wealth basely and shamefully to buy the empire.

[6] τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠθέλησαν. Ἰουλιανῷ δέ τινα, ἤδη μὲν τὴν ὑπατον τετελεκότι ἀρχὴν, δοκοῦντι δὲ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ χρημάτων εἶναι, ἐστιωμένῳ [δὴ] περὶ δεῖλιν ἐσπέραν διηγγέλη τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κήρυγμα παρὰ μέθην καὶ κραιπάλην· ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ βίῳ μὴ σώφρονοι διαβεβλημένων.

[6] But the praetorians' proposition was reported to a man named Julianus while he was giving a dinner in the late afternoon amid much drinking and carousing. This Julianus had already served a term as consul and was thought to be a very wealthy man; he was one of the Romans censured for an intemperate way of life.

[7] πείθουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν ἢ τε γυνὴ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ τό τε τῶν παρασίτων πλῆθος ἀναθορόντα τοῦ σκίμποδος δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα μαθεῖν, παρὰ [τε] πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν συμβουλευόντες ἐρριμμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπάσαι, ἀφειδῶς δὲ χρημάτων ἔχοντα μεγαλοδορία

[7] Then his wife and daughter and a mob of parasites persuaded him to leave his dining couch and hurry to the wall of the camp to find out what was going on. All the way to the camp they urged him to seize the prostrate empire; he had plenty of money and could outbid anyone who opposed him.

[8] ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλεῖν, εἰ καὶ τινες ἀμφισβητοῖεν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τῷ τείχει προσῆλθεν, ἐβόα [τε] πάντα δώσειν ὅσα βούλονται ὑπισχνούμενος, παρεῖναί τε αὐτῷ ἀμπλιστα χρήματα καὶ θησαυροὺς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεπληρωμένους ἔλεγε. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Σουλπικιανός, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ τῶν ὑπατευκότων, ἑπαρχός τε τῆς πόλεως γενόμενος (πατὴρ δὲ ἦν τῆς Περτίνακος γυναικός),

[8] And so, when they came to the wall, Julianus shouted up a promise to give the praetorians everything they wanted, assuring them that he had plenty of money, that his strongboxes were crammed with gold and silver. At the same moment the urban prefect Sulpicianus, a man of consular rank (he was the father of Pertinax' wife), came to bargain for the empire.

[9] ἦκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠνούμενος. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὐ προσήκαντο φοβηθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν πρὸς τὸν Περτίνακα συγγένειαν, μή τις ἄρα δόλος εἴη ἐς τὸ ἐκδικηθῆναι τὸν ἐκείνου φόνον· καθέντες δὲ κλίμακα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπὶ τὸ

τεῖχος ἀνεβίβασαν. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἀνοίξει τὰς πύλας ἤθελον πρὶν ἢ τὴν ποσότητα μαθεῖν

[9] But the praetorians refused to accept this man, afraid of his kinship with Pertinax, and fearing too that this might be a trick to avenge the emperor's murder. Lowering a ladder, they brought Julianus up to the top of the wall, for they were unwilling to open the gates until they knew how much he would pay for the empire.

[10] τῶν δοθησομένων χρημάτων. ὃ δ' ἀνελθὼν τὴν τε Κομμόδου μνήμην αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἃς ἡ σύγκλητος καθεῖλεν, ἀνανεώσεσθαι ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πάντων δώσειν ἐξουσίαν ὧν εἶχον ἐπ' ἐκείνου, ἐκάστῳ τε στρατιῳ τὸν τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον ὅσον μήτε αἰτῆσαι μήτε λήψεσθαι προσεδόκησαν· τὰ δὲ χρήματα μὴ μελλήσειν,

[10] When he came up, Julianus promised to revive the memory of Commodus, to restore his honors, and to re-erect his statues which the senate had pulled down; he further promised to restore to the praetorians all the powers they had possessed under that emperor and to give each soldier more gold than he asked for or expected to receive.

[11] ἀλλ' οἴκοθεν ἤδη μεταπέμψεσθαι. τούτοις ἀναπεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ταύταις ἀρθέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν αὐτοκράτορά τε τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναγορεύουσι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ οἰκεῖῳ καὶ ἐκ γένους ὀνόματι Κόμοδον ἀξιούσιν ἀποκαλεῖσθαι. τά τε σημεῖα ἄραντες, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου εἰκόνας

[11] Convinced by his promises and delighted with their expectations, the guard proclaimed Julianus emperor, and, in view of his family and his ancestry, thought it appropriate that he assume the name of Commodus. Then, raising their standards, to which pictures of Julianus had been attached, they prepared to escort the emperor to the imperial palace.

[12] ἀποκαταστήσαντες, προπέμπειν ἐπειρῶντο. θύσας δὲ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς τὰς νενομισμένας καὶ βασιλείους ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θυσίας, προήγετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν πλέον τι τῆς συνηθείας δορυφορούμενος· ἅτε γὰρ βία καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τε αἰσχυρᾶς καὶ ἀπρεποῦς διαβολῆς ὠνησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰκότως ἐδεδείκει τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐναντιωσόμενον.

[12] After he had performed the usual imperial sacrifices in the camp, Julianus was led out under the protection of a contingent of the guard larger than normal. Because he had purchased the empire shamefully, disgracefully, and fraudulently, using force and opposing the wishes of the people, the new emperor rightly feared that the people would be hostile toward him.

[13] ἀναλαβόντες οὖν τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ φράξαντες αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται ἐς

φάλαγγος σχῆμα ὥς, εἰ δέοι, καὶ πολεμήσοντες, ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωροῦντες τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, μή που καὶ λίθων τις βολὴ ἀπὸ τῶν δωματίων ἐπὶ τῇ πομπῇ γένοιτο, ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, μηδενὸς τῶν δημοτῶν μήτε ἀντιστῆναι τολμῶντος μήτε μὴν εὐφημοῦντος ὥσπερ εἰώθασι προπέμπειν τοὺς βασιλέας· τοῦναντίον δὲ καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐστῶτες ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ κακῶς ἠγόρευον ἅτε χρημάτων ἀντικαταλλαζόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν.

[13] Therefore, under full arms and armor, the praetorians formed a phalanx so that, if necessary, they could fight. They placed their chosen emperor in the center of the formation, holding their spears and shields over their heads to protect the procession from any shower of stones hurled down from the houses. In this fashion they succeeded in conducting Julianus to the palace, as none of the people dared oppose them. No one, however, shouted the congratulations usually heard when emperors were accompanied by a formal escort; on the contrary, the people stood at a distance, shouting curses and reviling Julianus bitterly for using his wealth to purchase the empire.

[14] τότε δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ὑποδιεφθάρη τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἦθη, καὶ χρημάτων ἐδιδάχθησαν ἅπληστον καὶ αἰσχροὺς ἐπιθυμίας καταφρόνησιν τε τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας αἰδοῦς. τὸ γὰρ μήτε τοῖς οὕτως ὁμῶς τετολμημένοις ἐν φόνῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐπεξιέναι τινά, μήτε τὴν οὕτως ἀπρεπῶς ἐπὶ χρήμασι κηρυχθεῖσαν καὶ πραθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸν κωλύοντα, ἀρχηγὸν καὶ αἴτιον ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ἀπειθοῦς καταστάσεως καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐγένετο, ἀεὶ αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλοχρηματίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταφρονήσεως καὶ μέχρις αἵματος αὐξηθείσης.

[14] It was on this occasion that the character of the praetorians was corrupted for the first time; they acquired their insatiable and disgraceful lust for money and their contempt for the sanctity of the emperor. The fact that there was no one to take action against these men who had savagely murdered their emperor, and the fact that there was no one to prevent the shameful auction and sale of the Roman empire, were the original causes of the praetorians' disgraceful and mutinous revolt at this time and also for later revolts. Their lust for gold and their contempt for their emperors increased, as did assassinations also.

SECTION 7

[1] ὁ δ' οὖν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπεὶ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, τρυφαῖς εὐθέως καὶ κραιπάλαις ἐσχόλαξε, τῇ μὲν τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιμελείᾳ ῥαθύμως προσφερόμενος, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀβροδίαiton καὶ ἄσεμνον ἐπιδιδούς ἑαυτόν. εὐρίσκετό τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ψευσάμενος καὶ ἀπατήσας τῷ μὴ

[1] WHEN he entered into the office of emperor, Julianus immediately devoted himself to drinking and debauchery. He regarded his duties to the state as of no consequence and occupied his time in luxurious living and profligate practices. It was quickly discovered, however, that he had lied to the praetorians and deceived them, as he was unable to fulfill his promises.

[2] δύνασθαι ἀποπληρῶσαι ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἦν αὐτῷ τοσαῦτα χρήματα ὅσα ἡλαζονεύσατο, οὔτε μὴν οἱ δημόσιοι τι θησαυροὶ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ πάντα προκεκένωτο τῇ Κομόδου ἀσωτία καὶ ἀφειδέσει καὶ ἀκρίτοις ἀναλώμασιν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς τόλμης καὶ τῆς αἰτίας οἱ τε στρατιῶται σφαλέντες τῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπηγανάκτουν, ὃ τε δῆμος αἰσθόμενος τῆς γνώμης τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶχον «αὐτόν» ἐν καταφρονήσει, ὡς προϊόντα τε κακῶς ἀγορεύειν, ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιβόλοις ἡδοναῖς σκώπτειν.

[2] The truth is that he did not have as much money in his personal possession as he had pretended to have, and no money was available in the public treasures; these had been completely exhausted by Commodus' extravagances and his lavish and endless disbursements. The praetorians, cheated of their expectations, were enraged by this insulting breach of faith; and the people, when they were aware of the praetorians' attitude, held Julianus in contempt. When the emperor appeared in public, they cursed him bitterly and taunted him for his continuous and disgraceful debauches.

[3] ἔς τε τὸν ἵπποδρομον, ὅπου μάλιστα τὸ πλῆθος συνιὼν ἐκκλησιάζει, τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐβλασφήμουν, ἀρωγὸν δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ σεμνῆς βασιλείας προστάτην Νίγρον ἐπεκαλοῦντο, βοηθεῖν τε αὐτόν τὴν ταχίστην ἡξίουσαν ὡς ἐφύβριστα πάσχουσιν.

[3] At the Circus Maximus, where the crowds were largest, the audience shouted insults at Julianus and called Niger defender of the empire and protector of the sacred office of emperor, begging him to come to their rescue as soon as possible, for they were subjected to unbearable indignities.

[4] ἦν δ' ὁ Νίγρος τῶν μὲν πρὸ πολλοῦ ὑπατευσάντων, καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν τὰ προειρημένα ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπράττετο, Συρίας ἡγεῖτο πάσης. πολλὴ δὲ ἦν καὶ

μεγίστη ἀρχὴ τότε, τοῦ τε Φοινίκων ἔθνους παντός καὶ τῆς μέχρις

[4] This Niger had previously served a term as consul; at the time of the events mentioned above, he was governor of Syria, then the largest and most powerful of the Roman provinces. The entire Phoenician territory and all the land as far as the Euphrates River were under Niger's command.

[5] Εὐφράτου γῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Νίγρου ὄντων ἐξουσία. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ἤδη μετρίως προβεβηκώς, εὐδοκμήσας δὲ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις πράξεσι. φήμη τε περὶ αὐτοῦ διεφοῖτα ὡς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ δεξιῶν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Περτίνακος βίον ζηλοῦντος· ὅφ' ὧν μάλιστα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπέιθοντο. ἐκάλουν τε αὐτὸν συνεχῶς «ἐν» ταῖς τοῦ δήμου συνόδοις, καὶ βλασφημοῦντες τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν παρόντα ἐκείνον βασιλικαῖς φωναῖς εὐφήμουν ἀπόντα.

[5] The governor, then just past middle age, had won renown for his many brilliant exploits. He was reported to be a fair and capable man and was said to pattern his life after that of Pertinax; the Romans, consequently, had great confidence in Niger. They called for him in all the public assemblies and insulted Julianus to his face by cheering the absent Niger and offering him the empire with loud shouts.

[6] διαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων γνώμης καὶ τῆς ἐπαλλήλου ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις βοῆς, εἰκότως ὁ Νίγρος ἀναπεισθείς, ῥᾶστά τε αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ὑπακούσεσθαι προσδοκῆσας, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιωτῶν ἀμελεῖσθαι διότι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις οὐκ ἐπλήρου τῶν χρημάτων, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καταφρονεῖσθαι ὡς ἀνάξιον ἧς ἐώνητο ἀρχῆς, ἐπιδίδωσιν

[6] When the attitude of the Roman people and their actions were reported to him, Niger was naturally acquiescent and believed that affairs would turn out as he wished, with no difficulty. The fact that Julianus had been deserted by the praetorians because he failed to give them the money he had promised and the fact that he was despised by the people for the shameful way in which he had bought the empire encouraged Niger to be sanguine about his chances of becoming emperor.

[7] αὐτὸν τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγους ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ χιλιάρχους τοὺς τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέχοντας οἴκαδε μεταπεμπόμενος διελέγετο καὶ ἀνέπειθε, τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης δηλούμενα φανερά ποιῶν, ὡς ἂν διαθέουσα ἢ φήμη ἔκπυστα καὶ γνώριμα ποιῇ τοῖς τε στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀνθρώποις·

[7] As the first step, he summoned a few commanders and tribunes and prominent soldiers to his quarters; there he discussed the situation with them and won their support. He revealed in

detail what he had heard from Rome, with the intent that, when this news was made public, it would become common knowledge to the soldiers and to the rest of the peoples of the East.

[8] οὕτω γὰρ ῥᾶστα ἤλπιζε πάντας αὐτῷ προσχωρήσειν, πυνθανομένους ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς μνᾶται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ καλούμενος καὶ βοηθήσων ἄπεισι Ῥωμαίοις δεομένοις. ἀνεπτόηντο δὲ πάντες καὶ μηδὲν μελλήσαντες προσέκειντο, ἐκλιπαροῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι

[8] He hoped to win the support of all of them without difficulty when they understood that he was not attempting to seize the empire by plotting but rather that he was going to the assistance of the people at Rome, who were begging for him to come. All the Eastern peoples flocked to his support and implored him to take charge of affairs.

[9] τῶν πραγμάτων. φύσει δὲ κοῦφον τὸ Σύρων ἔθνος, ἐς καινοτομίαν τε τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐπιτήδειον. ἐνῆν δέ τις αὐτοῖς καὶ πόθος τοῦ Νίγρου, ἡπίως τε ἄρχοντος «ἐν» ἅπασι, τὰ πλεῖστά τε αὐτοῖς συμπανηγυρίζοντος. φιλέορτοι δὲ φύσει Σύροι· ὧν μάλιστα οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατοικοῦντες, μεγίστην πόλιν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, σχεδὸν παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐορτάζουσιν ἔν

[9] For the Syrian race is by nature unstable and sympathetic to any proposed change in the established order of things. In addition, the Syrians felt some affection for Niger because he ruled them mildly in all respects and staged a vast number of shows for them. They are by nature a people fond of spectacles, and the citizens of Antioch, a large and prosperous city, celebrate festivals virtually every day of the year in the city and in the surrounding area.

[10] τε τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ τὰ προάστεια. θέας τοίνυν αὐτοῖς συνεχῶς ἐπιτελῶν ὁ Νίγρος, περὶ ᾧς μάλιστα ἐσπουδάκασιν, καὶ διδοὺς ἄνεσιν ἐς τὸ ἐορτάζειν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι, ἅτε ποιῶν κεχαρισμένα, εἰκότως ἐτιμᾶτο.

[10] And so, by constantly staging shows, about which they are wildly enthusiastic, and by allowing them free license to celebrate the holidays and make merry, Niger won their esteem.

SECTION 8

[1] ἄπερ εἰδώς, καλέσας τοὺς τε πανταχόθεν στρατιώτας ἐς ῥήτην ἡμέραν, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ πλήθους συνελθόντος, βήματος αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντος ἔλεξε τοιάδε ἀνελθών·

[1] AWARE of their high regard for him, Niger summoned the soldiers from all stations on an appointed day; after the people also had assembled, he mounted the platform erected for the purpose and addressed them as follows:

[2] τῆς μὲν ἐμῆς γνώμης τὸ πρᾶον καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέγала τῶν τετολμημένων εὐλαβὲς ἴσως ἐστὶν ὑμῖν πάλαι γνώριμον· οὐδ' ἂν νῦν ἐς ὑμᾶς παρῆλθον ταῦτα δημηγορήσων, εἰ ἐκ μόνης προαιρέσεως ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλόγου ἐλπίδος ἢ μείζονος [ἐλπίδος] ἐπιθυμία ἀνεπειθόμην. ἀλλ' ἐμὲ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ συνεχῶς βοῶντες ἐπείγουσιν ὀρέξαι τε χεῖρα σωτήριον καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἔνδοξον καὶ ἐνάρετον ἀπὸ προγόνων ἄνωθεν ἀρχὴν μὴ περιδεῖν

[2] “The mildness of my disposition and my temperate approach in the important enterprises which I have undertaken are well known to you from of old. Never would I have come before you to discuss these matters if I were motivated solely by personal aims, by unreasonable hopes, or by the desire to realize even greater achievements. But the Romans are calling me and with unceasing cries beg me to extend to them the savior’s hand and not allow an empire so illustrious, one made famous by our ancestors from the earliest times, to be brought to disgraceful ruin.

[3] αἰσχυρῶς ἐρριμμένην. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐπιτολμᾶν οὐκ οὔσης εὐλόγου προφάσεως προπετὲς καὶ θρασύ, οὕτως καὶ τὸ πρὸς καλοῦντας καὶ δεομένους ὀκνηρὸν ἀνανδρίας ἅμα καὶ προδοσίας φέρει διαβολήν. διὸ παρῆλθον πευσόμενος ὑμῶν τίνα γνώμην ἔχοιτε καὶ <τί> πρακτέον ἡγοῖσθε, συμβούλοις τε ὑμῖν καὶ κοινωνοῖς χρησόμενος περὶ τῶν καθεστώτων· τὸ γὰρ ἀποβησόμενον εἰ εὐτυχηθεῖ, κοινὴν ἐμοί τε καὶ ὑμῖν τὴν

[3] Just as it is rash and hasty to undertake such great projects without good cause and reason, so too is it cowardly and treasonable to hesitate when one is summoned and begged to take action. This has led me to come before you to find out what your attitude is and what you think should be done — in short, to use you as my advisers and associates in the present situation. If the issue should prosper, it will work to our mutual advantage.

[4] ἀπόλανσιν παρέξει. οὐ φαῦλαι δὲ οὐδὲ κοῦφαι καλοῦσιν ἐλπίδες, ἀλλ' ὅ τε Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ᾧ τὴν δεσποτείαν τῶν ἀπάντων ἔνειμαν θεοὶ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἣ τε ἀρχὴ σαλεύουσα καὶ παρὰ μηδενὶ πω βεβαίως ἰδρυμένη. ὅθεν

ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀσφαλές, ἕκ τε τῆς τῶν καλούντων γνώμης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδένα εἶναι τὸν ἀνθεστῶτα

[4] No selfish and self-deluding hopes summon me. The Roman people call me, the Roman people, to whom the gods have given their empire and their mastery over all men. The empire too cries out to me, unsettled as it is and not yet firmly fixed in the hands of any one man. This being the situation, the safety of this course will be obvious, both from the attitude of those who are calling me and from the fact that there is no one to oppose me or stand in my way.

[5] μηδὲ κωλύοντα, ὑπάρξει· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τὰ ἐκείθεν ἀγγέλλοντές φασι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ χρημάτων ἀπέδοντο, πιστοὺς εἶναι [φρουροὺς] ὑπηρέτας, μηδὲ πληρώσαντος ἐκείνου ἃ ὑπέσχετο. τίνα τοῖνυν ἔχετε γνώμην, δηλώσατε.

[5] My informants in Rome say that the praetorians, who sold the empire to Julianus, are untrustworthy bodyguards because he did not pay them the money he promised. Come now, reveal to me what your attitude is.”

[6] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, εὐθέως τὸ στρατιωτικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ συνειλεγμένον πλῆθος αὐτοκράτορά τε ἀνεῖπε καὶ σεβαστὸν προσηγόρευσε· τὴν τε βασιλείον πορφύραν ἐπιβαλόντες, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς σεβασμίου τιμῆς ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου παρασκευῆς ἀθροίσαντες, καὶ προπομπεύοντος τοῦ πυρός, ἔς τε τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὸν Νίγρον ἄγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν καθιστᾶσιν, οὐκέτι αὐτὴν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλείον αὐλὴν νομίζοντες, πᾶσι κοσμήσαντες ἔξωθεν βασιλικοῖς συμβόλοις.

[6] When he had finished speaking, the entire army and all the people there immediately hailed him as emperor and called him Augustus. They robed him in the imperial purple and provided the remaining tokens of imperial rank from whatever was available. They carried the sacred fire before their emperor and, after escorting him to the temples in Antioch, established him in his own residence, treating it no longer as a private home but as the imperial palace, for they decorated the exterior of the house with the imperial insignia.

[7] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ ὁ Νίγρος πάνυ τὴν ψυχὴν ηὐφραίνεται, ὡχυρῶσθαι τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡγεῖτο διὰ τε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὥς γὰρ διυπταμένη ἡ φήμη πάντα ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνη ὅσα τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἡπειρον τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικεῖ, οὐδεῖς τε ἦν ὅστις οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐς τὸ ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ ἠπείγετο, πρεσβεῖαί τε ἀπ’ ἐκείνων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν

[7] Niger was exceedingly pleased by these developments, and believed that control of imperial affairs was firmly fixed in his hands by the attitude of the Roman people and by the enthusiasm of the Eastern peoples. When the situation became generally known, all the people on the continent of Asia lying opposite Europe came to him, and every man hastened to submit to him of his own free will; embassies from all those peoples were sent to Niger at Antioch as if he were the recognized Roman emperor.

[8] ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα ὁμολογούμενον ἐστέλλοντο. οἱ τ' ἐπέκεινα Τίγριδος καὶ Εὐφράτου σατράπαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπέστελλον συνηδόμενοι αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ δέοιτο, βοηθείας ὑπισχυοῦντο. ὁ δὲ δώροις τε αὐτοὺς μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἡμείβετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι χάριν γινώσκων ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖσθαι συμμάχων· τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαίως ὠχυρῶσθαι, ἀναιμωτί τε ἄρξαι.

[8] The rulers and kings beyond the Tigris and Euphrates rivers sent congratulations and promised assistance if it should be needed. In return, Niger sent these rulers lavish gifts and thanked them for their support and their offers, but he assured them that he did not lack for allies. He told them that the empire was his beyond any doubt and that he intended to rule without bloodshed.

[9] ταύταις ἐπαιρόμενος ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὑπτίαζέ τε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίατον ἀνειμένος τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσι συνευφραίνεται, ἑορταῖς [τε] καὶ θέαις ἐπιδιδούς ἑαυτόν. τῆς τε ἐς τὴν Πώμην ἀφόδου,

[9] Elated by these hopes, Niger now grew negligent in attending to matters at hand. Spending his time in luxurious living, he reveled with the people of Antioch, devoting himself to shows and spectacles, and postponed his departure for Rome when he should have hurried to the city at top speed.

[10] ἐφ' ἣν μάλιστα ἐχρῆν σπεύδειν, ἡμέλει. τοῖς τε Ἰλλυρικοῖς στρατεύμασι δέον ἐπιφοιτῆσαι τὴν ταχίστην καὶ φθάσαι οἰκειωσάμενον αὐτά, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν πραττομένων τι αὐτοῖς ἐδήλου, ἐλπίζων τοὺς ἐκεῖ στρατιώτας, εἴ ποτε καὶ μάθοιεν, ὁμογνώμονας ἔσεσθαι τῇ τε Πωμαίων εὐχῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν στρατοπέδων γνώμῃ.

[10] It was imperative that he visit the cities in Illyricum at the earliest possible moment and win their support before someone else did. He did not, however, release in Illyricum any report of what had happened, hoping that the army there, when it learned of these developments, would be in agreement with the entreaties of the Roman people and the attitude of the Eastern armies.

SECTION 9

[1] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διατυποῦντος καὶ κούφαις καὶ ἀδήλοις ἐπαιωρουμένου ἐλπίσι, διηγέλλετο τὰ πραττόμενα ἔς τε Παίονας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκεῖσε στρατιωτικόν, ὃ ταῖς ὄχθαις Ἰστρου τε καὶ Ῥήνου ἐπικείμενον, ἀπεῖργον τοὺς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρους, φρουρεῖ τὴν

[1] WHILE Niger was dreaming these dreams and relying upon uncertain and unfounded hopes, what had occurred in Syria was reported to the Pannonians and the people in Illyricum, as well as to the entire military force in that area — that is, to the troops assigned to duty on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine to check barbarian incursions in those regions and defend the Roman empire.

[2] Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Παιόνων πάντων (ὕπὸ μιᾷ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξουσίᾳ) Σεβήρος, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος Λίβυς, ἔς δὲ πραγμάτων διοίκησιν γενναῖος ἅμα καὶ θυμοειδής, σκληρῷ τε βίῳ καὶ τραχεῖ ἐνειθισμένος, πόνοις τε ἀντέχων ῥᾶστα, νοῆσαι τε ὁξὺς καὶ τὸ νοηθὲν ἐπιτελέσαι

[2] The governor of all the Pannonians (for they were at that time under one command) was a Libyan named Severus, a born administrator and a man of tremendous energy. Accustomed to a rugged life, he was physically able to endure heavy labor; mentally, he was quick to understand and quick to act once he understood.

[3] ταχύς. οὗτος τοίνυν παρὰ τῶν ἀγγελλόντων πυνθανόμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μετέωρον φερομένην «τὸν Νίγρον καὶ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν» ἀρπάσαι, καταγνοὺς τοῦ μὲν ῥαθυμίας τοῦ δὲ ἀνανδρίας, ... «ἐπιθέσθαι» τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἀνέπειθε δὲ αὐτὸν ὀνειράτα τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐλπίδα ὑποσημαίνοντα, χρησιμοί τε καὶ ὅσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν τῶν μελλόντων σύμβολα φαίνεται· ἅπερ πάντα ἀψευδῇ καὶ ἀληθῇ τότε πιστεύεται ὅταν ἐς τὴν ἀπόβασιν

[3] When he learned from reports that the Roman empire was dangling in the sky like a meteor for Niger and Julianus to seize, Severus, charging the former with negligence and the latter with cowardice, decided to intervene in these affairs. He had had dreams which led him to expect something like this, and his dreams were supported by oracular responses and all the signs that appear as prophecies of things to come. All these, whether they are true or false, are invariably believed when they foretell something which later actually occurs.

[4] εὐτυχηθῇ. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ ἰστόρησεν αὐτός τε συγγράψας ἐν τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν βίῳ καὶ δημοσίαις ἀνέθηκεν εἰκόσι· τὸ δ' οὖν τελευταῖον καὶ μέγιστον, ὅπερ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ὑπέφαιναν ὄναρ, οὐδ' ἡμῖν παραλειπτέον.

[4] Severus himself recorded many portents in his autobiography, and had them inscribed on

his public statues also. But the last and most significant of his dreams, the one which made it clear to him that he would get all he hoped for, must not be omitted.

[5] κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν ὃν ἀπηγγέλη Περτίναξ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν, μετὰ τὸ προελθεῖν καὶ θῦσαι καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Περτίνακος βασιλείας ὄρκον ἀφοσιώσασθαι ὁ Σεβήρος ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης ἐς ὕπνον κατηνέχθη, μέγαν δὲ καὶ γενναῖον ἵππον βασιλικοῖς φαλάροις κεκοσμημένον ᾗθη βλέπειν, φέροντα τὸν Περτίνακα ἐποχούμενον διὰ μέσης τῆς ἐν

[5] At the time Pertinax was reported to have assumed control of the empire, Severus, after making the sacrifices and swearing the oath of allegiance to the new emperor, went back to his house at dusk and fell asleep. He dreamed that he saw a large, noble stallion adorned with the imperial trappings carrying Pertinax down the middle of the Sacred Way at Rome.

[6] Ῥώμῃ ἱερᾷς ὁδοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο, ἔνθα ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πρότερον ὁ δῆμος συνιὼν ἐκκλησίᾳζεν, [ᾗθη] τὸν ἵππον ἀποσείσασθαι μὲν τὸν Περτίνακα καὶ ρῖψαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἄλλως ἐστῶτι ὑποδῦναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀράμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς νότοις φέρειν τε ἀσφαλῶς καὶ στήναι βεβαίως ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, ἐς ὕψος ἄραντα τὸν Σεβήρον ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ὁρᾶσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι. μένει δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ

[6] But when the horse arrived at the entrance of the Forum, where, in the old days of the Republic, the popular assemblies had been held, in his dream the stallion unseated Pertinax and threw him to the ground. While Severus stood there motionless, the horse slipped under him, taking him up on his back, and bore him safely along. Then, halting in the middle of the Forum, the stallion raised Severus aloft, so that he was seen and cheered by all. And in our time a huge bronze statue depicting this dream still stood on that spot.

[7] ἡ τοῦ ὀνείρατος εἰκὼν μεγίστη, χαλκοῦ πεποιημένη. οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ Σεβήρος ἀρθεὶς τὴν γνώμην, ἐλπίζων τε θεία προνοία ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν [αὐτὸν] καλεῖσθαι, ἀπόπειραν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν γνώμης, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγους ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ χιλιάρχους τοὺς τε ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐξέχοντας οἰκειούμενος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλεγόμενος, ὡς παντάπασιν ἔρριπται οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ γενναίως ἢ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτὴν διοικοῦντος.

[7] His resolve thus strengthened, with high hopes that he was being called to the throne by divine summons, Severus made trial of the attitude of the soldiers. As the first step, he met in his quarters with a few commanders and tribunes and prominent soldiers and discussed with them the Roman empire, how it lay completely helpless because there was no man of the nobility and no man with enough ability to take control of it.

[8] διέβαλλε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας ὡς ἀπίστους καὶ βασιλείῳ καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ αἵματι μιάναντας τὸν ὄρκον, ἔλεγέ τε δεῖν ἐπαμῦναι καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ Περτίνακος φόνῳ. ἦδει δὲ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν

[8] He spoke with contempt of the praetorians at Rome as disloyal and false to their oath in spilling the blood of their emperor and fellow Roman, and told them that he had to go to Rome to avenge the murder of Pertinax, for he was aware that all the soldiers in Illyricum remembered the governorship of the man.

[9] στρατιώτας μεμνημένους τῆς Περτίνακος ἡγεμονίας· ὑπὸ γὰρ Μάρκῳ βασιλεύοντι πολλὰ ἐγείρας σὺν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Γερμανῶν τρόπαια, στρατηγός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν κατασταθείς, ἀνδρείαν μὲν πᾶσαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέδεδεικτο, εὐνοίαν δὲ καὶ χρηστότητα μετὰ σὺμφρονος καὶ ἐπιεικοῦς ἐξουσίας τοῖς ἀρχομένοις παρέσχητο, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μνήμην τιμῶντες ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτως ὠμῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ τετολμημένοις ἠγανάκτουν.

[9] When Marcus was emperor, Pertinax had won with them many victories over the Germans; after he had been appointed general and governor of the province of Illyricum, he had displayed great courage in fighting the enemy. But at the same time he revealed his benevolence and good will toward those he ruled by his moderation and his sensible exercise of authority. For these reasons they revered his memory and were enraged at those who had treated him so savagely.

[10] ταύτης δὴ τῆς προφάσεως λαβόμενος ὁ Σεβῆρος εὐμαρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἃ ἐβούλετο ὑπηγάγετο, προσποιούμενος οὐχ οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν μνασθαι, ὥς θέλιν ἐπεξελθεῖν τοιοῦτου βασιλέως

[10] Seizing this as his excuse, Severus without difficulty persuaded them to do what he wished; he pretended that he was not personally seeking the empire and did not desire power for himself, but rather that he wished to avenge the murder of so great an emperor as Pertinax.

[11] αἵματι. ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ σώματα οἱ ἐκεῖσε ἄνθρωποι γενναϊότατοί τε καὶ μεγάλοι εἰσὶ καὶ πρὸς μάχας ἐπιτήδαιοι καὶ φονικώτατοι, οὕτω καὶ τὰς διανοίας παχεῖς καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως συνεῖναι δυνάμενοι, εἴ τι μετὰ πανουργίας ἢ δόλου λέγοιτο ἢ πράττειτο. πιστεύσαντες γοῦν τῷ Σεβήρῳ προσποιουμένῳ χαλεπαίνειν καὶ θέλιν ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ Περτίνακος φόνῳ ἐπέδοσαν αὐτούς, ὥς αὐτοκράτορά

[11] Although the men of those regions have huge and powerful bodies and are skillful and murderous in battle, they are dull of wit and slow to realize that they are being deceived. Hence they believed Severus when he said that he was enraged and wished to avenge the murder of Pertinax; and, putting themselves in his hands, they made him emperor and turned

the control of the empire over to him.

[12] τε ἀποδειξαι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρίσαι. ὁ δ' ὥς ἔγνω τὴν τῶν Παιόνων γνώμην, διέπεμπε καὶ ἐς τὰ γειτνιῶντα ἔθνη καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ὑπ' ἄρκτῳ Ῥωμαίοις δουλευόντων ἐθνῶν, μεγάλαις τε πάντας ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἀναπειθὼν ῥαδίως ὑπηγάγετο.

[12] Since he now knew the attitude of the Pannonians, he reported these events to the neighboring provinces and to the rulers of all the northern nations under Roman control; he convinced them by lavish promises and the expectation of great rewards, and easily won their support.

[13] ἱκανώτατος δ' ἦν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα προσποιήσασθαι τε καὶ πιστώσασθαι εὐνοίαν, μήτε ὅρκου φειδόμενος, εἰ δέοι τούτου καταφρονῆσαι, ψευδάμενος πρὸς τὸ χρειώδες, διὰ τε γλώττης προίετο ὅσα μὴ ἔφερεν ἐπὶ γνώμης.

[13] He was surely the most accomplished of all men in pretending to pledge his good will, but he never kept his sworn word if it proved necessary for him to break it; he lied whenever it was advantageous to him, and his tongue said many things which his heart did not mean.

SECTION 10

[1] θεραπεύσας οὖν διὰ γραμμάτων πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν ... ἅμα καὶ ἄρχοντας, προσηγάγετο αὐτούς. ἀθροίσας δὲ τοὺς πανταχόθεν στρατιώτας, Σεβήρῳ τε Περτίνακα ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας, ὅπερ οὐ μόνον ἤλπιζε τοῖς Ἰλλυρικοῖς εἶναι κεχαρισμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην, συγκαλέσας τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ βήματος αὐτῷ ἀρθέντος ἀνελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[1] SEVERUS sent letters to all the soldiers in Illyricum and to their officers and won their support. After assembling the troops from all stations, he assumed as his names both Severus and Pertinax, hoping that this would endear him not only to the people in Illyricum but also to the Romans because of their memories of that emperor. He then called the soldiers together on the assembly ground and, mounting a platform erected for him, addressed them as follows:

[2] τὸ πιστὸν ὑμῶν καὶ πρὸς τε θεοὺς σεβάσμιον, οὓς ὄμνυτε, πρὸς τε βασιλέας τίμιον, οὓς αἰδεῖσθε, δεδηλώκατε δι' ὧν ἀγανακτεῖτε ἐφ' οἷς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην στρατιῶται, πομπῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρείας ὑπηρεταί, ἐτόλμησαν. κάμοι δὲ δι' εὐχῆς ἐστί, πρότερον μὲν οὐδέποτε ἀντιποιησαμένῳ τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος (ἴστε γάρ μου τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας πειθήνιον), νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τέλος τε ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ἀνύσαι ταῦτα ἅπερ ὑμῖν ἐστί κεχαρισμένα,

[2] “The faith and reverence which you have for the gods, by whom you swear, and the respect which you have for your emperors, whom you esteem, you have made abundantly clear by your rage at the acts of the praetorians in Rome, who are more suited for parades than for battles. And now, because you ask it, although I never before entertained such a hope (you know my loyalty to the emperors), it is my duty to undertake and successively resolve these matters which have your approval.

[3] τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μὴ περιδεῖν ἐρριμμένην, ἣ πρότερον μὲν μέχρι Μάρκου σεμνοπρεπῶς διοικουμένη σεβάσμιος ἐφαίνετο, ἐς Κόμμοδον δὲ μεταπεσοῦσα, εἰ καὶ τίνα ὑπ' ἐκείνου διὰ νεότητα ἐπλημμελεῖτο, ἀλλ' οὖν τῇ εὐγενείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμῃ ἐπεσκιαζέτο· καὶ πλέον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐλεούμενον ἐφ' οἷς ἐσφάλλετο ἢ τὸ μισούμενον, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν γινομένων οὐκ ἐς ἐκείνον ἀνεφέρομεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν κόλακάς τε καὶ οὐ πρεπόντων ἔργων ὁμοῦ συμβούλους τε καὶ ὑπηρετάς.

[3] I must not allow the Roman empire to lie helpless, that empire which, to the end of Marcus' reign, was administered with reverence and appeared to be august and awesome. Under Commodus, however, the empire underwent a change, and yet, even if it did suffer somewhat at his hands because of his youth, all was forgiven him because of his noble birth

and the memory of his father. And the truth is that there was more reason to pity than to despise him for his errors, in that we attributed most of what happened not to him personally but to the parasites who swarmed around him and to his advisers and accomplices in his irregular acts.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς σεμνὸν πρεσβύτην, οὗ τῆς ἀνδρείας τε καὶ χρηστότητος ἔτι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἡ μνήμη ἐνέστακται, περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα φόνῳ ἀπεσκευάσαντο. τὴν δὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν ὠνησάμενός τις αἰσχροῶς πρὸς τε τοῦ δήμου, ὥς ἀκούετε, μεμίσηται, πρὸς τε τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατιωτῶν,

[4] But when the empire came into the hands of that revered elder statesman Pertinax, the memory of whose courage and service to the state is still firmly fixed in our hearts, the praetorians not only did not protect their emperor, but went so far as to murder that illustrious man. And now some fellow has disgracefully purchased the empire and its vast expanse of land and sea; as you have heard, he is hated by the people and no longer trusted by the disillusioned praetorians.

[5] οὗς ἐψεύσατο, οὐκέτι πιστεύεται. ὧν, εἰ καὶ ἔμελλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρατάξασθαι μετ' εὐνοίας, καὶ πλήθει σύμπαντες καὶ καθ' ἓνα εὐανδρία προύχετε, ἀσκήσει τε πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἐγγεγύμνασθε ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀεὶ βαρβάροις ἀντιταπτόμενοι, καὶ φέρειν πόνους πάντας, κρύους τε καὶ θάλπους καταφρονεῖν, ποταμούς τε πηγνυμένους πατεῖν, καὶ πίνειν ὀρυττόμενον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνιμώμενον ὕδωρ εἰθισμένοι. θήραις τε ἐγγεγύμνασθε, καὶ πάντως ὑμῖν ἐς ἀνδρείαν ὑπάρχει γενναῖα ἐφόδια, ὥς μηδὲ εἰ βουλευθεῖη

[5] Even if they loved him and intended to support him, you outnumber them and are superior in courage. You have trained under actual combat conditions in your continuous skirmishes with the barbarians, and you are accustomed to endure all kinds of labor. Ignoring heat and cold, you cross frozen rivers on the ice; you do not drink water from wells, but water you have dug yourself. You have also trained by fighting with animals, and, all in all, you have won so distinguished a reputation for bravery that no one could stand against you.

[6] τις, δύνασθαι ὑμῖν ἀντιστῆναι. δοκίμιον δὲ στρατιωτῶν κάματος, ἀλλ' οὐ τρυφή, ἥπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐγκραιπαλῶντές τε καὶ ἐναυξηθέντες οὐδ' ἂν τῆς βοῆς ὑμῶν ἀνάσχοιντο, οὔτι γε τῆς μάχης. εἰ δέ τινες τὰ κατὰ Συρίαν ὑποπεύουσι πράγματα, ἐντεῦθεν ἂν τεκμήραιντο ἀσθενῇ τε ὄντα καὶ φαύλας ἔχοντα τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὅπου μηδὲ προελθεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἐτόλμησαν, μηδὲ τι περὶ τῆς ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφόδου βουλευσασθαι ἐθάρρησαν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐκεῖ μένοντες, καὶ τὴν ἐφήμερον τρυφὴν κέρδος

[6] Toil is the true test of the soldier, not easy living, and those luxury-loving sots would not face your battle cry, much less your battle line. But if any one of you is concerned about affairs in Syria, he may judge how feeble the effort is there and how slight the hope of success by the fact that these men have not dared to venture beyond their own borders and were not bold enough to plan for a journey to Rome. There they remain, content, believing that this temporary taste of living in luxury represents the total profit to them of this firmly established empire.

[7] τῆς οὐπω βεβαίας ἀρχῆς νομίζουσιν. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ χαριέντως καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἀποσκῶψαι ἐπιτήδευοι Σύροι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν οἰκοῦντες, «οὓς» φασὶ περὶ τὸν Νίγρον ἐσπουδακέναι· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔθνη καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις μέχρι νῦν τῷ μηδένα εὐρίσκεσθαι τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον, σπάνει τοῦ μετὰ ἀνδρείας καὶ σώφρονος διοικήσεως ἄρξοντος ἐκείνῳ δῆλον ὅτι

[7] The truth is that the Syrians are suited only to games and childish banter. This is especially true of those who live in Antioch, who are reported to be highly enthusiastic supporters of Niger. But the rest of the provinces and cities have up to now found no one worthy of the imperial throne, and, because no man has appeared who will rule with courage and use sound administrative practices, it is evident that they are only pretending to support that fellow.

[8] προσποιοῦνται ὑπακούειν. εἰ δὲ τὴν τε Ἰλλυρικὴν δύναμιν ἅμα χειροτονήσασαν μάθοιεν, τό τε ἡμέτερον ὄνομα πύθοιντο οὐκ ἄγνωστον οὐδ' ἄσημον παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχον ἐξ ὧν ἡγεμονεύσαντες ἐκεῖσε διωκήσαμεν, εἴ ἴστε, οὔτε ἐμοῦ ῥαθυμίαν ἢ ἀδρανίαν καταγνώσκονται, οὔτε τὸ ὑμέτερον γενναῖον καὶ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐμβριθὲς ὑποστῆναι αἰρήσονται, καὶ σωμάτων μεγέθεσι καὶ πόνων ἀσκήσεσιν» [καὶ] ἐν τῇ συστάδῃ μάχῃ πολὺ ὑμῶν ἀπολείποντες.

[8] But if they should learn that the army of Illyricum has already made its choice, and if they should hear our name, which is not unknown or without honor among them, because of our term as governor of Syria, know well, I say, that they will not find fault with me for delay or cowardice, nor will they elect to stand and face your bravery and your battle prowess, for they are greatly inferior to you in size of body, in endurance of hardship, and in close-quarter combat.

[9] φθάσωμεν οὖν τὴν Ῥώμην προκαταλαβόντες, ἔνθα ἡ βασιλῆϊος ἔστιν ἐστία· κάκειθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὰ λοιπὰ εὐμαρῶς διοικήσομεν, θείαις τε προρρήσεσι πιστεύοντες καὶ τῇ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀνδρείᾳ ὅπλων τε καὶ σωμάτων.

τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα τὸν Σεβήρον εὐφημήσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται, καλοῦντες

Σεβαστὸν καὶ Περτίνακα, πᾶσαν ἐνεδείκνυντο

[9] Let us therefore occupy Rome before they do it; that city is the seat of the empire. By establishing our headquarters in Rome, we shall manage the rest easily, putting our trust in divine prophecies and our reliance in your strength and your arms.”

After Severus had finished speaking, the soldiers shouted his praises, calling him Augustus and Pertinax, and displaying the utmost zeal and enthusiasm for him.

SECTION 11

[1] προθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν. ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος μηδένα διδοὺς καιρὸν ἀναβολῆς, συσκευάσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα εὐστελέεστατα ἐκέλευσε, τὴν τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔξοδον ἐπήγγειλε· νομάς τε αὐτοῖς διαδοὺς καὶ ἐφόδια τῆς ὁδοιπορίας εἶχετο. συντόνω δὲ σπουδῇ καὶ γενναίοις πόνοις τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπετάχυνε, μήτε που ἐνδιατρίβων, μήτε διδοὺς καιρὸν ἀναπαύλης, εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὀλίγον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναπνεύσαντας ἔχεσθαι

[1] WITHOUT delay and waste of time, Severus ordered them to get ready only as much gear as each could conveniently carry, and announced his decision to depart for Rome. He distributed money to the troops and issued supplies for the journey. With prodigious effort, he sped on his way, stopping nowhere and allowing no time for rest except for the brief periods necessary to enable the soldiers to recover from the rigorous march.

[2] τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκοινώνει δὲ τῶν καμάτων αὐτοῖς, σκηνῇ τε χρώμενος εὐτελεῖ, καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ προσφερόμενος οἷα καὶ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν ἠπίστατο· οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τρυφὴν ἐνεδείκνυτο βασιλικήν. ὅθεν καὶ μείζονα παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὖνοιαν ἐπιστώσατο· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτὸν συμπονοῦντα ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καμάτων ἄρχοντα οἱ στρατιῶται αἰδούμενοι μετὰ προθυμίας πάντα ἔπραττον.

[2] He shared personally in their hardships, sleeping in an ordinary army tent and eating and drinking whatever was available to all; on no occasion did he make use of imperial luxuries or comforts. As a result, he enjoyed even greater popularity among the troops; respecting him not only for sharing their hardships but also for overcoming all difficulties, they carried out his orders with enthusiasm.

[3] ὁ δὲ τὴν Παιονίαν διαδραμὼν ἐπέστη τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄροις, καὶ τὴν φήμην φθάσας πρότερον ὥφθη τοῖς ἐκεῖσε παρὼν βασιλεὺς ἢ ἀφιζόμενος ἠκούσθη. δέος τε μέγα τὰς Ἰταλιώτιδας πόλεις κατελάμβανε πυνθανομένας τοσοῦτου ἔφοδον στρατοῦ. οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄνθρωποι, ὅπλων καὶ πολέμων πάλαι ἀπηλλαγμένοι, γεωργία

[3] After crossing Pannonia, Severus came to the mountains of Italy; outstripping the news of his approach, he appeared in person to the people there before they had heard that he was emperor or that he was on his way to Rome. The cities of Italy regarded the approach of this formidable army with apprehension. The men of Italy, long unused to arms and war, were devoted to farming and peaceful pursuits.

[4] καὶ εἰρήνῃ προσεῖχον. ἐς ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ δημοκρατίας τὰ Ῥωμαίων διωκεῖτο καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ πολεμικὰ στρατηγήσοντας, ἐν

ὅπλοις Ἰταλιῶται πάντες ἦσαν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκτήσαντο, Ἑλλήσι πολεμήσαντες καὶ βαρβάροις· οὐδέ τι ἦν γῆς μέρος ἢ κλίμα

[4] As long as Roman affairs were governed by Republican principles and the senate selected the generals who took charge of military affairs, all the Italians were under arms, and controlled the lands and the seas, waging wars with Greeks and barbarians. There was no place on earth, no place under heaven, to which the Romans did not extend the borders of their empire.

[5] οὐρανοῦ ὅπου μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξέτειναν. ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἐς τὸν Σεβαστὸν περιήλθεν ἡ μοναρχία, Ἰταλιώτας μὲν πόνων ἀπέπαυσε καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐγύμνωσε, φρούρια δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδα τῆς ἀρχῆς προβάλετο, μισθοφόρους ἐπὶ ῥήτοις σιτηρεσίοις στρατιώτας καταστησάμενος ἀντὶ τείχους τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς· ποταμῶν τε μεγέθεσι καὶ τάφρων ἢ ὁρῶν προβλήμασιν ἐρήμῳ τε γῇ καὶ δυσβάτῳ

[5] From the time when Augustus assumed control of the government, however, the princeps freed the Italians from the necessity of working and of bearing arms; establishing forts and camps for the defense of the empire, he stationed mercenaries in these to serve as a defensive bulwark on the frontiers. The empire was further protected by great barriers of rivers and mountains and impassable deserts.

[6] φράξας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠχυρώσατο. ὅθεν τὸν Σεβῆρον προσιόντα πυνθανόμενοι τότε μετὰ τοσούτου στρατοῦ εἰκότως ἐταράττοντο τῷ ἀήθει τοῦ πράγματος· οὔτε δὲ ἀντιστῆναι ἢ κωλῦσαι ἐτόλμων, ὑπὸντων δὲ δαφνηφοροῦντες καὶ πύλαις ἀναπεπταμέναις ἐδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀνεπαύετο ὅσον καλλιερῆσαι τε καὶ τοὺς δήμους προσειπεῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο.

[6] When the people of Italy learned that Severus was approaching with a huge army, they were understandably dismayed by the unexpectedness of this development. Not daring to oppose him or try to stop him, they took up laurel branches and went out to meet him, welcoming him with open gates. Delaying only to secure good omens and say a few words to the people, Severus hurried on to Rome.

[7] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀπηγγέλλετο, ἐν ἐσχάτῃ ἀπογνώσει ἦν, τοῦ μὲν Ἰλλυρικοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀκούων, οὔτε δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πιστεύων, ἐπεὶ μεμίσητο, οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις θαρρῶν, οὓς ἔψευστο. χρήματα δὲ πάντα ἀθροίζων τά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων, καὶ εἴ τινα ἦν, ἐκ δημοσίων καὶ ἱερῶν τόπων λαμβάνων, τοῖς στρατιώταις διανέμειν ἐπειράτο, ὥς ἀνακτήσαιο

[7] When these developments were reported to Julianus, he was in despair because of what he had heard about the size and the power of the army of Illyricum, because of his lack of faith in the Roman people, who hated him, and because of his lack of confidence in the praetorians, whom he had swindled. Still, he collected his own money and that of his friends, appropriated what was left in the public and temple treasuries, and undertook to distribute this sum among the praetorians in an effort to purchase their good will.

[8] τὴν εὖνοιαν αὐτῶν. οἱ δέ, καίτοι μέγала λαμβάνοντες, χάριν οὐκ ἤδεσαν· ὄφλημα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποτίνειν ἀλλ' οὐ δωρεὰν διανέμειν ἐλογίζοντο.

ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανός, καίτοι συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τὰ στενὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων προκαταλαβεῖν - μέγιστα ἐκεῖνα ὄρη, καὶ οἷα οὐκ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γῇ, ἐν τείχους σχήματι περικείται καὶ προβέβληται Ἰταλίας, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας παρασχοῦσης τῆς φύσεως Ἰταλιώταις, ἔρυμα ἄρρηκτόν τε καὶ .. αὐτῶν προβεβλῆσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκτώας θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλέπουσαν

[8] But in spite of the fact that they received large amounts of money, the praetorians were in no way grateful to the emperor; they felt that he was not giving them a bonus but only paying them what he owed them.

Although his friends advised him to lead out the army and seize the passes of the Alps, Julianus did nothing. The Alps are very tall mountains — there are none like them in our part of the world; they surround Italy like a wall and are her first line of defense. This is yet another piece of good fortune which Nature has provided the Italians, an impregnable barrier across their entire northern frontier, for the Alps extend unbroken from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic Sea.

[9] διῆκον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως προελθεῖν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐτόλμα· διέπεμπε τε, τῶν στρατιωτῶν δεόμενος ὀπλίζεσθαι τε καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς τε τῆς πόλεως τάφρους διορύττειν. καὶ τὴν πρὸς Σεβήρον μάχην ὡς ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιησόμενος παρεσκεύαζε· τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας πάντας, οἱ ἐς πομπὴν ὑπηρετοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις, πύργους καὶ ἄνδρας φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν νώτων ἐπαίδευεν, οἰόμενος οὕτως ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς, καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἵππον διαταράζειν ὅψει καὶ μεγέθει θηρίων μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἑωραμένων. τότε δὴ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ὅπλα εἰργάζετο καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

[9] But Julianus, as I have said, did not dare to venture forth from Rome. He did, however, send a message to the praetorians, begging them to take up arms, practice their drills, and dig trenches to defend the city. In the city he made what preparations he could for the battle with Severus. All the elephants used by the Romans in parades were trained to carry men and towers on their backs. It was hoped that the elephants would terrify the troops from Illyricum

and stampede the enemy cavalry when these huge beasts, which the horses had never seen before, appeared on the field. The whole city was training in arms and preparing for battle.

SECTION 12

[1] μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἔτι καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἔτοιμα ποιούντων, ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Σεβήρος ἤδη προσιών. καὶ πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος μέρος διασκεδάσας ἐκεῖνος κελεύει παρεισδύεσθαι ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πάσας ὁδοὺς διανείμαντες αὐτούς, πολλοὶ ... δ' ἐς Ῥώμην νύκτωρ λανθάνοντες εἰσῆσαν, τὰ ὅπλα ὑποκρύπτοντες,

[1] WHILE Julianus' troops were delaying and preparing for battle, word came that Severus was approaching. Dividing most of his army into small bands, Severus ordered them to slip into the city unnoticed. Spreading out along all the roads into Rome, many by day, but even more by night, entered the city unobserved, in civilian disguise, with their weapons concealed.

[2] ἐν ιδιωτῶν σχήματι. καὶ ἤδη οἱ πολέμιοι ἔνδον ἦσαν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι ὑπτιάζοντος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ἀγνοοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διάπυστα τῷ δήμῳ ἐγένετο, ἐν ταραχῇ πολλῇ πάντες ἦσαν, καὶ δεδιότες τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Σεβήρου τὰ ἐκείνου φρονεῖν προσεποιοῦντο, τοῦ μὲν Ἰουλιανοῦ καταγινώσκοντες ἀνανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ Νίγρου μέλλησιν τε καὶ ῥαθυμίαν· τὸν δὲ Σεβήρον

[2] The enemy was thus already in the city while Julianus was hesitating, unaware of what was happening. When the people learned of these developments, they were in complete confusion; fearing the army of Severus, they pretended to support his cause, charging Julianus with cowardice and Niger with hesitation and sloth. But when they heard that Severus was in Rome, the people were thunderstruck.

[3] ἀκούοντες ἤδη παρόντα ἐθαύμαζον. ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς πολλῇ καταλαμβανόμενος ἀφασία τε καὶ ἀπορία, ὅπως χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐκ εἰδώς, ἀθροισθῆναι κελεύσας τὴν σύγκλητον καταπέμπει γράμματα, δι' ὧν ἐσπένδετο δὴ πρὸς τὸν Σεβήρον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀναδείξας κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐποιεῖτο. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐνηφίσατο μὲν ταῦτα, ὁρῶντες δὲ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀποδειλιῶντα καὶ ἐν ἀπογνώσει <ὄντα>, τῷ Σεβήρῳ πάντες ἤδη προσετίθεντο.

[3] Julianus, dumb and witless, did not know how to handle the situation. Ordering the senate to convene, he sent a letter to Severus in which he proposed peace and, proclaiming him emperor, made him his colleague in governing the empire. The senate voted its approval of these proposals; but when it was obvious that Julianus was terror-stricken and in despair, all the senators immediately abandoned him for Severus.

[4] δύο δέ που ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν παραδραμουσῶν, ἐπέιπερ ἤδη τὸν Σεβήρον καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἐπιστησόμενον ἤκουον, καταφρονήσαντες τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ συνίασιν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ὑπάτων κελευσάντων, οἱ τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης διοικεῖν εἰώθασιν ὀπηνίκα ἂν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας μετέωρα

[4] After two or three days had passed, the senators, aware that Severus was in Rome, contemptuous of Julianus, entered the senate house at the order of the consuls, the officials who took charge at Rome when the affairs of the empire were in confusion.

[5] ἦ. συνελθόντες τοίνυν περὶ τῶν πρακτέων ἐσκέπτοντο, τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐλῇ καὶ τὰς παρούσας ὀδυρομένου τύχας, ἰκετεύοντός τε «καὶ μέλλοντος» ἐξομόσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ παραχωρῆσαι πάσης τῆς δυναστείας τῷ Σεβήρῳ.

[5] After convening, the senate consulted about what should be done in the present emergency. Meanwhile, Julianus was still in the imperial palace bewailing the disaster that had befallen him and pleading to be allowed to resign as emperor and turn the entire power over to Severus.

[6] ὥς δὲ ἔμαθεν ἡ σύγκλητος τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν οὕτως κατεπηχότα, τὴν δὲ δορυφόρων φρουρὰν διὰ δέος τοῦ Σεβήρου αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλιποῦσαν, ψηφίζεται τὸν μὲν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἀποδειχθῆναι δὲ μόνον αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Σεβήρον· πρεσβείαν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσιν διὰ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων τῆς βουλῆς, πάσας

[6] When the senate learned that Julianus was cowering in fear and that the Praetorian Guard had deserted him in terror of Severus, that body voted to take the empire from Julianus and proclaim Severus sole emperor. They therefore sent to Severus an embassy made up of the chief officials and the most distinguished senators to hand over to him all the imperial honors.

[7] αὐτῷ προσφέρειν τὰς σεβασμίους τιμάς. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν εἷς τῶν χλιαρχούντων ἀναπέμπεται, ἀποκτενῶν ἄνδρον καὶ ἄθλιον πρεσβύτην, ἰδίῳι χρήμασιν ὠνησάμενον οὕτω πονηρὸν τέλος.

[7] A tribune was sent to kill Julianus, that cowardly and wretched old man who had in this way purchased with his own money his miserable death.

SECTION 13

[1] ὁ μὲν οὖν εὗρεθεὶς ἔρημός τε καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων καταλειφθεὶς, αἰσχροῶς ὀλοφυρόμενος ἐφονεύθη· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐδηλώθη τῷ Σεβήρῳ ἥ τε τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀναίρεσις, ἦρθη καὶ ἐς μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἐλπίδα, καὶ σοφίσματι ἐχρήσατο, ὥς ἂν χειρώσαιο καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τὸν Περτίνακα ἀνηρηκότας λάβοι. ἐπιστέλλει δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ μὲν λανθάνοντα γράμματα τοῖς τε χιλιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχοις ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλα, ὅπως πείσειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας ὑπακούειν εὐπειθῶς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβήρου κελευομένοις·

[1] DESERTED by all, Julianus was found weeping disgracefully and was killed. When he learned of the senate's action and the death of Julianus, Severus, encouraged to hope for greater success, used a trick to seize and hold prisoner the Praetorian Guard, the murderers of Pertinax. He quietly sent private letters to the tribunes and centurions, promising them rich rewards if they would persuade the praetorians in Rome to submit and obey the emperor's orders.

[2] ἐκπέμπει δὲ καὶ κοινὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, κελεύων καταλιπεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ «τὰ ὅπλα» πάντα, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐξελθεῖν «ἐν» εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι θύοντος ἢ εορτάζοντος βασιλέως προπομπεύειν, ὁμόσαι τε ἐς τὸ Σεβήρου ὄνομα, καὶ μετ' ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἐλθεῖν ὡς μέλλοντας τὸν Σεβῆρον δορυφορήσειν.

[2] He also sent an open letter to the praetorian camp, directing the soldiers to leave their weapons behind in the camp and come forth unarmed, as was the custom when they escorted the emperor to the sacrifices or to the celebration of a festival. He further ordered them to swear the oath of allegiance in his name and to present themselves with good expectations of continuing to serve as the emperor's bodyguard.

[3] πιστεύσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις, πεισθέντες τε ὑπὸ τῶν χιλιάρχουντων, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα κατέλιπον πάντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν μόναις ταῖς πομπικαῖς ἐσθῆσι δαφνηφοροῦντες ἠπειγόντο. ὡς δὲ πρὸς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἐγένοντο, ἠγγέλυσάν τε ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸ πεδίον, οὗ αὐτοὺς ὁ Σεβῆρος συνελθεῖν κελεύει ... ὡς

[3] Trusting these orders and persuaded by their tribunes, the praetorians left their arms behind and appeared from the camp in holiday uniform, carrying laurel branches. Arriving at Severus' camp, they sent word that they were at the assembly ground where the emperor had ordered them to muster for a welcoming address.

[4] δὴ δεξιωσόμενος καὶ προσαγορεύων. ὥς δὲ ἀνελθόντα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προσῆλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφημήσοντες, πάντες ὕφ' ἐνὶ συνθήματι συλλαμβάνονται· προείρητο γὰρ τῷ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατῷ, ὅπηνίκα ἂν στῶσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀποβλέποντες μετέωρόν τε τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντες, κυκλώσασθαι αὐτοὺς πολεμίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ τιτρώσκειν μὲν ἢ παίειν μηδένα, συνέχειν δὲ καὶ φρουρεῖν φράξαντας ἐν κύκλῳ τοῖς ὅπλοις, τάς τε διβολίας καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐπισείειν, ὥς δέει τοῦ τρωθῆναι γυμνοὶ τε πρὸς

[4] The praetorians moved toward the emperor as he was mounting the speaking platform; then, at a given signal, they were all seized while cheering him in unison. Prior orders had been issued to Severus' soldiers to surround the praetorians, now their enemy, at the moment when they were standing with their eyes fixed in expectant attention upon the emperor; they were not, however, to wound or strike any member of the guard. Severus ordered his troops to hold the praetorians in a tight ring of steel, believing that they would not resist, since they were only a few unarmed men, fearful of wounds, confronted by an armed host.

[5] ὥπλισμένους καὶ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς μὴ μάχονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ σαγηνεύσας ἐντὸς τῶν ὅπλων δοριαλώτους εἶχε, μεγάλη βοῇ καὶ θυμοειδεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε·

ὅτι μὲν ὑμῶν καὶ σοφία κρείττους ἐσμέν καὶ δυνάμει στρατοῦ καὶ συμμάχων πληθῆι, ἔργῳ ὀρᾷτε· εἴληφθε γοῦν ῥαδίως, καὶ ἀκονιτὶ γε ἐάλωκατε. ἔστι δ' ἐν ἐμοὶ ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν ὑμᾶς δρᾶσαι θελήσω, καὶ πρόκεισθε ἤδη θύματα

[5] When he had them netted like fish in his circle of weapons, like prisoners of war, the enraged emperor shouted in a loud voice:

"You see by what has happened that we are superior to you in intelligence, in size of army, and in number of supporters. Surely you were easily trapped, captured without a struggle. It is in my power to do with you what I wish when I wish. Helpless and prostrate, you lie before us now, victims of our might.

[6] τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐξουσίας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν πρὸς τὰ τετολμημένα τιμωρίαν ζητεῖ τις, οὐδ' ἔστιν εὐρεῖν δίκην τὴν ἐπιτεθησομένην ἀξίαν τῶν πεπραγμένων. σεμνὸν πρεσβύτην καὶ βασιλέα χρηστόν, ὃν ἐχρῆν σώζειν καὶ δορυφορεῖν, ἐφονεύσατε· τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἑνδοξον οὖσαν ἀεὶ, ἣν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἢ δι' ἀνδρείας ἐναρέτου ἐκτήσαντο ἢ δι' εὐγένειαν διεδέξαντο, ταύτην αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀτίμως ὥσπερ τι τῶν ιδιωτικῶν κειμηλίων ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ

[6] But if one looks for a punishment equal to the crimes you have committed, it is impossible to find a suitable one. You murdered your revered and benevolent old emperor, the man

whom it was your sworn duty to protect. The empire of the Roman people, eternally respected, which our forefathers obtained by their valiant courage or inherited because of their noble birth, this empire you shamefully and disgracefully sold for silver as if it were your personal property.

[7] κατηλλάξασθε. ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτόν, ὃν οὕτως ἄρχοντα εἴλεσθε, φυλάξαι ἢ σῶσαι ἐδυνήθητε, ἀνάνδρως δὲ προδύκατε. ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις δὴ ἁμαρτήμασί τε καὶ τολμήμασι μυρίων ἄξιοι θανάτων, ἣν τις ὀρίσαι θέλη τὴν ἀξίαν τιμωρίαν, ἐστέ. ἀλλὰ τί μὲν χρὴ παθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὁρᾶτε· ἐγὼ δὲ φείσομαι μὲν ὑμῶν ὥς μὴ φονεῦσαι, οὐδὲ

[7] But you were unable to defend the man whom you yourselves had chosen as emperor. No, you betrayed him like the cowards you are. For these monstrous acts and crimes you deserve a thousand deaths, if one wished to do to you what you have earned. You see clearly what it is right you should suffer. But I will be merciful. I will not butcher you.

[8] τὰς ὑμετέρας χεῖρας μιμήσομαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ μήτε ὅσιον μήτε δίκαιον ἔτι βασιλέα ὑμᾶς δορυφορεῖν καὶ ἐς τὸν ὄρκον ἀσεβήσαντας καὶ ἐμφυλῖα καὶ βασιλικῶ αἵματι τὰς δεξιὰς μίαναντας τὴν τε πίστιν καὶ τὸ ἐχέγγυον τῆς φρουρᾶς προδόντας, τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα δῶρον τῆς ἐμῆς φιланθρωπίας ἔξετε, τοῖς δὲ περιειληφόσιν ὑμᾶς στρατιώταις κελεύω ἀποζῶσαί τε ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀποδύσαντας εἴ τινας περὶκείσθε ἐσθῆτας στρατιωτικὰς, γυμνοὺς ἀποπέμπειν.

[8] My hands shall not do what your hands did. But I say that it is in no way fit or proper for you to continue to serve as the emperor's bodyguard, you who have violated your oath and stained your hands with the blood of your emperor and fellow Roman, betraying the trust placed in you and the security offered by your protection. Still, compassion leads me to spare your lives and your persons. But I order the soldiers who have you surrounded to cashier you, to strip off any military uniform or equipment you are wearing, and drive you off naked.

[9] παραγγέλλω τε ὑμῖν ἀπιέναι ὥς πορρωτάτω τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀπειλῶ τε καὶ διόμνυμι καὶ προαγορεύω κολασθῆσεσθαι κεφαλικῶς, εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἐντὸς ἑκατοστοῦ σημείου ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης φανείη.

[9] And I order you to get yourselves as far from the city of Rome as is humanly possible, and I promise you and I swear it on solemn oath and I proclaim it publicly that if any one of you is found within a hundred miles of Rome, he shall pay for it with his head."

[10] ταῦτα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, προσδραμόντες οἱ Ἰλλυρικοὶ στρατιῶται τὰ τε ξιφίδια περιαιροῦσιν αὐτῶν ἃ παρηώρηντο [τῷ] ἀργύρῳ καὶ [τῷ] χρυσῷ ἐς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένα, τὰς τε ζώνας καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ εἴ τι σύμβολον

ἔφερον στρατιωτικόν, ἀφαρπάσαντες γυμνοὺς ἐξέπεμπον.

[10] After he had issued these orders, the soldiers from Illyricum rushed forward and stripped from the praetorians their short ceremonial swords inlaid with gold and silver; next, they ripped off belts, uniforms, and any military insignia they were wearing, and sent them off naked.

[11] οἱ δὲ ὑπεῖκον προδοδόμενοι καὶ σοφίσματι ἐαλωκότες· τί γὰρ ἐνὴν δρᾶσαι γυμνοῖς πρὸς ὣπλισμένους καὶ ὀλίγοις πρὸς πολλούς; ἀπήεσαν δὴ ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ἡγάπων μὲν τὴν δοθεῖσαν σωτηρίαν, μετεγίνωσκον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνόπλους ἐλθεῖν, αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἐφυβρίστως

[11] The praetorians had to submit to this treatment, since they were betrayed and taken by a trick. Indeed, what else could they do — a few naked men against so many fully armed soldiers? They left then, lamenting their fate, and, although they accepted with gratitude the safe-conduct granted them, they bitterly regretted that they had left the camp without arms and had been trapped in this humiliating and high-handed fashion.

[12] ἐαλωκότες. ἐκέχρητο δὲ καὶ ἄλλω ὁ Σεβήρος σοφίσματι· δεδιὼς γὰρ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ τὸ ἀποζωσθῆναι ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι ἀναδράμωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλάβωσι, προύπεμψε λογάδας ἐπιλέκτους τε καὶ ὄσους γενναιοτάτους ἡπίστατο, δι' ἐτέρων ὁδῶν καὶ ἀτραπῶν, ὥς λαθόντες τό τε στρατόπεδον ἐπείσελθοιεν ἀνδρῶν κενόν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καταλαβόντες, εἰ ἐπίοιεν, ἀποκλείσαιεν αὐτούς.

δίκην μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδοσαν οἱ τοῦ Περτίνακος φονεῖς·

[12] The circumstances of the situation led Severus to use another stratagem. Fearing that, after they had been cashiered from the service, the praetorians might rush back to the camp and snatch up their arms, the emperor sent ahead, by other streets and ways, men picked for their demonstrated courage; these men were to reach the camp ahead of the praetorians, seize the arms there, and shut out the guards if they came to the camp.

Such was the punishment suffered by the murderers of Pertinax.

SECTION 14

[1] ὁ δὲ Σεβήρως σὺν παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ὥπλισμένῳ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικνεῖται, ἔκπληξιν τε καὶ δέος ἅμα τῷ ὀφθῆναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέβαλε τοῖς οὕτω τετολμημένοις τε καὶ εὐτυχηθεῖσιν ἔργοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος δαφνηφοροῦντες ὑπεδέχοντο πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων καὶ βασιλέων ἀναιμωτὶ τε καὶ ἀκονιτὶ τοσαῦτα

[1] THEN Severus entered Rome with all the rest of his army under arms: his presence in the city brought fear and panic to the Romans because of his achievements, so daring and favored by fortune. The people and the senate, carrying laurel branches, received him, the foremost of men and emperors, who had accomplished great deeds without bloodshed or difficulty.

[2] κατωρθωκότα. πάντα γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐθαυμάζετο, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ ἀγχίνουν τῆς γνώμης τό τε τῶν πόνων γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἐς τὰ τολμώμενα ἅμα τῷ θαρραλέῳ εὐελπί. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ τε δῆμος αὐτὸν ὑποδεξάμενος εὐφήμησεν ἢ τε σύγκλητος ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως εἰσόδοις προσηγόρευσεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος καὶ θύσας, ἐν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱεροῖς νόμῳ βασιλικῷ καλλιερήσας, ἀνῆλθεν ἐς

[2] Everything about the man was extraordinary, but especially outstanding were his shrewd judgment, his endurance of toils, and his spirit of bold optimism in everything he did. Then, after the people had welcomed him with cheers and the senate had saluted him at the city gates, Severus went into the temple of Jupiter and offered sacrifices; after sacrificing in the rest of the shrines in accord with imperial practice, he entered the palace.

[3] τὰ βασίλεια. τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους ἐπιεικεῖς πάνυ καὶ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων μεστοὺς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς πάντας, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ δεξιούμενος, λέγων ἦκειν μὲν ἔκδικος τοῦ Περτίνακος φόνου, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν παρέξειν ἀφορμὴν καὶ εἴσοδον ἀριστοκρατίας, μήτε δὲ ἄκριτόν τινα φονευθῆσθαι ἢ δημευθῆσθαι, μήτε συκοφαντοῦντος ἀνέξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βαρυτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις παρέξειν, καὶ πάντα πράξειν ἐς ζῆλον τῆς Μάρκου ἀρχῆς, ἔξειν δὲ τοῦ Περτίνακος οὐ μόνον τοῦνομα

[3] On the following day he went to the senate and addressed all the senators in a speech that was very mild in tone and full of promises of good things for the future. Greeting them collectively and individually, he told them that he had come to avenge the murder of Pertinax and assured them that his reign would mark the reintroduction of senatorial rule. No man would be put to death or have his property confiscated without a trial; he would not tolerate informers; he would bring unlimited prosperity to his subjects; he intended to imitate Marcus' reign in every way; and he would assume not only the name but also the manner and approach

[4] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνώμην. τοιαῦτά τινα λέγων ὑπηγάγετο τοὺς πλείστους ἐς εὐνοίαν καὶ πίστιν ὧν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γνωρίζοντων αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, οἱ προύλεγον λανθάνοντες, ὅτι ἄρα εἴη ἀνὴρ πολύτροπός τις καὶ μετὰ τέχνης εἰδὼς προσφέρεισθαι πράγμασιν, ὑποκρίνασθαι τε καὶ προσποιήσασθαι πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἱκανώτατος, ἔτι δ' ἀνύσαι καὶ τὸ χρειῶδες καὶ τὸ λυσιτελὲς αὐτῷ· ὅπερ καὶ ὕστερον ἔργῳ δέδεικται.

[4] By this speech he won a good opinion for himself among most of the senators, and they believed his promises. But some of the older senators knew the true character of the man, and said privately that he was indeed a man of great cunning, who knew how to manage things shrewdly; they further said that he was very skillful at deceit and at feigning anything and everything; and, moreover, he always did what was of benefit and profit to his own interests. The truth of these observations was later demonstrated by what the man actually did.

[5] διατρίψας οὖν ὀλίγον χρόνον ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ νομὰς ἐπιδούς τῷ δήμῳ μεγαλοφρόνως, <θέας> τε ἐπιτελέσας, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις πολλὰ δωρησάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς τὸ δορυφόρους εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας τόπῳ τῶν ἀπεζωσμένων, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν

[5] After spending a short time in Rome, during which he made generous gifts to the people, staged shows, and rewarded his soldiers lavishly, he chose for service in the imperial bodyguard, to replace the praetorians he had dismissed, the best-qualified soldiers from his army. He then set out for the East.

[6] ἠπείγετο· ἔτι γὰρ μέλλοντος καὶ ὑπτιάζοντος τοῦ Νίγρου, τῇ τε Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐντρυφῶντος, ἐπιστῆναι μηδὲ προσδοκώμενος ἤθελεν, ὅπως ἀπαράσκευον αὐτὸν λάβοι. τοὺς τε οὖν στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, συνεκρότει τε καὶ πανταχόθεν στράτευμα, ἔκ τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεων νεανίας μεταπεμπόμενος καὶ στρατεύων, εἴ τε τι ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λείψανον, κατελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκην ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ

[6] Since Niger was still delaying and wasting time in luxurious living in Antioch, Severus wished to surprise him before he was prepared. He therefore ordered his soldiers to be ready to march, and collected recruits everywhere, calling up the young men from the cities of Italy and enrolling them in the army. All the units of the army he had left behind in Illyricum were directed to march into Thrace and join him there.

[7] συντυχεῖν. ἐξήρτυε δὲ καὶ στόλον ναυτικόν, καὶ πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τριήρεις ὀπλιτῶν πληρώσας ἐξέπεμπε. πολλή τε αὐτῷ καὶ παντοδαπή

δύναμις μεγίστῳ τάχει συνεσκευάσθη· ἦδαι γὰρ οὐ μικρᾷς δυνάμεως δεόμενος
πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἥπειρον Εὐρώπῃ τὰ Νίγρου φρονούσαν.

[7] He fitted out a naval unit; manning with heavily armed troops all the triremes in Italy, he sent these off too. He got ready a large and powerful force with incredible speed, aware that he would need a large army to operate against Niger and the entire continent lying opposite Europe.

SECTION 15

[1] τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενναίως εὐτρέπιζεν, ἅτε δὲ ἀνὴρ προμηθῆς τε καὶ νήφων ὑπόπτευε τὴν ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ δύναμιν πολλήν τε οὖσαν καὶ μεγίστην ἀνδρῶν τε μαχιμωτάτων. ἦρχε δ' αὐτῆς πάσης Ἀλβίνος, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου εὐπατριδῶν, ἐν

[1] SEVERUS made preparations for the war with great care. A thorough and cautious man, he had his doubts about the army in Britain, which was large and very powerful, manned by excellent soldiers. Britain was then under the command of Albinus, a man of the senatorial order who had been reared in luxury on money inherited from his ancestors.

[2] πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ τρυφῇ ἐκ πατέρων ἀνατραφεὶς. τοῦτον τοίνυν ἠθέλησεν ὁ Σεβήρος σοφίσματι προλαβὼν οικειώσασθαι, μὴ πως ἄρα τοιαῦτα ἔχων ἐναύσματα ἐς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν, θαρρῶν [ἦ] πλούτῳ καὶ γένει δυνάμει τε στρατοῦ γνῶσει τε τῇ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπιθῆται τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐ πολὺ τι ἀφεστῶσαν ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν ἀσχοληθέντος ὑποποιήσεται.

[2] Severus, wishing to gain the friendship of this man, deceived him by a trick; he feared that Albinus, having strong stimuli to encourage him to seize the throne, and made bold by his ancestry and wealth, a powerful army, and his popularity among the Romans, might seize the empire and occupy Rome while Severus was busy with affairs in the East.

[3] τιμῇ τοίνυν προσποιήτῳ δελεάζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ὄντα τὴν γνώμην χαῦνον καὶ ἀπλοϊκώτερον, τότε δὲ καὶ πολλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμόσαντι τῷ Σεβήρῳ πιστεύσαντα. Καίσαρα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύει, φθάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῇ τῆς ἐξουσίας

[3] And so he deceived the man by pretending to do him honor. Albinus, conceited and somewhat naive in his judgment, really believed the many things which Severus swore on oath in his letters. Severus appointed him Caesar, to anticipate his hope and desire for a share of the imperial power.

[4] κοινωνία. ἐπιστέλλει δὲ αὐτῷ φιλικώτατα γράμματα δῆθεν, ἵκετεύον ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς φροντίδα· δεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς καὶ τοιούτου τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἔτι ἀκμάζοντος αὐτὸν ὄντα πρεσβύτην καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου ἀρθρίτιδος ἐνοχλούμενον, τῶν τε παίδων αὐτῷ ὄντων πάνυ νηπίων. οἷς πιστεύσας ὁ Ἀλβίνος τὴν τιμὴν ὑπεδέξατο ἀσπαστῶς, ἀγαπήσας ἄνευ μάχης καὶ κινδύνου

[4] He wrote Albinus the friendliest of letters, deceitful, of course, in which he begged the man to devote his attention to the welfare of the empire. He wrote him that the situation required a man of the nobility in the prime of life; he himself was old and afflicted with gout, and his sons were still very young. Believing Severus, Albinus gratefully accepted the honor, delighted to be getting what he wanted without fighting and without risk.

[5] λαβεῖν ταῦτα ὧν ὠρέγετο. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος καὶ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνενεγκών, ὥς ἂν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐς πίστιν ὑπαγάγοιτο, νομίσματά τε αὐτοῦ κοπῆναι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσεις ταῖς τε λουπαῖς τιμαῖς τὴν δοθεῖσαν χάριν ἐπιστώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλβινὸν διὰ σοφίας ἀσφαλῶς εἶχεν, οὐδέ τι δέος ἦν ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας, τό τε Ἰλλυρικὸν στράτευμα σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶν εἶχε, διωκῆσθαι νομίζων πάντα λυσιτελῶς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Νίγρον ἠπειέγετο.

[5] After making these same proposals to the senate, to increase their faith in him, Severus ordered coins to be struck bearing his likeness, and he increased the favor he had won by erecting statues of himself and assuming the rest of the imperial honors. When he had, by his cunning, arranged matters securely with respect to Albinus and consequently had nothing to fear from Britain, the emperor, accompanied by the entire army of Illyricum, set out against Niger, convinced that he had arranged to his own advantage everything affecting his reign.

[6] τῆς μὲν οὖν ὁδοιπορίας τοὺς σταθμούς, καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν αὐτῷ λεχθέντα, καὶ σημεῖα θεῖα προνοία δόξαντα πολλάκις φανῆναι, χωρία τε ἕκαστα καὶ παρατάξεις, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν πεσόντων ἀριθμὸν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἱστορίας τε πολλοὶ συγγραφεῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ μέτρῳ πλατύτερον συνέταξαν, ὑπόθεσιν ποιούμενοι πάσης τῆς πραγματείας τὸν Σεβήρου βίον.

[6] Where he halted on his march, what he said in each city, the portents that seemed to appear by divine foresight, the countries and conflicts, the number of men on each side who fell in battle, all these have been recorded fully enough by numerous historians and poets who have made the life of Severus the subject of their entire work. But it is my intent to write a chronological account of the exploits of many emperors over a period of seventy years, exploits about which I have knowledge from personal experience.

[7] ἐμοὶ δὲ σκοπὸς ὑπάρχει ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα πράξεις πολλῶν βασιλέων συντάξαντι γράψαι, ἃς αὐτὸς οἶδα. τὰ κορυφαιότατα τοίνυν καὶ συντέλειαν ἔχοντα τῶν κατὰ μέρος πεπραγμένων Σεβήρῳ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς διηγῆσομαι, οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς χάριν ἐς ὕψος ἐξαίρων, ὥσπερ ἐποίησαν οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνον γράψαντες, οὔτε παραλείπων εἰ τι λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον.

[7] Therefore I shall record the most significant and distinguished of Severus' achievements in the order in which they occurred, not selecting the favorable ones in order to flatter him, as did the writers of his own day; but, on the other hand, I shall omit nothing worth telling or worth remembering.

BOOK III.

SECTION 1

[1] Τὸ μὲν δὴ Περτίνακος τέλος καὶ ἡ Ἰουλιανοῦ καθαίρεσις, ἣ τε Σεβήρου ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄφιξις, ἣ τε ἐπὶ Νίγρον ἔξοδος, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι δεδήλωται· ὁ δὲ Νίγρος, ἐπεὶ ἠγγέλη αὐτῷ μηδέν τι τοιοῦτον προσδεχομένῳ κατελιφθὼς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Σεβήρος, ὑπὸ τε τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναδειχθεὶς, ἄγων δὲ πάντα ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰλλυρικὸν στρατὸν πεζὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν ἄλλην, ἐν μεγίστῃ ταραχῇ ἦν, διέπεμπέ τε κατὰ ἔθνη πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους, τάς τε εἰσόδους

[1] THE death of Pertinax, the killing of Julianus, the entrance of Severus into Rome, and his expedition against Niger have all been described in the preceding book. When Niger learned that Severus had occupied Rome, had been proclaimed emperor by the senate, and was leading the entire army of Illyricum against him, supported by the rest of the infantry and a naval unit as well, he was greatly disturbed by these unexpected developments. He sent orders to the governors of the Eastern provinces to keep a close guard on all the passes and harbors.

[2] πάσας καὶ λιμένας φυλάττεσθαι κελεύων. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Παρθυαίων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ἀττηνῶν, συμμάχους αἰτῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρμένιος ἀπεκρίνατο μηδετέρῳ συμμαχήσειν, ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ φυλάξειν ἤδη προσιόντος Σεβήρου· ὁ δὲ Παρθυαῖος ἐπιστελεῖν ἔφη τοῖς σατράπαις δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν· οὕτω γὰρ εἶωθεν, ὁπνίκα ἂν δεηθῇ στρατὸν συλλέγειν, τῷ

[2] He also sent word to the king of the Parthians, to the king of the Armenians, and to the king of the Atrienians, asking for aid. The Armenian king replied that he would not form an alliance with anyone, but was ready to defend his own lands if Severus should attack him now. The Parthian king, on the other hand, said that he would order his governors to collect troops — the customary practice whenever it was necessary to raise an army, as they have no standing army and do not hire mercenaries.

[3] μὴ ἔχειν μισθοφόρους καὶ συνεστὸς στρατιωτικόν. Ἀττηνοὶ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ τοξόται σύμμαχοι, πέμψαντος Βαρσημίου,

[3] Barsemius, king of the Atrienians, sent a contingent of native archers to aid

Niger.

[4] ὃς τῶν τόπων ἐβασίλευε. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἤθροιζεν ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατοπέδων· πάμπλειστοι δὲ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, μάλιστα ὑπὸ κουφότητος νεανῖαι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Νίγρον σπουδῆς, ἐπέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς στρατείαν, προπετῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμπείρως τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους τὰ στενὰ καὶ κρημνῶδη διαφράττεσθαι γενναίοις τείχεσιν τε καὶ ἐρύμασιν, πρόβλημα ὀχυρὸν νομίζων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ὁδῶν τὸ δύσβατον τοῦ ὄρους· ὁ γὰρ Ταῦρος μεταξὺ ὧν Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Κιλικίας διακρίνει τὰ

[4] The rest of his army Niger collected from the troops stationed in those areas. Most of the citizens of Antioch, especially the young men, who, in their instability, were enthusiastic supporters of Niger, offered themselves for military service, acting more in haste than in wisdom. Niger ordered that the narrow passes and cliffs of the Taurus Mountains should be defended by strong walls and fortifications, believing that an impassable mountain range would be a powerful protection for the highways of the East. The Taurus Mountains, which lie between Cappadocia and Cilicia, mark the dividing line between the East and the West.

[5] τε τῇ ἄρκτῳ καὶ τὰ τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἔθνη προσκείμενα. προύπεμψέ τε καὶ στρατιὰν προκαταληψομένην τὸ Βυζάντιον, πόλιν τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστην τότε καὶ εὐδαίμονα, πλήθει τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἀκμάζουσαν· κειμένη γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ στενοτάτῳ τῆς Προποντίδος πορθμῷ προσόδοις ταῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τελῶν τε καὶ ἀλείας μεγάλως ὠφελεῖτο, γῆν τε πολλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα κεκτημένη ἐξ

[5] Niger also sent an army to occupy Byzantium in Thrace, at that time a large and prosperous city rich in men and money. Located at the narrowest part of the Propontic Gulf, Byzantium grew immensely wealthy from its marine revenues, both tolls and fish; the city owned much fertile land, too, and realized a very handsome profit from all these sources.

[6] ἐκατέρου τῶν στοιχείων πλεῖστα ἐκέρδαιναν. ὅθεν αὐτὴν οὖσαν δυνατωτάτην ὁ Νίγρος προκαταλαβεῖν ἠθέλησε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐλπίζων δύνασθαι κωλύειν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν διάβασιν. περιτετείχιστό τε γενναίῳ τε καὶ μεγίστῳ ἢ πόλιν τείχει, πεπονημένῳ

μυλίου λίθου ἐς τετράγωνον εἰργασμένου, τοσαύτη τε συναφεία καὶ κολλήσῃ ὥς μηδένα οἶσθαι τὸ ἔργον σύνθετον, ἐνὸς δὲ λίθου πᾶν πεποιῆσθαι.

[6] Niger wished to have this city under his control because it was very strong, but especially because he hoped to be able to prevent any crossing from Europe and Asia by way of the Propontic Gulf. Byzantium was surrounded by a huge, strong wall of millstones cut to rectangular shape and fitted so skillfully that it was impossible to determine where the courses were joined; the entire wall appeared to be a single block of stone.

[7] ἔτι γοῦν καὶ νῦν τὰ μένοντα αὐτοῦ ἐρείπια καὶ λείψανα ἰδόντι θαυμάζειν ἔστι καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασκευασάντων καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ὕστερον καθηρηκότων.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Νίγρος οὕτως ἐξήρτυε τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν προμηθέστατα

[7] Even now the surviving ruins of this wall are enough to make the viewer marvel both at the technical skill of the original builders and the might of those who finally destroyed it.

Niger was thus acting, as he believed, with the greatest possible foresight to guarantee the utmost security.

SECTION 2

[1] καὶ ἀσφαλέςτατα, ὡς ᾔετο· ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἠπείγετο, μηδὲν ῥαθυμία μηδ' ἀναπαύλη νέμων. μαθὼν δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιον προκατελημμένον, καὶ εἰδὼς ὀχυρώτατα τετειχισμένον, ἐπὶ

[1] SEVERUS, in the meantime, pressed on with his army at top speed, halting for neither rest nor refreshment. Having learned that Byzantium, which he knew was defended by the strongest of city walls, had been occupied by Niger, Severus ordered his army to march to Cyzicus.

[2] Κύζικον τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε διαβαίνειν. ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Αἰμιλιανός, ᾧ τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ στρατηγίαν ὁ Νίγρος ἐγκεχειρίκει, μαθὼν ἐπιόντα τὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Κύζικον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτράπετο, ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν, ἣν αὐτὸς συνείλεκτο καὶ ἣν ὁ Νίγρος ἐπεπόμφει. ὡς δὲ συνέβαλεν ἐκατέρωθεν τὰ στρατεύματα, μάχαι καρτεραὶ γίνονται κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία, καὶ κρατεῖ τὸ Σεβήρου στράτευμα, φυγὴ τε καὶ τροπὴ καὶ φόνος πολὺς τῶν τοῦ Νίγρου στρατιωτῶν γίνεται, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀνατολικῶν εὐθέως θραῦσαι τὴν ἐλπίδα, τῶν δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐπιρρῶσαι.

[2] The governor of Asia at that time was the general Aemilianus, to whom Niger had entrusted the military preparations in that province. When he learned that the army of Severus was approaching, Aemilianus marched toward Cyzicus at the head of his entire army, which included both the troops he had enrolled himself and those sent to him by Niger. When the two armies met, savage battles were fought in those regions; the army of Severus conquered, and the soldiers of Niger, put to flight, were routed and slaughtered. Thus the hopes of the East were shattered, while the hopes of the Illyrians soared.

[3] φασὶ δὲ τινες προδοθέντα τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου πράγματα ὑπὸ Αἰμιλιανοῦ εὐθέως ἐν ἀρχῇ διαφθαρῆναι. διττὴν δὲ λέγουσι τῆς τοιαύτης προαιρέσεως τοῦ Αἰμιλιανοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φθονοῦντα τῷ Νίγρῳ ἐπιβουλευσαι, ἀγανακτοῦντα ὅτι δὴ διάδοχος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι κρείττων ἅτε βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης, οἱ δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀναπεισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἐπιστειλάντων καὶ δεηθέντων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας, οὓς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ εὐρὼν ὁ Σεβήρος συλλαβὼν εἶχεν ἐν φρουρᾷ. ἐχρήσατο γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ σοφίσματι

[3] There are those who say that Niger's cause, immediately betrayed by Aemilianus, was doomed from the start, and they cite two reasons for that general's action. Some say that the governor plotted against Niger because he was jealous and angry that his successor as governor of Syria was about to become his superior as emperor and tyrant. Others, however, say that he was forced to betray Niger by his own children, who urgently begged him to do so in order to insure their own safety; for Severus, finding Aemilianus' children at Rome, had seized them and was holding them under guard. Nor was he the first to make use of this extremely foresighted stratagem.

[4] προμηθεστάτω. ἔθος ἦν τῷ Κομμόδῳ κατέχειν τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεμπομένων ἡγεμόνων, ὥς ἔχοι ὄμηρα τῆς τε εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως. εἰδὼς τοίνυν τοῦτο ὁ Σεβήρος, ἅμα τῷ βασιλεὺς ἀναδειχθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι περιόντος, πέμψας λάθρα διὰ φροντίδος ἔσχε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκκλαπέντας

[4] It was Commodus' practice to keep in custody the children of the governors of the provinces in order to have pledges of their loyalty and good will. Severus, familiar with this practice, when he was made emperor and Julianus was still alive, grew anxious about his children. Sending for them in secret, he had them brought to him from Rome to prevent their falling into the hands of someone else.

[5] μὴ εἶναι ἐν ἐτέρου ἐξουσίᾳ. αὐτὸς δ' ἅμα τῷ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιβῆναι συλλαβὼν πάντας τοὺς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἢ τῶν ὀτιδῇ πραττόντων κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν, φρουρᾷ δοὺς εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ, ὅπως ἢ πόθω τῆς τῶν παίδων σωτηρίας οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὰ Νίγρου προδιδοῖεν, ἢ μένοντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας φθάσωσί τι κακὸν παθεῖν διὰ τῆς τῶν παίδων ἀναιρέσεως ἢ δράσωσιν αὐτοί.

[5] When he came to Rome, Severus gathered up the children of the governors and those who occupied positions of importance in the East and all Asia and held them in custody; these children he kept so that the governors might be led to betray Niger in fear for the safety of their children, or, if they continued to favor his cause, envisaging the agony they would suffer if their children were killed, they might do something to protect them.

[6] γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἥττης κατὰ τὴν Κύζικον ἔφευγον οἱ τοῦ Νίγρου, ὥς

ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο σπεύδοντες, οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὰς ὑπωρείας τῆς Ἀρμενίας, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Γαλατίας τε καὶ Ἀσίας, φθάσαι θέλοντες τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβῆναι, ὡς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐρύματος γένοιτο. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς περαιωθεὶς διὰ τῆς Κυζικηνῆς χώρας διαβάς τε ἐπὶ τὴν Βιθυνίαν ὁμορον οὕσαν ἠπεύγετο.

[6] After the defeat at Cyzicus, the troops of Niger scattered far and wide; some fled into the mountains of Armenia, others into Galatia and Asia, hoping to reach the Taurus Mountains before the soldiers of Severus and take refuge behind the fortifications there. Meanwhile the army of Severus pressed on, passing through Cyzicus and advancing into neighboring Bithynia.

[7] ὥς δὲ διέδραμε^ν ἡ φήμη τῆς Σεβήρου νίκης, εὐθὺς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις στάσις καὶ διάφορος γνώμη ἐνέπεσε ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐχ οὕτως τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας βασιλέας ἀπεχθεία τινὶ ἢ εὐνοίᾳ ὥς ζήλῳ καὶ ἔριδι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας φθόνῳ τε καὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν

[7] When the report of Severus' victory was made public, dissension immediately arose in the cities of all those provinces, not so much because of affection or good will toward the warring emperors but from mutual jealousy, envy, and hatred, together with indignation over the slaughter of their fellow citizens.

[8] ὁμοφύλων. ἀρχαῖον τοῦτο πάθος Ἑλλήνων, οἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάζοντες αἰεὶ καὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχειν δοκοῦντας καθαιρεῖν θέλοντες ἐτρύχωσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνων γηράσαντα καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλοις συντριβέντα Μακεδόσιν εὐάλωτα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δοῦλα γεγένηται· τὸ δὲ πάθος τοῦτο τοῦ ζήλου καὶ φθόνου μετῆλθεν ἐς τὰς

[8] This is an ancient failing of the Greeks; the constant organizing of factions against each other and their eagerness to bring about the downfall of those who seem superior to them have ruined Greece. Their ancient quarrels and internal feuds had made them easy prey to the Macedonians and slaves to the Romans, and this curse of jealousy and envy has been handed down to the flourishing Greek cities of our own day.

[9] καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκμαζούσας πόλεις. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Βιθυνίαν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Κυζικῷ Νικομηδεῖς μὲν Σεβήρῳ προσέθεντο καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, τὴν τε στρατιὰν ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ πάντα παρέξιν ὑπισχνούμενοι, Νικαεῖς δὲ τῷ

πρὸς Νικομηδεᾶς μίσει τάναντία ἐφρόνουν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ Νίγρου ὑπεδέχοντο, εἴ τέ τινες ἐκ τῶν φυγόντων κατέφευγον πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας

[9] Immediately after these events in Cyzicus, the Nicomedians in Bithynia announced their support of Severus; they sent envoys to him, welcomed his army, and promised to supply all his needs. The Niceans, on the other hand, because they hated the Nicomedians, welcomed the army of Niger, both the fugitives who came to them and the troops sent by Niger to defend Bithynia.

[10] ὑπὸ τοῦ Νίγρου φρουρεῖν Βιθυνίαν. ἐκατέρωθεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὡς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδων ὁρμώμενοι συνέβαλον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης πολλὸν περιεγέγοντο οἱ τοῦ Σεβήρου. φυγόντες δὲ οἱ τοῦ Νίγρου κάκειθεν, ὅσοι περιελείφθησαν, ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ Ταύρου ἠπείγοντο, ἀποκλείσαντές τε τὸ ἔρυμα ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Νίγρος φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν τοῦ ἐρύματος, ὡς ᾔετο, αὐτάρκη, ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἠπείγετο, στρατὸν ἀθροίζων καὶ χρήματα.

[10] Then the soldiers on each side rushed forth from the two cities as if from regular army camps and crashed together; after a savage struggle, the supporters of Severus won a decisive victory. The adherents of Niger who survived the battle fled from those regions and poured into the Taurus Mountains, where they blocked the passes and held the fortifications under guard. But Niger, leaving a force which he considered adequate for the defense of these barricades, hurried off to Antioch to collect troops and money.

SECTION 3

[1] ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς περαιωθεὶς διὰ τε Βιθυνίας καὶ Γαλατίας, ἐμβαλὼν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, προσκαθεζόμενος τὸ ἔρυμα ἐπολιόρκει, πράγματά τε εἶχεν οὐ μικρὰ δυσβάτου διὰ στενότητα καὶ τραχύτητα οὔσης τῆς ὁδοῦ, βαλλόντων τε αὐτοὺς ἄνωθεν λίθοις καὶ γενναίως ἀπομαχομένων τῶν ἐφεστῶτων ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι τοῦ τείχους.

[1] PASSING through Bithynia and Galatia, the army of Severus swept into Cappadocia; there it halted and put the defense works under siege. This was no small undertaking, however: the narrow rough road made an approach very difficult; and Niger's soldiers, fighting back bravely, stood upon the battlements and hurled stones down on the attackers.

[2] ῥᾱδίως δὲ ὀλίγοι πολλοὺς ἐκώλυνον· τῆς γὰρ ὁδοῦ στενῆς οὔσης τὸ μὲν ἕτερον μέρος ὕψιστον ὄρος σκέπει, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ κρημνὸς βαθὺς τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν συρρέουσιν ὕδασι πόρος γίνεται· ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ πᾶν παραπέφρακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Νίγρου τοῦ πανταχόθεν κωλύεσθαι ἔνεκα τὴν δίοδον τοῦ στρατοῦ.

[2] Thus a few defenders easily held off a great number of attackers, for the narrow approach was protected on one side by a lofty mountain and on the other by a steep cliff which served as the channel of a waterfall formed by mountain streams. All these natural defenses had been utilized by Niger to block Severus' approach from any direction.

[3] κατὰ μὲν δὴ Καππαδοκίαν ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, ἐστασίασαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ αὐτῷ ζήλῳ καὶ [μίσει] Λαοδικεῖς μὲν κατὰ Συρίαν Ἀντιοχέων μίσει, κατὰ δὲ Φοινίκην Τύριοι Βηρυτιῶν ἔχθει· μαθόντες τε τὸν Νίγρον πεφευγότα τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἐκείνου καθελεῖν ἐπειράθησαν,

[3] While these things were happening in Cappadocia, where mutual jealousy and enmity were general, the Laodiceans in Syria revolted from Niger because they hated the people of Antioch, and the people of Tyre in Phoenicia revolted because they hated the people of Berytus. When they learned that Niger was in headlong flight, the people of these two cities decided to risk stripping him of his honors and publicly proclaimed their support of Severus.

[4] τὸν δὲ Σεβῆρον εὐφήμησαν. ὥς δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ταῦτα ὁ Νίγρος ἐπύθετο, ἄλλως μὲν τὸ ἦθος πρότερον χρηστὸς ὢν, ἀγανακτήσας δὲ τότε

εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει αὐτῶν καὶ ὕβρει, ἐπιτέμπει ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις Μαυρουσίους τε ἀκοντιστὰς οὓς εἶχε καὶ μέρος τοξοτῶν, φονεύειν τε τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας κελεύσας καὶ διαρπάζειν τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, αὐτάς

[4] Niger learned of this action while he was in Antioch, and although up to this time he had been quite mild, he was now justifiably angered by their insolent defection and sent against them his Moroccan javelin men and some of the archers too, ordering them to kill everyone they met, loot the two cities, and burn them to the ground.

[5] τε ἐμπιπράναι. οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι ὄντες φονικώτατοι, καὶ διὰ τὸ θανάτου καὶ κινδύνων ῥαδίως καταφρονεῖν πάντα τολμῶντες μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως, ἐπιτεσόντες τοῖς Λαοδικεῦσιν οὐ προσδοκῶσι παντὶ τρόπῳ τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλυμήναντο, ἐκεῖθεν τε σπεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Τύρον πᾶσάν τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ φόνον εἰργάσαντο.

[5] The Moroccans are the most brutal and savage men in the world and are wholly indifferent to death or danger. Taking the Laodiceans by surprise, they destroyed the city and slaughtered the inhabitants. Then they hurried on to Tyre and, after much looting and killing, burned the whole city.

[6] Τούτων κατὰ Συρίαν γινομένων καὶ στρατοῦ ὑπὸ Νίγρου ἀθροιζομένου, ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς προσκαθεζόμενος τὸ ἔρυμα ἐπολιόρκει. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀπογνώσει ὄχρου τε ὄντος καὶ

[6] While these events were taking place in Syria and Niger was collecting an army, the troops of Severus pitched camp and besieged the fortifications in the Taurus Mountains. The soldiers were disheartened and discouraged, however; the defenses, protected by a mountain and a cliff, were strong and difficult to approach.

[7] δυσμάχου καὶ πεφραγμένου ὄρει τε καὶ κρημνῷ. ἤδη δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ Σεβήρου ἀπειρηκότων, τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων ἀμέριμον ἔχειν τὴν φρουρὰν οἰομένων, νύκτωρ αἰφνιδίως ὄμβρων μεγίστων καταρραγέντων χιόνος τε πολλῆς (δυσχείμερος γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ Καππαδοκία, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ὁ Ταῦρος) μέγας καὶ σφοδρὸς χειμάρρους καταραχθεῖς, ἐμποδισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ συνήθους δρόμου καὶ τοῦ ἐρύματος ἐπισχόντος τὸ ρεῖθρον πολὺς καὶ βίαιος γενόμενος,

τῆς τε φύσεως νικώσης τὴν τέχνην μὴ δυναμένου τοῦ τείχους ἀντέχειν τῷ ῥέυματι, διέστησε τῷ ὕδατι κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀρμογάς, ὑποχωρούντων <δὲ> τῶν θεμελίων τῷ ῥείθρῳ ἅτε διὰ σπουδῆς καὶ οὐ μετ' ἐπιμελείας κατασκευασθέντων πᾶν ὥφθη, τὸν δὲ τόπον

[7] But when the army of Severus was about to abandon the siege and their opponents believed that their position was impregnable, rain suddenly fell in torrents during the night, and much snow along with it. (The winters are severe in Cappadocia and especially so in the Taurus Mountains.) A large and violent stream of water now poured down on the fortifications, which blocked the regular stream bed and checked the torrent; hence the current became deep and strong. Then Nature prevailed over man's handiwork, and the wall was unable to hold back the stream. The wall did briefly withstand the pressure of the water on its joints, but finally the foundations, which had been constructed hastily and without the usual care, were undermined by the torrent and the wall collapsed. The whole fortification was exposed, and the stream, leveling the area, breached the defense works.

[8] ὁ χειμάρρους ἀνοίξας ὡδοποίησεν. ὅπερ ἰδόντες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρύματος φύλακες, φοβηθέντες μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ἐκπεριελθόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμάρρου ἀπόρροιν μηκέτι ὄντος τοῦ κωλύοντος, καταλιπόντες τὴν φρουρὰν φεύγουσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς ἡσθεὶς τῷ γενομένῳ, τὰς τε ψυχὰς ἐπιρρωσθεὶς ὡς προνοία θεία ὁδηγούμενος, συνεῖς δὲ ἀποδεδρακότας τοὺς φύλακας, εὐμαρῶς τε καὶ ἀκωλύτως διαβάς τὸν Ταῦρον ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ἠπείγετο.

[8] When those on guard at the barricade saw what had happened, they feared that they would be surrounded and trapped by the rushing flood; abandoning their posts, they fled, since there was no longer anything to keep the enemy out. Delighted by this turn of events, the troops of Severus rejoiced, believing that they were under the guidance of divine providence; when they saw the guards fleeing in all directions they crossed the Taurus Mountains without difficulty or opposition and marched into Cilicia.

SECTION 4

[1] ὁ δὲ Νίγρος μαθὼν τὰ συμβάντα, πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας, πλὴν ἄπειρον μάχης καὶ πόνων, μετὰ σπουδῆς τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο· πολὺ γάρ τι πλῆθος καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ νεολαία τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐς στρατείαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον ἐπέδωκεν αὐτήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρόθυμον τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ, τοῦ δὲ ἐμπεύρου

[1] WHEN he learned what had happened, Niger collected a huge army, but one unused to battle and toil, and marched out in haste. A large number of men, especially the youths of Antioch, presented themselves for service in the campaign, risking their lives for him. The enthusiasm of his army naturally encouraged Niger, but his soldiers were much inferior to the Illyrians in skill and courage.

[2] καὶ γενναίου πολὺ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀπέλειπον. συνέρχεται δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐς τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον πεδίον πλατύτατόν τε καὶ ἐπιμηκέστατον, ᾧ περικείται μὲν λόφος ἐς θεάτρου σχῆμα, αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγιστος ἐκτείνεται, ὥσπερ τῆς

[2] Both armies marched out to a flat, sweeping plain near a bay called Issus; there a ridge of hills forms a natural theater on this plain, and a broad beach slopes down to the sea, as if Nature had constructed a stadium for a battle.

[3] φύσεως εἰργασμένης στάδιον μάχης. ἐκεῖ φασὶ καὶ Δαρεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν ὑστάτην καὶ μεγίστην μάχην συμβαλόντα ἡττηθῆναι τε καὶ ἀλῶναι, τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρκτῶων μερῶν καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς νενικηκότων. μένει δὲ ἔτι νῦν τρόπαιον καὶ δεῖγμα τῆς νίκης ἐκείνης, πόλις ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου Ἀλεξάνδρεια καλουμένη, ἄγαλμά τε χαλκοῦν οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν ὁ τόπος φέρει.

[3] It was there, they say, that Darius fought his last and greatest battle with Alexander and was defeated and captured when the West defeated the East. Even today a memorial and a monument of the victory remain: a city on the ridge, called Alexandria, and a bronze statue from which the region gets its name.

[4] συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Σεβήρου τε καὶ <τοῦ> Νίγρου μὴ τὴν σύνοδον μόνον κατ' ἐκεῖνο γενέσθαι τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὁμοίαν τῆς μάχης. ἀντιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν περὶ ἐσπέραν, πάσης τῆς

νυκτὸς ἐν φροντίσιν ἑκάτεροι καὶ δέει διαγρηγορήσαντες, ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ἠπείγοντο, παρορμώντων ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν στρατηγῶν. προθυμία δὴ πάσῃ ἐνέπιπτον ὡς ὑπὲρ λουιῆς καὶ τελευταίας ἐκείνης μάχης, κάκει τῆς τύχης διακρινούσης τὸν

[4] The armies of Severus and Niger not only met at that historic spot but the outcome of the battle was the same. The armies pitched camp opposite each other toward evening, and spent a sleepless night, anxious and afraid. With each of the generals urging his men on, the armies advanced to the attack at sunrise, fighting with savage fury, as if this were destined to be the final and decisive battle and Fortune would there choose one of them as emperor.

[5] βασιλέα. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν διαγωνισαμένων πολλοῦ τε ἐργασθέντος φόνου, ὡς καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα τῶν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ποταμῶν ρέοντων αἵματος πλεῖον ἢ ὕδατος κατάγειν ἐς θάλασσαν, τροπὴ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν γίνεται. ἐκβιασάμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν παρακειμένην θάλασσαν τιτρώσκοντες ἐξωθοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς λόφους διώκοντες αὐτοὺς τε φονεύουσι καὶ πολὺ τι πλῆθος ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὅπερ ἔκ τε τῶν περικειμένων πόλεων καὶ ἀγρῶν ἤθροιστο, ὡς ἀπ’ ἀσφαλοῦς τοῦ τόπου τὰ γινόμενα θεάσονται.

[5] After the battle had continued for a long time with terrible slaughter, and the rivers which flowed through the plain were pouring more blood than water into the sea, the rout of the forces of the East began. Driving Niger’s battered troops before them, the Illyrians forced some of the fugitives into the sea; pursuing the rest as they rushed to the ridges, they slaughtered the fugitives, as well as a large number of men from the nearby towns and farms who had gathered to watch the battle from a safe vantage point.

[6] ὁ δὲ Νίγρος ἵπῳ γενναίῳ ἐποχούμενος φεύγει μετ’ ὀλίγων, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικνεῖται. καταλαβὼν δὲ φεύγοντα τὸν λοιπὸν δῆμον, εἴ <τέ> τις καταλέλειπτο, οἰμωγὴν τε καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ πόλει παῖδάς τε καὶ ἀδελφοὺς θρηνοῦντων, γενόμενος ἐν ἀπογνώσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀποδιδράσκει. καὶ ἔν τινι προαστείῳ κρυπτόμενος, εὔρεθεις τε ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἱππέων καὶ συλληφθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη.

[6] Mounting a good horse, Niger fled with a few companions to Antioch. There he found the survivors of the rout, weeping and wailing, mourning the loss of sons and brothers. Niger now fled from Antioch in despair. Discovered

hiding in the outskirts of the city, he was beheaded by the pursuing horsemen [A.D. 194].

[7] τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ὁ Νίγρος ἐχρήσατο, μελλήσεως καὶ βραδυτῆτος δούς δίκας, τὰ ἄλλα, ὥς φασι, γενόμενος μὴ φαῦλος ἄνθρωπος, μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ιδιώτης· ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος καθελὼν τὸν Νίγρον, τοὺς μὲν φίλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴτινες οὐ μόνον ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνάγκης προσέθεντο αὐτῷ, πάντα ἀφειδῶς ἐκόλασε, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας, ὅσοι διαδεδράκεσαν, πυνθανόμενος περαιουμένους τὸν Τίγριδα ποταμὸν διὰ τε τὸ ἐκ Σεβήρου δέος ἀπιόντας πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, <ἐπαν>ήγαγε

[7] Such was the fate Niger suffered, and he paid the penalty he deserved for his negligence and indecision. In other respects, however, they say that he was in no way despicable either as emperor or as man. Having eliminated Niger, Severus now put to death without mercy all the man's friends, whether they had supported him by choice or by necessity. When he learned that some of Niger's soldiers had managed to escape across the Tigris River and that, fearing the emperor, they were joining forces with the barbarians there, he induced a few to return, by granting them full pardon, but the majority of the fugitives remained in that alien land.

[8] δούς ἀμνησίαν, <οὐ πάντα δέ>. πολὺ γὰρ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν ἀλλοδαπήν. ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστα αἴτιον ἐγένετο μαχιμώτερα ὕστερον γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν συστάδην μάχην Ῥωμαίων τὰ τῶν ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρων. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τοξεύειν μόνον ἵπποις ἐποχούμενοι ἤδεσαν, μήτε πανοπλία φράσσοντες αὐτοὺς μήτε τῇ διὰ δοράτων καὶ ξιφῶν θαρροῦντες μάχῃ, κούφαις δὲ καὶ παρηωρημέναις ἐσθῆσι κοσμούμενοι· τὰ πλεῖστα γοῦν

[8] Thereafter, the battle tactics of the barbarians in those regions were much more effective against the close-quarter fighting of the Romans. Formerly, the barbarians did not use swords and spears in battle; they fought only as mounted archers. And instead of wearing full body armor, they rode in light, loose-fitting uniforms. Their method of fighting was to flee on horseback and shoot their arrows behind them.

[9] φεύγοντες ἐς τοῦπίσω τε τοξεύοντες ἐμάχοντο. τῶν δὲ φυγάδων στρατιωτῶν, πολλῶν τε ἐν αὐτοῖς τεχνιτῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ βίον ἐλομένων, οὐ μόνον χρῆσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ὅπλα

ἐδιδάχθησαν.

[9] But since the Roman fugitives were all soldiers, and there were technicians among those who elected to settle permanently across the Tigris River, the barbarians learned from them both the use and the manufacture of arms.

SECTION 5

[1] διοικήσας δὲ ὁ Σεβήρος τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὡς ᾔετο, ἄριστα καὶ ἑαυτῷ λυσιτελέστατα, ἠθέλησεν εὐθέως ὀρμῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀτρινῶν βασιλέα ἕς τε τὴν Παρθυαίων γῆν διαβῆναι· ἐνεκάλει γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις φιλίαν Νίγρου. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἕς ὕστερον ἀνέθετο, πρῶτον δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίων ἕς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μεταγαγεῖν

[1] AFTER settling Eastern affairs in what he thought was the most advantageous way, Severus wished to take the field immediately against the Atrenian king and invade Parthia also, charging both of these kings with friendship for Niger. He put off these projects until later, however, wishing to seize the Roman empire first and make it secure for himself and his sons.

[2] καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι ἠθέλησε. καθηρημένου γὰρ τοῦ Νίγρου ὀχληρὸς καὶ περιττὸς αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀλβῖνος ἐνομίζετο· ἔτι τε καὶ ἤκουεν αὐτὸν βασιλικώτερον ἐντρυφῶντα τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀνόματι, πολλοὺς τε, μάλιστα τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, ἰδίᾳ καὶ κρύβδην ἐπιστέλλοντας αὐτῷ, ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἔλθειν πείθοντας ἀπόντος καὶ ἀσχολουμένου τοῦ Σεβήρου. ἡροῦντο γὰρ οἱ εὐπατρίδαι ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον ἄρχοντα, ἅτε ἐκ προγόνων εὖ γεγονότα

[2] Even though Niger had been eliminated, Severus considered Albinus still a menace. He now heard that this man, delighted with the title of Caesar, was acting more and more like an emperor; he was informed also that a great many men, particularly the most distinguished senators, were writing public and private letters to the Caesar, trying to persuade him to come to Rome while Severus was absent and occupied elsewhere. The fact is that the aristocracy much preferred Albinus as emperor because he belonged to a noble family and was reputed to have a mild nature.

[3] καὶ χρηστὸν τὸ ἥθος εἶναι λεγόμενον. ἅπερ πυνθανόμενος ὁ Σεβήρος φανεράν μὲν εὐθὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν ἄρασθαι καὶ πόλεμον ἐγείρει πρὸς ἄνδρα μηδεμίαν εὐλογον παρεσχημένον αἰτίαν παρητήσατο· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπόπειραν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ δύναιτο ἀποσκευάσασθαι λαθῶν

[3] When he learned of these developments, Severus declined to initiate open hostility against Albinus and start a war with him since he lacked a reasonable excuse for such action. He thought it best to try to eliminate his Caesar by

tricking him without warning.

[4] καὶ ἐξαπατήσας αὐτόν. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν εἰωθότων τὰ βασιλικά γράμματα διακομίζειν, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐντολάς [ἀπορρήτων,] εἰ γένοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ, τὰ μὲν γράμματα δημοσίᾳ ἀποδοῦναι, ἀξιῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδιαίτερον ἀποστάντα ἐπακοῦσαι ἀπορρήτων ἐντολῶν, πεισθέντι δὲ δορυφόρων ἐρήμῳ ἐπιπυσεῖν

[4] He therefore sent his most trusted imperial messengers to Britain with secret orders to hand Albinus the dispatches openly if they were admitted to his presence. They were then to ask him to meet them privately to receive secret instructions; when Albinus agreed to this and his bodyguards were not present, the messengers were to attack him without warning and cut him down.

[5] αἰφνιδίως καὶ φονεῦσαι. ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ δηλητήρια φάρμακα, ὅπως τινὰς πείσαιεν, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν, ἢ τῶν ὀψοποιῶν ἢ τῶν πρὸς ταῖς κύλιξι, λαθεῖν καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ ὑποπτευόντων, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων

[5] Severus provided them with deadly poisons so that, if the opportunity presented itself, they might persuade one of his cooks or cupbearers to administer a dose in secret.

[6] συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ φυλάττεσθαι ἄνδρα ἀπατεῶνα σοφόν τε πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν· διαβεβλήκεσαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἦθος αἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ Νίγρου πράξεις· πείσας γὰρ αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν παιδων, ὥς προείρηται, προδοῦναι τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου πράγματα, μετὰ τὸ ἀποχρήσασθαι αὐτῶν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ καὶ κατορθῶσαι πάντα ἃ ἐβούλετο ἀνεῖλεν αὐτούς τε καὶ <τοὺς> παῖδας. τὸ οὖν ὕπουλον

[6] Albinus' advisers, however, were suspicious of the emperor's messengers, and warned him to be on his guard against this cunning schemer. Severus' actions against Niger's governors had seriously damaged his reputation; after forcing them through their children to betray Niger, as has been related above, and after making good use of their assistance, he put them to death with their children after he had got from them everything he wanted. His actions on this occasion clearly revealed Severus' despicable character.

[7] αὐτοῦ ἦθος μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἐδηλοῦτο. διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλβῖνος καὶ

φρουρᾷ μείζονι ἔφραττεν ἑαυτόν· οὐδὲ γάρ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἀφικνουμένων ἄλλως προσήει, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἀποθέμενος ὅπερ περιέκειτο ξίφος στρατιωτικὸν ἐρευνηθεῖς τε, μή τι φέροι

[7] The efforts of Severus now led Albinus to increase the size of his bodyguard. None of the emperor's men was admitted into the Caesar's presence until he had first been stripped and searched for concealed weapons.

[8] ὑπὸ κόλπον. ὥς δ' οὖν ἀφίκοντο οἱ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἀγγελιαφόροι, τά τε γράμματα δημοσίᾳ ἀποδόντες ἠξίουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποστάντα ἐπακοῦσαι τινῶν ἀπορρήτων, ὑποπτέυσας ὁ Ἀλβῖνος συλληφθῆναι κελεύει αὐτούς, ἰδίᾳ τε βασανίσας πᾶσαν μανθάνει τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κολάζει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη ὥς πρὸς ὁμολογούμενον ἐχθρὸν

[8] Now when the messengers from Severus arrived, they handed over the dispatches to Albinus openly and asked him to retire with them to receive secret orders. But Albinus, suspicious, had the men seized, and, putting them to torture privately, discovered the entire plot; after killing the messengers, he prepared to resist his revealed enemy.

SECTION 6

[1] παρεσκευάζετο. γνούς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεβήρος, καὶ πάντα μὲν ἐκθύμως πράττων, ὀργῆς δὲ ἦττων ὦν φύσει, οὐκέτι τὴν ἔχθραν ἔκρυπτεν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας πᾶν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε·

μήτε κουφότητά τις ἢ μετάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡμῖν ἐγκαλείτω, μήτ' ἄπιστον «ἐμὲ» ἢ ἀγνώμονα

[1] WHEN he was informed of what had occurred, Severus took effective and energetic action; by nature quick to anger, he no longer concealed his hostility toward Albinus. Calling together the entire army, he spoke to them as follows:

“Let no one charge us with capricious inconsistency in our actions against Albinus, and let no one think that I am disloyal to this alleged friend or lacking in feeling toward him.

[2] πρὸς τὸν νομισθέντα φίλον ἡγείσθω. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν πάντα ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ, βεβαΐας βασιλείας κοινωνία, πράγματος οὗ μόλις τις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς γνησίοις μεταδίδωσιν· ὃ δὲ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ὑμεῖς ἐχειροτονήσατε, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐνειμάμην. μεγάλων τέ μοι κατατεθεισῶν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀχαρίστους τὰς ἀμοιβὰς Ἀλβῖνος

[2] We gave this man everything, even a share of the established empire, a thing which a man would hardly do for his own brother. Indeed, I bestowed upon him that which you entrusted to me alone. Surely Albinus has shown little gratitude for the many benefits I have lavished upon him.

[3] ἀποδίδωσιν. ὅπλα καὶ στρατὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευάζεται, καταφρονήσας μὲν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀνδρείας, ἀμελήσας δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ πίστεως, ἀπλήστῳ τε ἐπιθυμίᾳ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν μετὰ κινδύνων οὗ τὸ μέρος εἶχεν ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ μάχης, οὔτε θεοὺς αἰδεσθεῖς, οὓς πολλάκις ὥμοσεν, οὔτε τῶν ὑμετέρων καμάτων φεισάμενος, οὓς μετὰ τοσαύτης

[3] Now he is collecting an army to take up arms against us, scornful of your valor and indifferent to his pledge of good faith to me, wishing in his insatiable greed to seize at the risk of disaster that which he has already received in part without war and without bloodshed, showing no respect for the gods by whom he has often sworn, and counting as worthless the labors

you performed on our joint behalf with such courage and devotion to duty.

[4] δόξης τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκάμετε. ἐν γὰρ οἷς κατωρθώσατε, κἀκεῖνος τὸ μέρος ἐκαρποῦτο· ἔσχε δ' ἂν τι καὶ μεῖζον, εἰ καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐτήρει, τῆς ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν παρ' ὑμῶν μεμερισμένης τιμῆς. ὥσπερ δὲ ἄδικον τὸ ἄρχειν ἔργων πονηρῶν, οὕτως ἄνανδρον τὸ μὴ ἀμύνεσθαι προαδικούμενον. καὶ Νίγρω μὲν πολεμοῦντες οὐχ οὕτως εὐλόγους εἶχομεν αἰτίας ἔχθρας ὥς ἀναγκαίης· οὐ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀρχὴν ὑφαρπάζων μεμίσητο, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἐρριμμένην καὶ ἀμφήριστον οὗσαν ἐκάτερος ἡμῶν ἐξ ἰσοτίμου φιλοτιμίας ἐς αὐτὸν

[4] In what you accomplished, he also had a share, and he would have had an even greater share of the honor you gained for us both if he had only kept his word. For, just as it is unfair to initiate wrong actions, so also it is cowardly to make no defense against unjust treatment. Now when we took the field against Niger, we had reasons for our hostility, not entirely logical, perhaps, but inevitable. We did not hate him because he had seized the empire after it was already ours, but rather each one of us, motivated by an equal desire for glory, sought the empire for himself alone, when it was still in dispute and lay prostrate before all.

[5] ἀνθεῖλκεν· Ἀλβῖνος δὲ σπονδῶν καὶ ὄρκων καταφρονήσας, καὶ τούτου παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχὼν οὗ μόνῳ τις υἱῷ γησιῶ μεταδίδωσιν, ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἀντὶ φίλου πολέμιος δὲ ἀντὶ οἰκείου γενέσθαι προήρηται. ὥσπερ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐεργετοῦντες πρότερον τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ ἐκοσμήσαμεν, οὕτως καὶ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄπιστον καὶ ἄνανδρον τοῖς ὅπλοις

[5] But Albinus has violated his pledges and broken his oaths, and although he received from me that which a man normally gives only to his son, he has chosen to be hostile rather than friendly and belligerent instead of peaceful. And just as we were generous to him previously and showered fame and honor upon him, so let us now punish him with our arms for his treachery and cowardice.

[6] ἐλέγξωμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομενεῖ ὁ ἐκείνου στρατὸς ὀλίγος ὢν καὶ νησιώτης τὴν ὑμετέραν δύναμιν. οἱ γὰρ μόνοι καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς προθυμία καὶ ἀνδρεία τοσοῦταις μάχαις ἐνίκησατε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνατολήν ὑπετάξατε, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν, προσελθούσης ὑμῖν τοσαύτης συμμάχου δυνάμεως, σχεδόν τε παντὸς τοῦ

Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος, ῥᾷστα κρατήσετε ὀλίγων τε ὄντων καὶ μηδὲ ὑπὸ γενναίῳ

[6] His army, small and island-bred, will not stand against your might. For you, who by your valor and readiness to act on your own behalf have been victorious in many battles and have gained control of the entire East, how can you fail to emerge victorious with the greatest of ease when you have so large a number of allies and when virtually the entire army is here. Whereas they, by contrast, are few in number and lack a brave and competent general to lead them.

[7] καὶ νήφοντι ἀνδρὶ στρατηγουμένων; τίς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐκ οἶδεν, ὥς χοροῖς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀρμόζειν τὸν βίον ἢ φάλαγξιν; ἴωμεν οὖν τῇ συνήθει χρώμενοι προθυμία τε καὶ ἀνδρεία γενναίως ἐπ’ αὐτόν, θεοὺς τε ἔχοντες βοηθοὺς, ἐς οὓς ἐπιorkήσας ἡσέβησε, τρόπαιά τε ἃ πολλάκις ἡγείραμεν, ὧν ἐκεῖνος κατεφρόνησεν.

[7] Who does not know Albinus’ effeminate nature? Who does not know that his way of life has prepared him more for the chorus than for the battlefield? Let us therefore go forth against him with confidence, relying on our customary zeal and valor, with the gods as our allies, gods against whom he has acted impiously in breaking his oaths, and let us be mindful of the victories we have won, victories which that man ridicules.”

[8] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντος τοῦ Σεβήρου ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας τὸν μὲν Ἀλβῖνον πολέμιον ἀνηγόρευσεν, εὐφημήσαντες δὲ τὸν Σεβήρον, πᾶσάν τε προθυμίαν διὰ τῆς βοῆς ὑποσχόμενοι, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον παρώρμησαν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὰς τε ὑπέφηναν τὰς ἐλπίδας. ὁ δὲ ἐπιδούς αὐτοῖς μεγαλοφρόνως

[8] When Severus had finished speaking, the entire army called Albinus enemy and shouted their approval of Severus, promising him their wholehearted support; as a result, he was inspired even more and encouraged to anticipate greater things. After making generous gifts to the soldiers, Severus publicly announced his expedition against Albinus.

[9] δωρεάς, τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὁδοῦ εἶχετο. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὸ Βυζάντιον πολιορκήσοντας· ἔμενε γὰρ ἔτι κεκλεισμένον, τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ Νίγρου ἐκεῖσε καταφυγόντων. ὅπερ ἐάλω ὕστερον λιμῷ, πᾶσά τε ἡ πόλις κατεσκάφη,

καὶ θεάτρων τε καὶ λουτρῶν παντός τε κόσμου καὶ τιμῆς ἀφαιρεθὲν τὸ Βυζάντιον κόμη δουλεύειν Περινθίοις δῶρον ἐδόθη, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια Λαοδικεῦσιν. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα ἐς ἀνοικισμὸν τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἦν λυμηνάμενος ὁ Νίγρου στρατός.

[9] He also sent troops to continue the siege of Byzantium, which was still under blockade because the soldiers of Niger had fled there. At a later date Byzantium was captured as a result of famine, and the entire city was razed. Stripped of its theaters and baths and, indeed, of all adornments, the city, now only a village, was given to the Perinthians to be subject to them; in the same way Antioch was given to the Laodiceans. Severus made available a huge sum of money for rebuilding the cities destroyed by Niger's soldiers.

[10] αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶχετο, μηδεμίαν ἀνοχὴν ἀναπαύλης διδούς μήτε ἑορταῖς μήτε καμάτοις, κρύους καὶ θάλπους ὁμοίως καταφρονῶν. πολλάκις γοῦν διὰ τῶν δυσχειμέρων καὶ ὑψηλοτάτων ὀρῶν τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ποιοῦμενος ὑπὸ νιφετοῖς καὶ χιόσιν ἀκαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ ὠδοιπόρει, προθυμίας καὶ ἀνδρείας τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔργῳ διδούς, ὥς μὴ μόνον αὐτοῦς φόβῳ καὶ νόμῳ ἀντέχειν πρὸς τοὺς καμάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμήσει καὶ ζήλῳ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸν <μετὰ> δυνάμεως τὸν τὰ στενὰ τῶν Ἄλπεων καταληψόμενον καὶ φρουρήσοντα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰς εἰσβολάς.

[10] The emperor himself set out on the march, scorning heat and cold alike, and gave the army no respite for holidays or rest. Often when he was journeying through very high and very cold mountains, the emperor strode along bareheaded through rain and snow, setting an example of courage and constancy for his soldiers, who endured hardships not only from fear and from training but also in imitation of their emperor. Severus sent a general ahead with a unit of soldiers to seize the passes of the Alps and guard the approaches to Italy.

SECTION 7

[1] ὥς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Ἀλβίνῳ μὴ μέλλων ὁ Σεβήρως ἄλλ' ἤδη παρεσόμενος, ὑπτιάζοντι καὶ τρυφῶντι μεγάλην ταραχὴν ἐνέβαλε. περαιωθεὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίας ἐς τὴν ἀντικειμένην Γαλλίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἔπεμψέ τε ἐς πάντα τὰ γειννιῶντα ἔθνη, τοῖς τε ἡγουμένοις ἐπέστειλε χρήματά τε πέμπειν καὶ τροφὰς τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν πεισθέντες ἔπεμψαν ὀλεθρίως· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐκολάσθησαν· ὅσοι δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν, εὐτυχῶς μᾶλλον γνόντες ἢ εὐβούλως ἐσώθησαν. ἡ γὰρ ἀπόβασις καὶ ἡ τύχη τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἐκατέρων γνώμας ἔκρινεν.

[1] WHEN it was reported that Severus was not merely threatening to come but would soon appear in person, Albinus was in a state of complete confusion amid the negligence and revelry. Crossing over to the mainland of Gaul opposite Britain, he established his headquarters there. He then sent messages to the governors of the provinces ordering them to provide food and money for his army. Some obeyed and sent supplies, to their own destruction, since they suffered for it later; those who did not obey him saved themselves, more by luck than good judgment. The outcome of the affair and the fortunes of war determined the wisdom of each decision.

[2] ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς τοῦ Σεβήρου δυνάμεως ἐς τὴν Γαλλίαν γεγόνασι μὲν τινες ἀκροβολισμοὶ καθ' ἕτερα χωρία, ἡ δὲ τελευταία περὶ Λουγδοῦνον, μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, ἐν ᾗ κατακλείσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἀλβῖνος ἔμενε, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐξέπεμψε. γενομένης δὲ συμβολῆς καρτερᾶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν ισόρροπος ἔμενεν ἐκατέροις τῆς νίκης ἢ τύχῃ. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Βρεττανοὶ ἀνδρεία τε καὶ θυμῷ φονικῷ οὐδὲν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀπολείπονται· γενναίον οὖν στρατῶν μαχομένων, οὐδετέρων

[2] When the army of Severus came to Gaul, a few minor skirmishes occurred here and there, but the final battle was fought near the large and prosperous city of Lugdunum [Lyon]. Albinus shut himself up in that city, remaining behind when he sent the army out to do battle. A major engagement developed, and for a long time each side's chances of victory were equal, for in courage and ruthlessness the soldiers from Britain were in no way inferior to the soldiers from Illyria. When these two magnificent armies were locked in combat, it was no easy matter to put either one to flight.

[3] ῥαδία ἦν ἡ τροπή. ὥς δέ τινες τῶν τότε ἱστορήσαν, οὐ πρὸς χάριν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες, πολὺ τι ὑπερέσχευ ἡ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀλβίνου στρατοῦ, καθ' ὃ μέρος τέτακτο ὁ Σεβήρος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατός, ὥς φυγεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀπορρίψαντα δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα τὴν βασιλικὴν λαθεῖν. ἤδη δὲ διωκόντων καὶ παιωνιζόντων τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὥς δὴ νενικηκότων, ἐπιφανῆναι Λαῖτον, στρατηγὸν ὄντα Σεβήρου, σὺν τῷ στρατῷ οὗ ἦρχεν, ἀκμητί τε ὄντι καὶ ἔξω μάχης γεγονότι.

[3] As some contemporary historians recorded — saying it not to curry favor but in the interests of accuracy — the division of the army stationed opposite the sector where Severus and his command were fighting proved far superior; the emperor slipped from his horse and fled, managing to escape by throwing off the imperial cloak. But while the soldiers from Britain were pursuing the Illyrians, chanting paeans of praise as if they were already victorious, they say that Laetus, one of Severus' generals, appeared with the troops under his command fresh and not yet committed in the battle.

[4] διαβάλλουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ὥς καταδοκίσαντα τὴν ἀπόβασιν τῆς μάχης καὶ ἐκόντα βραδύναντα, τὸν δὲ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατὸν ἀκμηῖτα τηρήσαντα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῷ μνώμενον, τότε ἐπιφανῆναι ὅτε ἔμαθε τὸν Σεβήρον πεπτωκότα. πιστοῦται δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν ταύτην ἢ ἀπόβασις· ὕστερον γὰρ ὁ Σεβήρος, μετὰ τὸ πάντα κατορθῶσαι καὶ εἶναι ἐν ἀμερίμῳ βίῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας στρατηγούς αὐτοῦ μεγάλως ἡμείψατο, τὸν δὲ Λαῖτον μόνον,

[4] The historians accuse Laetus of watching the progress of the battle and deliberately waiting, holding his troops out of the fighting and appearing only after he was informed that Severus had been beaten. The aftermath of the affair substantiates the charge that Laetus coveted the empire himself. Later, when Severus had set everything straight and was living an orderly life, he gave generous rewards to the rest of his commanders, but Laetus alone he put to death, as seems reasonable under the circumstances, considering the general's past performances.

[5] ὥς εἰκός, μνησικακήσας διεχρήσατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δ' οὖν, ὥς προεῖρηται, τοῦ Λαίτου ἐπιφανέντος σὺν νεαρῷ στρατῷ οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σεβήρου ἐπερρώσθησαν, τὸν τε Σεβήρον τοῦ ἵππου ἐπεβίβασαν

[5] All this happened at a much later date, however. On this occasion, when

Laetus appeared with fresh troops, as has been related above, Severus' soldiers, taking heart, wrapped the emperor in the imperial cloak again and mounted him on his horse.

[6] καὶ τὴν χλαμύδα περιέθεσαν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλβίνου οἰόμενοι ἤδη νενικηκέναι καὶ ἀτακτότεροι εὐρεθέντες, αἰφνιδίως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσούσης γενναίας καὶ οὐ προηγωνισμένης δυνάμεως, ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντες εἶξαν, τροπῆς τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς φονεύοντες οἱ Σεβήρου, μέχρις οὗ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέβαλον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνηρημένων ἢ ἀλόντων, ὡς ἕκαστος

[6] But Albinus' soldiers, thinking that the victory was theirs, now found themselves in disorder when this powerful and as yet uncommitted army suddenly attacked; after a brief resistance they broke and ran. When the rout became general, Severus' soldiers pursued and slaughtered the fugitives until they drove them into Lugdunum. Each contemporary historian has recorded to suit his own purpose the actual number of those killed and captured on each side.

[7] ἐβουλήθη τῶν τότε συγγραψάντων, ἱστόρησεν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου τὴν τε Λουγδοῦνον διαρπάσαντες καὶ ἐμπρήσαντες, τὸν τε Ἀλβίνον συλλαβόντες καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόντες, κομίσαντες αὐτὴν τῷ Σεβήρῳ δισσὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἡγείραν τρόπαια, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἄρκτῳ, ὡς μηδὲν ταῖς Σεβήρου μάχαις ἢ νίκαις παραβάλλεσθαι μήτε πλῆθει δυνάμεως μήτε ἐθνῶν κινήσεσιν ἀριθμῷ τε παρατάξεων ὁδοιπορίας τε μήκει καὶ τάχει.

[7] The emperor's troops captured Lugdunum and burned it. When they caught Albinus they cut off his head and sent it to Severus [A.D. 197]. The emperor thus won two magnificent victories, one in the East and one in the West. No battles and no victories can be compared to those of Severus, and no army to the size of his army; there are no comparable uprisings among nations, or total number of campaigns, or length and speed of marches.

[8] μεγάλοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αἱ Καίσαρος πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐκατέρωθεν στρατοπέδων Ῥωμαϊκῶν μάχαι, καὶ αὖ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἢ τοὺς Πομπηίου παῖδας, εἴ τέ τι πρότερον Σύλλα ἢ Μαρίῳ ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ Ῥωμαϊκαῖς μάχαις ἢ ἄλλοις πέπρακται· ἓνα δὲ ἄνδρα τρεῖς καθελόντα βασιλέας ἤδη κρατοῦντας, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατοῦ σοφία περιγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ

βασιλείῳ αὐτῇ καθηρηκέναι «εὐτυχήσαντα», τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ κρατοῦντα πάλαι καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα κληθέντα, τὸν δὲ ἐν Καίσαρος τιμῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ γεγονότα χειρωσάμενον ἀνδρεία, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον ῥαδίως εἰπεῖν.

τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ὁ Ἀλβῖνος ἐχρήσατο, πρὸς ὀλίγον

[8] Momentous indeed were the battles of Caesar against Pompey, when Roman fought Roman; equally momentous were the battles fought by Augustus against Antony and the sons of Pompey, and the struggles of Sulla and Marius at an earlier date, in the Roman civil and foreign wars. But here is one man who overthrew three emperors after they were already ruling, and got the upper hand over the praetorians by a trick: he succeeded in killing Julianus, the man in the imperial palace; Niger, who had previously governed the people of the East and was saluted as emperor by the Roman people; and Albinus, who had already been awarded the honor and authority of Caesar. He prevailed over them all by his courage. It is not possible to name another like Severus.

Such was the fate suffered by Albinus, who was stripped of the honor which destroyed him after a brief time.

SECTION 8

[1] ἀπολαύσας ὀλεθρίου τιμῆς· ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ εὐθέως πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλους αὐτοῦ ἐχρήτο. καὶ πέμψας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἀλβίνου δημοσίᾳ ἀνασταυρωθῆναι κελεύει· γράμμασί τε τῷ δῆμῳ τὴν νίκην ἑαυτοῦ δηλώσας ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ τοῦτο προσέθηκε, πεπομέναι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ περίοπτον, ἵνα

[1] THEN the angry emperor took vengeance upon Albinus' friends at Rome. He sent the man's head to the city and ordered that it be displayed. When he reported his victory in dispatches, he added a note stating that he had sent Albinus' head to be put on public view so that the people might know the extent of his anger against them.

[2] οἷόν περ καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ... διοικήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ Βρεττανίαν καὶ διελὼν ἐς δύο ἡγεμονίας τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξουσίαν, τά τε κατὰ τὰς Γαλλίας, ὡς ᾤετο, ἄριστα διαθεῖς, πάντας τε τοὺς Ἀλβίνου φίλους εἴτε ἐκουσίως εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῷ γνωρισθέντας φονεύσας, τὰς τε οὐσίας αὐτῶν δημεύσας, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο, ἄγων ἅπαντα τὸν στρατὸν σὺν αὐτῷ, ὡς φανεῖη φοβερώτερος.

[2] After settling affairs in Britain, he divided this region into two provinces, each under its own governor. When he had also arranged matters in Gaul in what he considered the most advantageous way, he put all the friends of Albinus to death and confiscated their property, indifferent to whether they had supported the man by choice or by necessity. He then took his entire army to Rome in order to inspire the utmost terror there.

[3] ἀνύσας δὴ πολλῷ τάχει τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος αὐτῷ, χαλεπαίνων πρὸς ἔτι περιόντας τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσήλασεν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτὸν δαφνηφορῶν μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς καὶ εὐφημίας ὑπεδέξατο, ἥ τε σύγκλητος προσηγόρευσαν, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν μεγίστῳ δέει καθεστῶτες, λογιζόμενοι ὅτι αὐτῶν οὐ φείσεται, φύσει μὲν ὦν ἐχθρὸς χαλεπώτατος καὶ μικρᾶς προφάσεως δεόμενος ἐς τὸ ἀδικῆσαι, τότε δὲ δοκῶν καὶ εὐλόγους

[3] When he had completed the journey at his usual rapid pace, he entered Rome, raging at Albinus' surviving friends. The citizens, carrying laurel branches, welcomed him with all honor and praise; the senate also came out to

greet him, most of them standing before him in abject dread, convinced that he would not spare their lives. Since his malevolence, a natural character trait, was deadly even when he had little provocation, now that he seemed to have every reason to treat them harshly, the members of the senate were terror-stricken.

[4] ἔχειν αἰτίας. ὁ δ' οὖν Σεβήρος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἀνελθὼν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τελέσας ἱερουργίας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις μεγίστας νομάς. τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἐπέδωκε χρήματα πλεῖστα, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνεχώρησεν ἢ μὴ πρότερον

[4] After visiting the temple of Jupiter and offering sacrifices in the rest of the shrines, Severus entered the imperial palace. In honor of all his victories he made generous gifts to the people; distributing large sums of money to the soldiers, he granted them many privileges which they had not previously enjoyed.

[5] εἶχον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ σιτηρέσιον πρῶτος ἠύξησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς χρήσασθαι ἐπέτρεψε γυναῖξί τε συνοικεῖν, ἅπερ ἅπαντα σωφροσύνης στρατιωτικῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐτοίμου τε καὶ εὐσταλοῦς ἀλλότρια ἐνομίζετο. καὶ πρῶτός γε ἐκεῖνος τὸ πάνυ αὐτῶν ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς διαίτης τό τε εὐπειθές πρὸς τοὺς πόνους καὶ εὐτακτον μετ' αἰδοῦς πρὸς ἄρχοντας ἐπανάτρεψε, χρημάτων τε ἐπιθυμεῖν διδάζας καὶ μεταγαγὼν ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίατον.

[5] He was the first emperor to increase their food rations, to allow them to wear gold finger rings, and to permit them to live with their wives; these were indulgences hitherto considered harmful to military discipline and the proper conduct of war. Severus was also the first emperor to make a change in the harsh and healthy diet of the soldiers and to undermine their resolution in the face of severe hardships; moreover, he weakened their strict discipline and respect for their superiors by teaching them to covet money and by introducing them to luxurious living.

[6] διοικήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ὡς ᾤετο, ἄριστα, κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν, ἀνελθὼν τε ἐς τὸν βασίλειον θρόνον, πικρῶς κατηγορήσε τῶν Ἀλβίνου φίλων, ὧν μὲν ἐπιστολὰς προκομίζων ἀπορρήτους, ἃς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου ἀποθέτοις εὔρε γράμμασιν, οἷς δὲ δῶρα ὀνειδίζων πεμφθέντα ἐκείνῳ πολυτελέστερα· ἄλλοις

δὲ ἄλλας ἐπιφέρων αἰτίας, τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνθρώποις φιλίαν «Νίγρου» τοῖς

[6] Having arranged these matters in the way he thought best, Severus went into the senate house and, mounting the imperial throne, launched a bitter attack upon the friends of Albinus, producing secret letters of theirs which he had found among the man's private correspondence. He blamed some for the extravagant gifts they had sent to Albinus, and brought other charges against the rest, complaining about the friendship of the men of the East for Niger and the support of the men of the West for Albinus.

[7] δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα γινώσιν Ἀλβίνου, πάντας τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τότε τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς κατὰ ἔθνη πλουτὰ ἢ γένει ὑπερέχοντας ἀφειδῶς ἀνῆρει, ὡς μὲν προσεποιεῖτο, χαλεπαίνων πρὸς ἐχθρούς, τὸ δ' ἀληθές, ὑπερβαλλούσης ἐν αὐτῷ φιλοχρηματίας· οὐδεὶς γοῦν βασιλέων

[7] Then, without warning, he put to death all the eminent senators of that day, together with those men in the provinces who were noted for ancestry or wealth, pretending that he was avenging himself upon his enemies, when the truth was that he was driven by an insatiable lust for money; no other emperor was ever so greedy for gold.

[8] οὕτω χρημάτων ἡττήθη. ὥς γὰρ καρτερία ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνεξικακία πόνων διοικήσει τε στρατιωτικῶν πραγμάτων οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἀπελείπετο, οὕτως ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπλήθυνε τὸ φιλοχρήματον ἐξ ἀδικίας, φονῶν ἐκ τῆς τυχοῦσης αἰτίας. φόβῳ γοῦν ἦρξε μᾶλλον τῶν ἀρχομένων

[8] Although in his steadfastness of purpose, his endurance of toil, and his management of military affairs he was inferior to none of the respected emperors, still his love of money acquired unjustly and from murder done without provocation became an obsession with the man. His subjects submitted from fear rather than affection.

[9] ἢ εὐνοία. τῷ μέντοι δήμῳ ἐπειρᾶτο ποιεῖν κεχαρισμένα· καὶ γὰρ θέας πολυτελεῖς καὶ παντοδαπὰς συνεχῶς ἐπετέλει, καὶ θηρίων ἑκατοντάδας ἀνεῖλε πολλάκις τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς ἡμετέρας τε καὶ βαρβάρου, νομάς τε μεγαλοφρόνως ἐπεδίδου. ἐπετέλεσε δὲ καὶ ἐπινίκιον ἀγῶνα, τοὺς πανταχόθεν μούσης τε ὑποκριτὰς καὶ ἀνδρείας

[9] He did try, however, to do what would please the people; he staged costly spectacles of every kind, killing on numerous occasions hundreds of animals of every species collected from all parts of the empire and from foreign lands as well, in connection with which he distributed lavish gifts. He held triumphal games for which he summoned dramatic actors and skilled athletes from every quarter.

[10] μαθητὰς μεταπεμψάμενος. εἶδομεν δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὰς τινῶν παντοδαπῶν θαυμάτων ἐν πᾶσι θεάτροις ὁμοῦ, ἱερουργίας τε καὶ παννυχίδας ἐπιτελεσθείσας ἐς μυστηρίων ζῆλον· αἰωνίους δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκάλουν οἱ τότε, ἀκούοντες τριῶν γενεῶν διαδραμουσῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. κήρυκες γοῦν κατὰ τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεφοίτων καλοῦντες ἥκειν καὶ θεάσασθαι πάντα ᾧ μήτε εἶδον μήτε ὄψονται. οὕτως ὁ μεταξὺ χρόνος τῆς παρελθούσης ἐορτῆς καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἐδηλοῦτο, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερβαίνων.

[10] In his reign we saw every kind of show exhibited in all the theaters simultaneously, as well as night-long revels celebrated in imitation of the Mysteries. The people of that day called them the Secular Games when they learned that they would be held only once every hundred years. Heralds were sent throughout Rome and Italy bidding all to come and see what they had never seen before and would never see again. It was thus made clear that the amount of time which elapsed between one celebration of the Secular Games and the next far exceeded the total span of any man's life.

SECTION 9

[1] διατρίψας δὲ ἱκανοὺς χρόνους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοὺς τε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ κοινωνοὺς τῆς βασιλείας καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἀποδείξας, βουλόμενος δόξαν ἄρασθαι νίκης μὴ μόνον ἐμφυλίου τε καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι ἠδέσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐγείρει τρόπαια, πρόφασιν ποιούμενος τὴν Βαρσημίου τοῦ Ἀττηνῶν βασιλέως πρὸς Νίγρον φιλίαν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ

[1] SEVERUS now remained in Rome for a long time, during which his sons were partners with him in governing the empire. He was then seized with a desire to win glory for victories not only over fellow countrymen and Roman armies but also barbarians; using as an excuse for his action the friendship shown to Niger by Barsemius, king of the Atrenians, he led his army off to the East.

[2] τὴν ἀνατολὴν. παρὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καταδραμεῖν ἠθέλησε· φθάσας δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς χρήματά τε αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα ὀμήρους τε ἱκετεύων ἔπεμψε, σπονδὰς καὶ εὖνοιαν ὑπισχνούμενος. ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ προχωρούντων κατὰ γνώμην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττηνῶν ἠπείγετο. προσέφυγε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλεὺς Αὐγαρος, τοὺς τε παῖδας ὀμηρεῦν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν πίστεως ἐξέδωκε, τοξότας τε πλείστους συμμάχους ἤγαγεν.

[2] When he arrived there his intention was to invade Armenia also. But the king of the Armenians forestalled him by sending money, gifts, and hostages to support his plea for peace and by promising pacts and good will. After affairs in Armenia had thus turned out to his satisfaction, Severus marched against the Atrenian kingdom. At this time Abgarus, the Osroenian king, fled to Severus and gave him his children as a guaranty of his support; he also brought a great number of archers to fight in the Roman army.

[3] ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος διαβὰς τὴν τῶν ποταμῶν μέσσην τὴν τε [καὶ] Ἀδιαβηνῶν χώραν, ἐπέδραμε καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμόνα Ἀραβίαν· φέρει γὰρ πόας εὐώδεις, αἷς ἀρώμασι καὶ θυμιάμασι χρώμεθα. πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ πόλεις πορθήσας τὴν τε χώραν λεηλατήσας, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀττηνῶν

[3] After passing through the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and the country of the Adiabenes, Severus hurried on into Arabia Felix, the

country which produces the fragrant plants we use in our perfumes and incense. When he had destroyed many towns and villages there and had plundered the countryside, he came into the territory of the Atrenians, where he encamped and laid siege to the city of Hatra.

[4] χώραν, προσκαθεζόμενος τὰς Ἄτρας ἐπολιόρκει. ἦν δὲ πόλις ἐπ' ἄκρας ὑψηλοτάτης ὄρους, τείχει μεγίστῳ καὶ γενναίῳ περιβλημένη, πλήθει τε ἀνδρῶν τοξοτῶν ἀκμάζουσα. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς προσκαθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει παντὶ σθένει, πειρώμενος τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν· μηχαναὶ τε παντοδαπαὶ προσήγοντο τῷ τείχει, καὶ οὐδὲν

[4] This city, located on top of a lofty mountain, was surrounded by a high, strong wall manned by many bowmen. After making camp, Severus' soldiers pressed the siege with all the power at their command, endeavoring to capture the city. Engines of every type were brought up to the wall, and all the known tactics were tried.

[5] παρελείπετο εἶδος πολιορκίας. οἱ δὲ Ἀτρηνοὶ γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο, τόξοις τε καὶ λίθοις ἄνωθεν βάλλοντες οὐ μικρῶς ἐλύπουν τὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατόν. σκευὴ τε κεράμου πεποιημένα πληροῦντες πτηνῶν, μικρῶν μὲν ἰοβόλων δὲ θηρίων, ἐπέβαλλον αὐτοῖς· τὰ δὲ ἐμπίπτοντα ταῖς ὄψεσι, καὶ εἴ τί που παραγεγύμνωτο τοῦ σώματος, λανθάνοντα καὶ παρεισιόντα τιτρώσκοντά τε αὐτοὺς

[5] The Atrenians fought back bravely; pouring down a steady stream of stones and arrows, they did considerable damage to the army of Severus. Making clay pots, they filled them with winged insects, little poisonous flying creatures. When these were hurled down on the besiegers, the insects fell into the Romans' eyes and on all the unprotected parts of their bodies; digging in before they were noticed, they bit and stung the soldiers.

[6] ἐλυμαίνετο. καὶ μὴ φέροντες τὸ πνιγῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ ἡλίου πῦρ, νόσοις περιπίπτοντες διεφθείροντο, ὥς πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας μάλλον ἀπόλλυσθαι ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

[6] The Romans found the air at Hatra intolerable, stifling from the hot sun; they fell sick and died, and more casualties resulted from disease than from enemy action.

[7] ἀπαγορεύοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα, τῆς τε πολιορκίας μὴ προχωροῦσης ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον βλαπτομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ κατορθούντων, τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Σεβήρος, ὥς μὴ διαφθαρεῖ πᾶς, ἄπρακτον ἐπανήγαγε, δυσφοροῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὡς ἐβούλετο τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας

[7] When the army, for the reasons mentioned above, had abandoned all hope and the siege was at a stalemate, with the Romans losing instead of gaining ground, Severus led his troops away unsuccessful, fearing that he would lose his entire army. The soldiers were unhappy that the siege had not turned out as successfully as they wished;

[8] αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκέναι· νικᾶν γὰρ πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἰθισμένος τὸ μὴ περιγενέσθαι ἤτταν ἠγεῖτο. πλὴν παρεμυθήσατο αὐτὸν ἡ συναιρομένη τότε τοῖς ἐκείνου πράγμασι τύχη· οὐ γὰρ παντάπασιν ἄπρακτος ἐπανῆλθεν,

[8] accustomed to victory in all their battles, they believed that failure to win was actually defeat. But Fortune, by furthering his affairs at this time, provided Severus a measure of consolation; he did not return home without some success, and the truth is that he accomplished more than he had expected.

[9] ἀλλὰ μείζονα κατορθώσας ὧν ἤλπισε. καταπλέων γὰρ ὁ στρατὸς ναυσὶ πολλαῖς οὐκ ἐς ἃς ἐβούλετο Ῥωμαίων ὄχθας κατηνέχθη, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγόντος τοῦ ρεύματος προσώκειλε ταῖς Παρθυαίων ὄχθαις, αἱ μὴ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἐς Κτησιφῶντα ἐφόδου, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Παρθυαίου καὶ αὐτὸς διέτριβεν εἰρήνην ἄγων, μηδέν τι προσήκειν νομίζων ἑαυτῷ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀτρινοὺς Σεβήρου μάχας· ἡσύχαζεν

[9] The army, sailing in a large number of ships, was not borne to its intended destination on Roman-held shores, but after the current had carried the fleet a great distance, the legions disembarked on Parthian beaches at a spot within a few days' march of the road leading to Ctesiphon, where the royal palace of the Parthians was located. There the king was spending his time peacefully, thinking that the battles between Severus and the Atrenians were no concern of his.

[10] οὖν, μηδέν τι δεινὸν προσδεχόμενος. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς ἄκων προσαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ταῖς ἐπέκεινα ὄχθαις, ἀπόβασιν τε

ποιησάμενος, τὴν γῆν ἐλεηλάτει, θρέμματά τε τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα ἀπελαύνων, ἵν' ἔχοι τροφάς, καὶ κόμας ἐμπιπράς τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας. κατ' ὀλίγον τε προῖὼν ἐπέστη Κτησιφῶντι, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ μέγας

[10] But the troops of the emperor, brought by the current to these shores against their will, landed and plundered the region, driving off for food all the cattle they found and burning all the villages as they passed. After proceeding a short distance, they stood at the gates of Ctesiphon, the capital city of the great king Artabanus.

[11] βασιλεὺς Ἀρτάβανος. προσπεσόντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπαρασκεύους τοῖς βαρβάροις, πάντα τε τὸν ἐμπίπτοντα ἐφόνευσαν καὶ διήρπασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντας τε παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς αὐτοῦ τῶν χρημάτων αἶρουσι, καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ κειμήλια ἀρπάσαντες ἐπανάσιν.

[11] The Romans fell upon the unsuspecting barbarians, killing all who opposed them. Taking captive the women and children, they looted the entire city. After the king fled with a few horsemen, the Romans plundered the treasuries, seized the ornaments and jewels, and marched off.

[12] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Σεβῆρος, τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ, τῇ κατὰ Παρθυαίων νίκη κεκόσμητο· τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ δεξιῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν εὐχὴν προχωρησάντων ἐπέστειλε τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, τάς τε πράξεις μεγαληγορῶν, τὰς μάχας τε καὶ τὰς νίκας δημοσίαις ἀνέθηκε γραφαῖς. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος πάσας τε <τὰς ἄλλας> τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο αὐτῷ, καὶ προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κειρωμένων.

[12] Thus, more by luck than good judgment, Severus won the glory of a Parthian victory. And since these affairs turned out more successfully than he had any reason to hope, he sent dispatches to the senate and the people, extolling his exploits, and he had paintings of his battles and victories put on public display. The senate voted him the titles formed from the names of the conquered nations, as well as all the rest of the usual honors.

SECTION 10

[1] κατορθώσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ὁ Σεβήρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπείγετο, ἄγων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐφήβων ἤδη τελούοντας. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι διοικήσας ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἀπήτει τὸ χρειῶδες, τὰ τε ἐν Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίοισι στρατόπεδα ἐπελθὼν, νικηφόρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου μετὰ μεγάλης εὐφημίας

[1] WHEN he had settled affairs in the East, Severus returned to Rome, bringing with him his sons, who were then about eighteen years of age. On the journey he handled provincial problems as each situation demanded, and paid a visit to the troops in Moesia and Pannonia. His trip completed, he was welcomed as “Conqueror” by the Roman people with extravagant praise and adoration.

[2] τε καὶ θρησκείας ὑπεδέχθη, θυσίας τε καὶ ἐορτὰς θεάς τε καὶ πανηγύρεις τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχε· νομάς τε μεγαλοφρόνως ἐπιδοὺς καὶ θεάς τελέσας ἐπινίκιους, ἐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διέτριψε, δικάζων τε συνεχῶς καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικῶν, τούς τε νιεῖς παιδεύων καὶ

[2] He then staged wild-animal shows for the people and celebrated, with merrymaking, holidays, festivals, and spectacles. After distributing lavish gifts and observing the customary festivities associated with a triumph, Severus remained in Rome for a number of years, presiding regularly in the courts, attending to civil matters, seeing to his sons’ education, and keeping the youths under control.

[3] σωφρονίζων. οἱ δέ (ἤδη μειράκια ἦσθιν) ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς καὶ διαίτης τῆς τε περὶ τὰ θεάματα υπερβαλλούσης σπουδῆς ἡνιοχείας τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως τὰ ἥθη διεφθείροντο. πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον οἱ ἀδελφοί, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ παιδαριώδους φιλονεικίας δι’ ὀρτύγων μάχας καὶ ἀλεκτρονίων συμβολὰς πάλας τε παίδων

[3] But the lads (for they were already young men) were corrupted by the luxury and vice in Rome and by their boundless enthusiasm for shows, dancing, and chariot-driving. The two brothers were contentious from the beginning; as children they had been rivals over quail fights and cockfights, and had had the usual childish quarrels.

[4] ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζοντες· ἢ τε περὶ τὰ θεάματα αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ἀκροάματα σπουδῇ φιλονείκως ἐκάστοτε ἐμερίζετο· καὶ οὐδενὶ ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἠρέσκοντο, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ τῷ ἐτέρῳ φίλον τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐχθρὸν ἦν. συνέκρουον δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ τε κόλακες καὶ οἱ θεράποντες, πρὸς τὸ ἡδὺ τῆς ἡλικίας κολακεύοντες καὶ ἀνθέλκοντες. ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος ταῦτα πυνθανόμενος συνάγειν τε καὶ σωφρονίζειν ἐπειρᾶτο.

[4] Now their passion for shows and concerts made them constant competitors. Their followers and companions kept them at odds by fawning upon them and urging them to compete in enjoying youthful pleasures. When he was informed of this, Severus tried to reconcile his sons and keep them in hand.

[5] τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον, ᾧ γνήσιον μὲν ἦν ὄνομα Βασιανὸς πρὶν ἐς τὸν βασιλείου οἶκον παρελθεῖν, ὅτε δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμὴν εὐτύχησε, Σεβῆρος Ἀντωνῖνον ὠνόμασε, Μάρκου θελήσας αὐτὸν προσηγορίαν φέρειν· ἡγάγετό τε αὐτῷ γυναῖκα, γάμῳ σωφρονίσαι θέλων. ἦν δὲ ἐκείνη θυγάτηρ τοῦ ἐπάρχοντος τῶν στρατοπέδων·

[5] Before his admission to the imperial ruling company, the elder son had the name Bassianus, but when he had the good fortune to receive the honor of a share in the imperial power, Severus called the youth Antoninus,⁶ wishing him to bear the name of Marcus. He also gave him a wife in the hope that marriage would mature him somewhat; the girl was the daughter of Plautianus, the praetorian prefect.

[6] Πλαυτιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· τοῦτον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας εὐτελεῖ (τινὲς αὐτὸν καὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι ἔλεγον ἀλόντα ἐπὶ στάσεσι καὶ πολλοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν), ὄντα δὲ πολίτην ἑαυτοῦ (Λίβυς γὰρ κἀκεῖνος ἦν), ὥς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον, πρὸς γένους αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα, ὥς δ' ἕτεροι μᾶλλον διέβαλλον, ἀκμαζούσῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενον παιδικά, πλὴν ἄλλ' ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς τύχης ἐς μεγάλην προήγαγεν ἐξουσίαν, πλούτῳ τε ὑπερβάλλοντι ἐκόσμησε, τῶν ἀναιρουμένων χαριζόμενος τὰς οὐσίας, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἄλλ' ἢ μερισάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν

[6] As a youth this Plautianus had been a poor man (some say he was banished after being convicted of treason and many other crimes), but he was a fellow countryman of the emperor (Severus was also from Libya) and, as some say, he was related to the emperor; there are those too who charge him with being

something worse, saying that when he was in the prime of youth he was the emperor's beloved. Consequently, Severus raised the man from a position of small and negligible honor to a post of great authority; by giving him the property of condemned men, he made Plautianus enormously wealthy. The emperor in fact shared the rule with no one except this man.

[7] τὴν ἀρχήν. ἥπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀποχρώμενος οὔτε ὀμότητος οὔτε βίας ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔπραττεν ἀπείχετο, φοβερώτερος τῶν πώποτε ἀρχόντων γενόμενος. τούτου τὴν θυγατέρα ζεύξας ὁ Σεβήρος τῷ υἱῷ τὸν οἶκον ἥνωσεν.

[7] Taking advantage of his authority, Plautianus left no act of violence undone and thus became more feared than any of the prefects before him. Severus united the two families by the marriage of his son to the daughter of Plautianus.

[8] ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος οὐ πάνυ τι ἡδόμενος τῷ γάμῳ, ἀνάγκη δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ προαιρέσει συνεζευγμένος, ἀπεχθὼς πάνυ πρὸς τὴν κόρην διέκειτο καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς, ὥς μήτε εὐνῆς μήτε ἐστίας κοινωνεῖν, μυσάττεσθαί τε τὴν κόρην, ἀπειλεῖν τε ἐκάστοτε ἀποκτενεῖν καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν πατέρα, ἐπὰν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατὴς γένηται μόνος. ταῦτα δὴ ἡ κόρη ἐκάστοτε ἀπήγγελλε τῷ πατρί, καὶ τοῦ γάμου τὸ μῖσος διηγουμένη παρώξυνεν αὐτόν.

[8] But Antoninus took no pleasure at all in this union, since he had married by compulsion, not by choice. He was exceedingly hostile to the girl, and to her father too, and refused to sleep or even eat with his wife; the truth is that he loathed her and daily promised to kill her and her father as soon as he became sole ruler of the empire. She reported these threats to her father and aroused his fury by stories of her husband's rancor.

SECTION 11

[1] ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς ὄρων τὸν μὲν Σεβῆρον πρὸς νόσον συνεχῶς ἐνοχλούμενον, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον ἐμβριθῆ καὶ θρασὺν νεανίαν, δεδιὼς τε αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀπειλάς, δρᾶσαι τι μᾶλλον φθάσας ἢ παθεῖν ἀναμείνας

[1] OBSERVING that Severus was now old and constantly racked by disease, while Antoninus was a rash and reckless youth, Plautianus, in fear of these threats, elected to act first rather than to delay and suffer at his son-in-law's hands.

[2] ἠθέλησεν. ἔτι τε αὐτὸν καὶ πολλὰ ἦν τὰ πρὸς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναπεύθοντα, πλούτου τε περιβολὴ ἢ μὴ πρότερόν τι ἐιδωμένον ἐγένετο, στρατιωτῶν τε θεραπείαι, τιμαὶ τε αἱ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων, σχῆμά τε ὃ προῆι ἡμφίεστο γὰρ τὴν τε πλατύσημον ἐσθῆτα, ἐν τε τοῖς δευτέρων ὑπατεύουσιν ἐτέτακτο, παρηώρητό τε τὸ ξίφος, καὶ παντὸς ἀξιώματος σχῆμα ἔφερε μόνος.

[2] Moreover, a number of things encouraged him to aspire to control of the empire: more money than anyone had ever seen before, his own personal army, honors from the emperor, and his public attire. He wore the toga with the purple border and held rank equal to that of men who had twice served as consul; also he wore a sword. The prefect was the only official whose appearance suggested his importance.

[3] προϊὼν δὲ φοβερὸς ἦν, ὥς μήτε τινὰ προσιέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπαντωμένους ἀναστρέφειν· οἳ τε προϊόντες αὐτοῦ ἐκήρυττον μηδένα παρεστάναι μηδ' ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἀλλ' ἀποστρέφεσθαι καὶ κάτω βλέπειν.

οἷσπερ καὶ ὁ Σεβῆρος ἀγγελλομένοις οὐ πάντι ἡρέσκετο, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθὴς ἦδη καὶ βαρὺς κἀκείνῳ ἐγένετο, ὥς καὶ περιελεῖν τινὰ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸν Σεβῆρον], καὶ πειρᾶσθαι κολοῦν τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἀλαζονείας.

[3] He was an object of dread when he appeared in public; not only did no one approach him, but even those who came upon him by chance turned aside to avoid him. The guards who preceded him did not allow anyone to stand near or to stare at him; all were ordered to step aside and keep their eyes fixed on the ground.

Severus was far from pleased when these matters were brought to his attention; he now became stern and harsh with Plautianus and tried to curb his excessive ostentation by depriving him of some of his authority.

[4] ἃ δὴ μὴ φέρων ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιβουλευσαι τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. Σατορνίνος ἦν εἷς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ χιλιαρχούντων. οὗτος ὑπερβαλλόντως τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ἐθεράπευε· καὶ πάντων μὲν τοῦτο ποιούντων, ἐκεῖνος δὲ πλείονι θρησκείᾳ ᾤκείωτο αὐτόν. τοῦτον πιστότατον ἡγούμενος καὶ μόνον οἷόν τε φυλάξαι καὶ πληρῶσαι ἀπορρήτους ἐντολάς, περὶ δειλὴν μεταπεψνύμενος

[4] Plautianus refused to tolerate this reduction of power; bold enough to plot for the empire, he devised the following plan. In the Praetorian Guard was a tribune named Saturninus. This officer was devoted to the prefect; in fact, all his officers were devoted to Plautianus, but he had won the favor of the tribune by treating him with greater affection. Believing that Saturninus was the most trustworthy of the praetorian officers and the only one capable of using discretion and of carrying out secret orders, Plautianus summoned the man to him one evening after the rest had gone to bed.

[5] πάντων ἀνακεχωρηκότων νῦν σοι καιρὸς ἔφη τέλος γενναῖον ἐπιθεῖναι εὐνοίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπηρεσίᾳ ἦν πρὸς με ἐπεδείξω, ἐμοί τε ἀμείψασθαί σε κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν χάριν ἀποδοῦναι. πρόκειται δέ σοι αἵρεσις ἡ τοῦ εἶναι ὅπερ ἐμὲ νῦν ὀρᾷς ὄντα, καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἐξουσίαν παραλαβεῖν διαδεξάμενόν με, ἢ τεθνάναι

[5] “Now you have an opportunity,” he said, “to bring to a proper climax the good will and devotion you have always shown me, and I equally have an opportunity to repay you as you deserve and do you a comparable favor in return. The choice is yours either to become what you now see me to be and to secure this office of authority by succeeding me, or to die here and now, paying the penalty for disobedience.

[6] αὐτίκα ἀπειθείας ὑποσχόντα τιμωρίαν. μηδὲ σε τοῦ ἔργου τὸ μέγεθος ἐκπληττέτω, μηδὲ τὸ τῶν βασιλέων ὄνομα ταραττέτω. εἰσιέναι [τε] γὰρ μέχρι τοῦ δωματίου ἔνθα. ἀναπαύονται δύνασαι μόνος, ἅτε τὴν νυκτερινὴν φρουρὰν ἐκ περιόδου ἐγκεχειρισμένους. ὃ τι δ' ἂν μέλλης πράττειν, λανθάνων ἀκωλύτως ἐς τέλος ἄξεις, ἐπεὶ μήτ' ἐμὲ ἔτι τοιαῦτα κελεῦσαι προσδόκα μήτε

σὲ ὑπακοῦσαι.

[6] Do not by any means be overawed by the enormity of the deed I propose, and do not be disturbed by the title of emperor. You are the only one who can go into the room where the emperor and his son are sleeping, since you are in charge of the regular rounds of the night unit of the guard. Whatever you intend to do, you will do secretly and without interference; do not wait for me to issue the orders before you obey them.

[7] ἄνελθε δὴ ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλήν, καὶ ὥς τινὰς ἀγγελίας ἐπειγούσας καὶ ἀπορρήτους παρ' ἐμοῦ φέρων ἐπισεληθὼν αὐτοῖς ἀπόκτεινον. ἀνὴρ δὲ γενναῖος γενοῦ, ῥαδίως κατεργασάμενος πρεσβύτην τε καὶ παιδάριον. μετασχὼν γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῶν κινδύνων, μεθέξεις καὶ τῶν μεγίστων τῆς κατορθώσεως τιμῶν.

[7] Go immediately to the imperial palace and, pretending to be carrying secret orders from me, go in and kill them. Show your courage by dispatching with ease an old man and a mere boy. And for sharing the risk and the danger, you will also share the highest honors when the deed is successfully done.”

[8] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ χιλιάρχης ἐξεπλάγη μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἐταράχθη δὲ τὴν γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἅτε ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν καθεστώς (καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῷ γένει Σύρος, δριμύτεροι δ' ὥς πρὸς τὰς ἐννοίας οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἄνθρωποι) τὸν θυμὸν ὀρῶν ἐνθουσιῶντα τοῦ κελεύοντος καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰδὼς οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν, ὥς μὴ παρ' αὐτὰ κολασθεῖη, προσποιησάμενος δὲ εὐκταῖα καὶ ἀσπαστὰ ἀκούειν, προσκυνήσας τε ὥς ἤδη βασιλέα, γραμματεῖον

[8] The tribune was astounded and perplexed by this proposal, but he was a man accustomed to keeping his wits about him (he was a Syrian, and the men from the East are rather more cunning in their thinking); observing the fury which gripped his commanding officer and well aware of his power, he did not oppose him, not wishing to be killed over these matters. Pretending therefore to be hearing things long prayed for and warmly welcomed, the tribune prostrated himself before Plautianus as if he were already emperor and begged him for a written memorandum ordering the murder.

[9] ἤτησε τοῦ φόνου φέρον τὰς ἐντολάς. ἔθος γὰρ τοῦτο τυραννικόν, εἴ τινα ἐκπέμποιεν ἐπὶ φόνον ἄκριτον, ἐντέλλεσθαι τοῦτο διὰ γραμμάτων, ἵνα μὴ

γινόμενον ἢ ἀκατασήμενον. ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς τυφλώτων τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ γραμματεῖον, καὶ ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους διακρήσεται, πρὶν διαβόητον γενέσθαι τὸ πραχθὲν πέμψαι τοὺς καλέσοντας αὐτόν, ἵνα ὁφθῇ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἢ ἀκουσθῇ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβών.

[9] If a man were condemned to death without a trial, the tyrants customarily put the order in writing so that the sentence might not be carried out solely on verbal authority. Blinded by his ambition, Plautianus gave the tribune a directive in writing and sent him off to commit the murders. He further ordered Saturninus, after killing the emperor and his son, to summon him, before the deed became known, that he might be in the palace before anyone realized that he was seizing the empire.

SECTION 12

[1] ἐπὶ ταύταις δὴ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀνελθὼν ὁ χιλιάρχος εἰσῆλθε μὲν διὰ πάσης τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἀκωλύτως· εἰδὼς δὲ ἀδύνατον ὂν δύο διαχειρίσασθαι βασιλέας, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν διαφόροις οἴκοις διατρίβοντας, ἐπιστὰς τῷ δωματίῳ τοῦ Σεβήρου, καλέσας τοὺς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θαλάμου φύλακας, ἠξίωσεν εἰσαχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῷ τινὰ ἀγγελῶν. οἱ δὲ δηλώσαντες τῷ Σεβήρῳ, καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ,

[1] AGREEING to those proposals, the tribune made his customary rounds through the entire imperial palace without interference. But knowing that it would be impossible for him to kill two emperors, especially since they were housed in different parts of the palace, Saturninus stood outside the bedroom of Severus and, summoning the imperial household guards, demanded to be taken to the emperor so that he might give him information involving his safety. The guards reported the matter to Severus and were ordered to bring the tribune before him.

[2] τὸν χιλιάρχον εἰσήγαγον. ὁ δὲ εἰσελθὼν ἦκω σοι ἔφη, ὃ δέσποτα, ὥς μὲν ὁ πέμψας οἶεται, φονεὺς καὶ δήμιος, ὥς δ' αὐτὸς εὐχομαί τε καὶ βούλομαι, σωτήρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης. Πλαυτιανὸς γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύων τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐνετείλατό μοι φόνον σόν τε καὶ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμασι· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ γραμματεῖον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπεσχόμην μὲν, ὅπως μὴ ἐμοῦ τὸ ἔργον παραιτησαμένου ἄλλω ἐγχειρισθῇ· σοὶ δὲ ταῦτα δηλώσω

[2] The tribune approached the emperor and said: "I have come to you, Master, as the man who sent me well knows, to be your assassin and murderer, but I hope and pray that I will be instead your benefactor and savior. Plautianus, scheming to seize the empire, ordered me to murder you and your son, and he issued this order not in words alone but in writing. This memorandum is my witness. I undertook the assignment because I was afraid that if I refused it he would entrust the task to someone else, and I have come here to disclose these matters to you so that his intrigues may not remain undetected."

[3] ἦκω, ὥς ἂν μὴ λάθῃ τὰ τολμώμενα. τοιαῦτά τινα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δακρύοντος οὐκ εὐθέως ὁ Σεβήρος ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολὺ ἔχων ἐν τοῖς στέρνοις τὸ Πλαυτιανοῦ φίλτρον, συσκευὴν τινα καὶ σκηνὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπόπτειν, ἡγεῖτό τε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἔχθαι τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ καὶ μίσει τῆς

ἐκείνου θυγατρὸς εὐρηκέναι τινὰ τέχνην κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διαβολὴν θανατηφόρον.

[3] But even though Saturninus made these charges with much weeping, Severus was not immediately convinced. On the contrary, since he had great affection for the prefect, he suspected that the affair was a trick of some sort to deceive him; he believed that his son, in his hatred of the prefect and his daughter, had contrived a slanderous and fatal plot against the man.

[4] μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἡτιᾶτο ὡς τοιαῦτα συσκευάζοντα κατὰ ἀνδρὸς εὖνου καὶ οἰκείου. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπώμνυτο, μηδ' εἰδέναι φάσκων τὰ λεγόμενα· ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ χιλιάρχου καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον δεικνύντος παρεθάρσυνέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ προύτρεπεν ἐς τοὺς ἐλέγχους ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος. ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχος ὁρῶν ἐς ὅσον κίνδυνον ἤκει, δεδιώς τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου εὖνοιαν, ἐπιστάμενός τε ὡς, εἰ λάθοι ἢ ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ μὴ ἐλεγχθεῖν, ὄλεθρος αὐτῷ οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν

[4] The emperor therefore sent for his son and reprimanded him for having devised such a scheme against a man kindly disposed toward the emperor and his intimate friend as well. At first Antoninus swore on his honor that he knew nothing about what the tribune was saying; but when the man insisted and produced the memorandum, the young emperor encouraged him, urging him to prove the truth of his charges. Realizing his danger and fearing the emperor's affection for Plautianus, the tribune now knew that if the plot remained confused and unproved, he could expect a death that would not be accidental.

[5] ἐπήρτηται, καὶ τίνα ἔφη, ᾧ δέσποτα, ἔλεγχον μείζονα βούλεσθε, ἢ ποίαν ἀπόδειξιν φανερωτέραν; ἐπιτρέψατε γὰρ δὴ μοι ἔφη προελθόντι τῶν βασιλείων διὰ τινος τῶν ἐμοὶ πιστῶν δηλῶσαι ὅτι δὴ τὸ ἔργον κατείργασται. ὁ δὲ ἀφίξεται πιστεύσας, καὶ οἰόμενος ἔρημα τὰ βασίλεια καταλήψεσθαι. ὅταν δὲ ἀφίκηται, ὑμέτερον ἤδη ἔργον εὔρεϊν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ἡσυχίαν δὲ εἶναι πολλὴν ἀνὰ τὰ βασίλεια κελεύσατε, ὅπως μὴ τὸ πραττόμενον προγνωσθὲν ἀνατραπῇ.

[5] “Master,” he said, “do you wish stronger proof or clearer evidence of some sort? Then allow me to go to the front of the palace and reveal to one of the men loyal to me that the murder is done. Trusting me, Plautianus will come

here in the belief that he is occupying the deserted palace. When he arrives, it will be your task to discover the truth. Order complete silence about the palace so that the plan may not be upset by being previously discovered.”

[6] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐντέλλεται τινὶ τῶν πιστοτάτων ἑαυτῷ ἀγγεῖλαι Πλαυτιανῷ ἥκειν τὴν ταχίστην· κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἔνδον εἶναι πρὶν ἔκπυστα τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι, ὥς ἂν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατειλημμένης καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἰδρυμένης ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες πάντες ὑπακούοιεν οὐκ ἐσομένῳ βασιλεῖ ἄλλ’

[6] After making this proposal, the tribune ordered one of his most trusted men to carry a message to the prefect telling him to come to the palace as quickly as possible. The messenger was to say that both emperors were dead, and it was imperative that the prefect be inside the palace before the news was reported to the people. Then, with the Palatine Hill in his hands and the succession already settled, all the Romans, willingly or unwillingly, would offer allegiance not to an emperor to be chosen but to one already established.

[7] ἤδη ὄντι. τούτοις πιστεύσας ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς ἤδη περὶ δεῖλιν ἐσπέραν, ἀρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσι, θώρακα μὲν ἀμφιέννυται τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας χάριν, κρύψας δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ λοιπῇ ἐσθῇτι, ἐπιβάς ὀχήματος αἰφνιδίως ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ἠπείγετο, ὀλίγων αὐτὸν παραπεμπόντων, οἱ παρῆσαν οἰόμενοι κεκλήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τινα

[7] Believing this message, and with high hopes, Plautianus, though it was late at night, put on a breastplate beneath his robe for protection, mounted a chariot, and drove to the palace at top speed, accompanied by a few friends who were with him when the messenger came and who thought that he had received an emergency summons from the emperors.

[8] ἐπεῖξαντα. ὥς δ’ ἐπέστη τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ, ἀκωλύτως τε εἰσῆλθεν ἀγνοούντων τὸ πραττόμενον τῶν φυλάκων, ὑπαντῶμενος ὁ χιλιάρχος ἐνεδρεύων τε προσεῖπεν αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ δῆθεν συνήθως λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον εἰσήγαγεν, ἔνθα ἔφασκεν ἐρριφθαι τὰ τῶν

[8] Plautianus entered the palace unchallenged, since the guards were unaware of what was taking place. The tribune came forward to meet the prefect and set a trap for him: saluting Plautianus as emperor and taking him by the hand

in the customary fashion under the circumstances, Saturninus led him into the bedroom where he said the bodies of the emperors had been thrown.

[9] βασιλέων σώματα. ἤδη δὲ παρεσκευάκει ὁ Σεβήρος νεανίας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν σωματοφυλάκων, οἱ συλλήψονται αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντα. ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς ἐφ' ἐτέραις εἰσελθὼν ἐλπίσιν ὀρᾷ τοὺς βασιλέας ἀμφοτέρους ἐστῶτας, συλληφθεὶς τε κατείχeto· καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ πράγματι ἐδεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει. ἀπελογεῖτο τε, φάσκων πάντα ψευδῇ εἶναι καὶ συσκευὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δρᾶμα ἐσκευάσθαι.

[9] Severus had already alerted some of the younger bodyguards to seize the prefect as he entered the room. Then Plautianus, who had expected a far different reception, was caught and held fast. When he saw both emperors standing before him, he was terror-stricken, and pleaded with them, trying to defend himself and swearing that it was all a mistake, a plot, a conspiracy against him.

[10] πολλὰς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Σεβήρου ὀνειδίζοντος εὐεργεσίας τε καὶ τιμὰς, τοῦ δὲ πίστεώς τε καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ἄνωθεν ὑπομιμνήσκοντος, ἡρέμα πως ὁ Σεβήρος ὑπήγετο πειθοῖ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ λεγομένων, ἔστε δὴ ὑπεφάνη τοῦ θώρακος μέρος καταραχθείσης τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐσθῆτος. ὅπερ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, «ἄτε» νέος θρασὺς θυμοειδής

[10] When Severus reproached him with the many favors he had done him and the many honors he had awarded him, and Plautianus in his turn reminded the emperor of his previous loyalty and good will, Severus was beginning to believe the prefect until his robe fell open and revealed the breastplate beneath it. When he saw the armor, Antoninus, who was bold and quick to act and naturally hated the man, spoke up:

“How would you explain these two facts?

[11] τε καὶ φύσει μισῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δύο ἔφη ταῦτα τί ἂν ἀποκρίναιο; ἤκεις πρὸς βασιλέας ἐσπέρας μὴ κελεύσαντας; ὃ τε θώραξ σοι τί βούλεται; τίς γὰρ ἐς ἐστίασιν ἢ κῶμον ὀπλισμένος ἔρχεται; καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει τῷ χιλιάρχη τοῖς τε παροῦσι σπασαμένοις τὰ ξίφη φονεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς ὁμολογουμένως πολέμιον.

[11] First, that you came unordered to your emperors at night, and second, that

you came here wearing that breastplate ? Who goes to a feast or a revel in full armor?” After saying this, Antoninus ordered the tribune and the other praetorians present to draw their swords and kill this proven enemy.

[12] οἱ δὲ μὴ μελλήσαντες κελεύσαντι τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ πείθονται, ἀναιροῦσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ρίπτουσιν ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον, ὥς ἂν πᾶσι φανερὸν γένοιτο καὶ ὑπὸ <τῶν> μισούντων ὕβρισθείη.

τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ τέλει Πλαυτιανὸς ἐχρήσατο, ἀπλήστῳ τε παραφρονήσας πάντων ἐπιθυμία, καὶ χρησάμενος ἐν

[12] Obeying without delay the young emperor’s orders, they killed Plautianus and threw his body into the street, so that the affair might be clear to all and he would be vilified by those who despised him.

Such was the fate of Plautianus, who, maddened by his greed to have everything, was betrayed in the end by a faithless subordinate.

SECTION 13

[1] τῷ τέλει ἀπίστῳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ· ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος τοῦ μὲν λοιποῦ ἐπάρχοντας δύο τῶν στρατοπέδων κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ βίου διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς προαστείοις καὶ τοῖς παραλίοις τῆς Καμπανίας χωρίοις, δικάζων τε καὶ πολιτικά διοικῶν. ἀπάγειν γὰρ ἤθελε τοὺς παῖδας τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης, χρηστῆς <δὲ> ἀπολαύειν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς ἑώρα περὶ τὰ θεάματα ἐσπουδακότας

[1] AFTER this time, Severus appointed two praetorian prefects. The emperor passed most of the remainder of his life on the imperial estates near the city and along the coast of Campania, presiding in the courts and attending to imperial affairs. He wished to keep his sons away from the luxury at Rome and wanted them to have the benefits of a wholesome life, especially when he observed that they were taking far more interest in shows than was proper for those of imperial rank.

[2] ἀπρεπέστερον ἢ βασιλεῦσιν ἥρμοζεν. ἦ τε περὶ ἐκεῖνα σπουδὴ καὶ φιλονεικία, διάφορον ἔχουσα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αἰετὴν γνώμην, τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐτάραττε τὰς ψυχάς, ἐναύσματά τε ἔριδος καὶ ἔχθρας παρείχε. μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀφόρητος ἦν ἀποσκευασάμενος τὸν Πλαυτιανόν. ἤδειτο δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο τῇ τε θυγατρὶ μὲν ἐκείνου γυναικὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ παντὶ τρόπῳ θάνατον ἐμνηχανᾶτο.

[2] Because of their enthusiasm for these pastimes and the rivalry which kept them at odds and openly hostile, the brothers were in a constant state of turmoil, strife, and enmity. Antoninus became especially intolerable after he had removed Plautianus. Respect for his father and fear of him kept the youth from taking drastic action, but he plotted death in every form for his wife, Plautianus' daughter.

[3] ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος αὐτὴν τε ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἐς Σικελίαν ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτάρκη δούς περιουσίαν ἐς τὸ διαβιοῦν δαψιλῶς, μιμησάμενος τὸν Σεβαστόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοῖς Ἀντωνίνου παισὶ, πολεμίου γενομένου, οὕτως ἐχρήσατο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συνάγειν αἰετὸς τοὺς παῖδας ἐς φιλίαν καὶ προτρέπειν ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συμφωνίαν, μύθων τε ἀρχαίων καὶ δραμάτων ὑπεμύμνησκεν, αἰετὸς βασιλέων ἀδελφῶν συμφορὰς ἐκ στάσεως διηγούμενος.

[3] Severus, however, sent the girl and her brother to Sicily, providing them

with sufficient funds to live in comfort there. In doing this he was following the example of Augustus, who treated Antony's children in this way even though Antony was his enemy. Severus tried constantly to reconcile his sons and persuade them to live in peace and harmony. He kept reminding them of tales and plays of old, telling them time and again of the misfortunes suffered by royal brothers as a result of dissension.

[4] θησαυρούς τε καὶ νεώς, πάντας ἐδείκνυ χρημάτων πλήρεις, πλοῦτόν τε καὶ δύναμιν <τοιαύτας οἷσι μὴ> ἔσεσθαι ἑξωθεν ἐπιβουλεύσαι, τοσαύτης μὲν οὔσης οἶκοι περιουσίας ὡς ἀφειδῶς καὶ δαψιλῶς τοῖς στρατιώταις χορηγεῖν, τῆς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνάμεως αὐτῆς τετραπλασιασθείσης, καὶ στρατοπέδου τοσούτου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυθέντος ὡς μηδεμίαν μεῖναι δύναμιν ἑξωθεν ἐχέγγυον μὴδ' ἀντίπαλον <μήτε> πλήθει στρατοῦ μήτε μεγέθει σωμάτων

[4] He showed them the treasuries and temples, overflowing with riches; he made it clear that they would never have to scheme abroad for money and power; resources at home were so plentiful that they could pay the soldiers with lavish generosity. The garrison at Rome had been quadrupled, and the army encamped before the city was so powerful that there remained no foreign army strong enough to rival it in number of troops, in physical prowess, or in the amount of money available for pay.

[5] μήτε χρημάτων περιουσία. πλὴν οὐδὲν ὄφελος τούτων πάντων ἔλεγε στασιαζόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῦ τε πολέμου ἔνδον ὄντος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαυτά τινα λέγων ἐκάστοτε, ποτὲ μὲν λιπαρῶν ποτὲ δὲ ἐπιπλήττων, σωφρονίζειν αὐτοὺς ἅμα καὶ συνάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο· οἱ δ' οὔτι γε ἐπείθοντο, ἀφηνιάζον δὲ καὶ ἐπεδίδοσαν ἐς τὸ χεῖρον.

[5] He told them, however, that all these were of no advantage to them as long as they remained hostile to each other and friction continued between them. By saying such things at every opportunity, now pleading, now rebuking, Severus tried to keep his sons under control and bring them into agreement. But the youths paid absolutely no attention to him; they rebelled and spent their time in pursuits even more reprehensible.

[6] ἅτε δὲ νεανίας σφριγῶντας καὶ ὑπὸ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐς πάσας ἡδονῶν ὀρέξεις ἀπλήστως ὀρμωμένους ἕκαστοι τῶν κολακευόντων ἀνθεῖλκον πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐ μόνον ὑπηρετοῦμενοι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰ

αἵσχιστα σπουδαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ τι καινὸν ἐξευρίσκοντες, δι' οὗ εὐφρανοῦσι μὲν ὃν ἐκολάκευον, λυπήσουσι δὲ τὸν ἀδελφόν. ἤδη γοῦν τινὰς καὶ λαβὼν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ὑπηρεσίαις ὁ Σεβήρος ἐκόλασεν.

[6] Since they were vigorous youths and their imperial authority gave them an insatiable appetite for pleasures, each had his own group of loyal followers; these not only gratified the youths' desires and their enthusiasm for disgraceful practices, but they also constantly found new vices to bring pleasure to their favorite and chagrin to his brother. But Severus punished these parasites whenever he caught them performing such services.

SECTION 14

[1] ἀσχάλλοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ βίῳ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεάματα ἀπρεπεῖ σπουδῇ ἐπιστέλλει ὁ τῆς Βρεττανίας ἡγούμενος, στασιάζειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ βαρβάρους φάσκων, καὶ κατατρέχοντας τὴν χώραν λείαν τε ἀπάγειν καὶ πορθεῖν τὰ πλεῖστα· δεῖσθαι τοίνυν χειρὸς πλείονος πρὸς βοήθειαν τοῦ τόπου ἢ βασιλικῆς ἐπιδημίας.

[1] IN THE midst of the emperor's distress at the kind of life his sons were leading and their disgraceful obsession with shows, the governor of Britain informed Severus by dispatches that the barbarians there were in revolt and overrunning the country, looting and destroying virtually everything on the island. He told Severus that he needed either a stronger army for the defense of the province or the presence of the emperor himself.

[2] ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος ἀσμένως ταῦτα ἀκούσας, φύσει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως φιλόδοξος ὑπάρχων, καὶ μετὰ τὰς ὑπὸ ἀνατολαῖς καὶ ἄρκτῳ νίκας καὶ προσηγορίας βουλόμενος καὶ κατὰ Βρεττανῶν ἐγεῖραι τρόπαια, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Ῥώμης θέλων, ὥς ἂν ἀνανήψειεν ἐν στρατιωτικῷ βίῳ καὶ σῶφρονι ἀπαχθέντες τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς καὶ διαίτης, ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἐξοδον, πρεσβύτης τε ἤδη ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρθρίτιδος νόσου κάμνων· ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔρρωτο ὑπὲρ πάντα

[2] Severus was delighted with this news: glory-loving by nature, he wished to win victories over the Britons to add to the victories and titles of honor he had won in the East and the West. But he wished even more to take his sons away from Rome so that they might settle down in the soldier's life under military discipline, far from the luxuries and pleasures in Rome. And so, although he was now well advanced in years and crippled with arthritis, Severus announced his expedition to Britain, and in his heart he was more enthusiastic than any youth.

[3] νεανίαν. τὰ πλεῖστα γοῦν καὶ φοράδην φερόμενος τῆς ὁδοπορίας εἶχετο, οὐδὲ πάποτε ἐπὶ πολὺ μένων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἐλπίδος θάττον, τὸν ὠκεανὸν διαπλεύσας Βρεττανοῖς ἐπέστη, τοὺς τε πανταχόθεν στρατιώτας ἀθροίσας καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν ἀγείρας τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

[3] During the greater part of the journey he was carried in a litter, but he never remained very long in one place and never stopped to rest. He arrived with his sons at the coast sooner than anyone anticipated, outstripping the news of his approach. He crossed the channel and landed in Britain; levying soldiers from all these areas, he raised a powerful army and made preparations for the campaign.

[4] οἱ δὲ Βρεττανοὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπλαγέντες αἰφνιδίῳ ἐπιδημίᾳ, δυνάμιν τε ἀκούσαντες παμπλείστην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀθροισθεῖσαν, πρεσβείας ἔπεμπον περὶ τε εἰρήνης διελέγοντο, ἀπολογεῖσθαί τε ἐβούλοντο πρὸς τὰ

[4] Disconcerted by the emperor's sudden arrival, and realizing that this huge army had been assembled to make war upon them, the Britons sent envoys to Severus to discuss terms of peace, anxious to make amends for their previous errors.

[5] προημαρτημένα. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος διατριβάς τε χρόνου ζητῶν, ὥς ἂν μὴ πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέιγοιτο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος προσκτήσασθαι τὴν κατὰ Βρεττανῶν νίκην τε καὶ προσηγορίαν, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἀπράκτους <ἀπ>έπεμψεν, εὐτρέπιζε δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην. μάλιστα δὲ γεφύραις ἐπειρᾶτο διαλαμβάνειν τὰ ἐλώδη χωρία, ὥς ἂν ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς βαίνοντες οἱ στρατιῶται ῥαδίως τε αὐτὰ διατρέχοιεν καὶ ἐπ' ὄχυροῦ βήματος

[5] Seeking to prolong the war so as to avoid a quick return to Rome, and still wishing to gain a victory over the Britons and the title of honor too, Severus dismissed the envoys, refusing their offers, and continued his preparations for the war. He especially saw to it that dikes were provided in the marshy regions so that the soldiers might advance safely by running on these earth causeways and fight on a firm, solid footing.

[6] ἐδραΐως ἐστῶτες μάχονται. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῆς Βρεττανῶν χώρας ἐπικλυζόμενα ταῖς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ συνεχῶς ἀμπώτισιν ἐλώδη γίνεται· οἷς ἔθος τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις ἐννήχεσθαί τε καὶ διαθεῖν βρεχομένοις μέχρις ἰζύος· γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὄντες τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἰλύος

[6] Most of the regions of Britain are marshy, since they are flooded continually by the tides of the ocean; the barbarians are accustomed to swimming or wading through these waist-deep marsh pools; since they go

about naked, they are unconcerned about muddying their bodies.

[7] καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐσθῆτος ἴσασι χρῆσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν λαπάρας καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους κοσμοῦσι σιδήρῳ, καλλώπισμα τοῦτο καὶ πλούτου σύμβολον νομίζοντες ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν οἱ λοιποὶ βάρβαροι, τὰ δὲ σώματα στίζονται γραφαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ζῶων παντοδαπῶν εἰκόσιν· ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἵνα μὴ σκέπωσι τοῦ σώματος

[7] Strangers to clothing, the Britons wear ornaments of iron at their waists and throats; considering iron a symbol of wealth, they value this metal as other barbarians value gold. They tattoo their bodies with colored designs and drawings of all kinds of animals; for this reason they do not wear clothes, which would conceal the decorations on their bodies.

[8] τὰς γραφάς. εἰσὶ δὲ μαχιμώτατοί τε καὶ φονικώτατοι, ἀσπίδα μόνην στενὴν προβεβλημένοι καὶ δόρυ, ξίφος δὲ παρηρτημένοι <ἐκ> γυμνοῦ σώματος. θώρακος δὲ ἢ κράνους οὐκ ἴσασι χρῆσιν, ἐμπόδια νομίζοντες πρὸς τὴν δίοδον τῶν ἐλῶν, ἐξ ὧν τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως καὶ παχύτητος ὁ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν ἀήρ ζοφώδης ἀεὶ φαίνεται. πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐξήρτυεν ὅσα συνοίσειν ἔμελλε τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, λυπήσειν δὲ καὶ ἐμποδιεῖν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ὁρμὴν.

[8] Extremely savage and warlike, they are armed only with a spear and a narrow shield, plus a sword that hangs suspended by a belt from their otherwise naked bodies. They do not use breastplates or helmets, considering them encumbrances in crossing the marshes. For all these reasons, Severus prepared whatever he thought would be of advantage to the Roman army and whatever would harass the barbarians and hamper their attacks.

[9] ὥς δὲ αὐτάρκως ὥφθη αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εὐτρεπίσθαι, τὸν μὲν νεώτερον τῶν υἱῶν, τὸν Γέταν καλούμενον, κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἔθνει δικάσοντά τε καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσοντα, δοὺς αὐτῷ συνέδρους τῶν φίλων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἠπειγέτο.

[9] When it seemed to him that all was in readiness for the campaign, Severus left the younger of his two sons, Geta, in the section of the province under Roman control; he instructed him to administer justice and attend to imperial

affairs, leaving with him as advisers his more elderly friends. Then, accompanied by Antoninus, the emperor marched out against the barbarians.

[10] ὑπερβάντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὰ προβεβλημένα ρεύματά τε καὶ χώματα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς συμβολαὶ καὶ ἀκροβολισμοὶ πολλάκις ἐγίνοντο τροπαί τε τῶν βαρβάρων. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ῥαδία ἦν ἡ φυγή, καὶ διελάνθανον ἐν τε δρυμοῖς καὶ ἔλεσι καὶ τῇ τῶν χωρίων γνώσει, ἅπερ πάντα Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα ἐναντία πλείονα παρέσχε τῷ πολέμῳ

[10] After the troops had crossed the rivers and the earthworks which marked the boundary of the Roman empire in this region, frequent battles and skirmishes occurred, and in these the Romans were victorious. But it was easy for the Britons to slip away; putting their knowledge of the surrounding area to good use, they disappeared in the woods and marshes. The Romans' unfamiliarity with the terrain prolonged the war.

SECTION 15

[1] τὴν διατριβὴν· τὸν δὲ Σεβῆρον γηραιὸν ὄντα ἤδη νόσος ἐπιμηκεστέρα καταλαμβάνει, ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν ἠναγκάζεται μένειν οἴκοι, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπειρᾶτο ἐκπέμπειν διοικήσοντα τὰ στρατιωτικά. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μετρίως ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ οἰκειοῦσθαι τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πάντας ἀνέπειθεν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν μόνον, ἐμνᾶτό τε παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν μοναρχίαν,

[1] NOW a more serious illness attacked the aged emperor and forced him to remain in his quarters; he undertook, however, to send his son out to direct the campaign. Antoninus, however, paid little attention to the war, but rather attempted to gain control of the army. Trying to persuade the soldiers to look to him alone for orders, he courted sole rule in every possible way, including slanderous attacks upon his brother.

[2] διαβάλλων τὸν ἀδελφόν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐπὶ πολὺν νοσῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον βραδύνων ἐπαχθῆς αὐτῷ καὶ ὀχληρὸς ἐφαίνετο· ἀνέπειθέ τε ἰατροὺς καὶ ὑπηρέτας κακουργῆσαί τι περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ γέροντος, ὥς ἂν θᾶπτον αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλαγείη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ μόλις ποτὲ Σεβῆρος, λύπη τὸ πλεῖστον διαφθαρεῖς, ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ βίου, ἐνδοξότατα βιώσας, ὅσον πρὸς τὰ πολεμικά, τῶν

[2] Considering his father, who had been ill for a long time and slow to die, a burdensome nuisance, he tried to persuade the physicians to harm the old man in their treatments so that he would be rid of him more quickly. After a short time, however, Severus died, succumbing chiefly to grief, after having achieved greater glory in military affairs than any of the emperors who had preceded him.

[3] πῶποτε βασιλέων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐμφύλια κατ' ἐχθρῶν οὔτε ξένα κατὰ βαρβάρων τοσαῦτά τις πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἤγειρε τρόπαια. βασιλεύσας δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ παισὶ νεανίαις διαδόχοις ἀνεπαύσατο, χρήματά τε αὐτοῖς καταλιπὼν ὅσα μηδεὶς πῶποτε, καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτῶν ἀνανταγώνιστον.

[3] No emperor before Severus won such outstanding victories either in civil wars against political rivals or in foreign wars against barbarians. Thus

Severus died after ruling for eighteen years, and was succeeded by his young sons, to whom he left an invincible army and more money than any emperor had ever left to his successors.

[4] ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος λαβόμενος ἐξουσίας, εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἐστίας πάντας φονεύειν ἤρξατο, τοὺς τε ἰατροὺς ἀνελών, οἳ μὴ ὑπήκουσαν αὐτῷ κελεύσαντι κακουργῆσαι καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐπεῖξαι τοῦ γέροντος, τοὺς τε τροφεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπειδὴ προσέκειντο λιπαροῦντες αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας· οὐδένα δὲ εἶασε περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐν τιμῇ γενομένων ἢ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ γέροντος.

[4] After his father's death, Antoninus seized control and immediately began to murder everyone in the court; he killed the physicians who had refused to obey his orders to hasten the old man's death and also murdered those men who had reared his brother and himself because they persisted in urging him to live at peace with Geta. He did not spare any of the men who had attended his father or were held in esteem by him.

[5] ἰδίᾳ τε δώροις καὶ μεγάλαις ὑποσχέσεσι τοὺς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγουμένους ἐθεράπευεν, ὅπως ἀναπείσειαν τὸν στρατὸν ἀποδεῖξαι μόνον «αὐτὸν» αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐζήτει. οὐ μὲν ἔπειθε τὸ στρατιωτικόν· μεμνημένοι δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου, καὶ ὅτι ἀμφοτέρους ἴσους ἴδοιεν ἐκείνον γεγονότα, ἴσους δὲ ἐκ παιδῶν παραθρέψειαν, ἴσῃ αὐτοῖς ὑπηρεσίᾳ καὶ εὐνοίᾳ

[5] He undertook secretly to bribe the troop commanders by gifts and lavish promises, to induce them to persuade the army to accept him as sole emperor, and he tried every trick he knew against his brother. He failed to win the backing of the soldiers, however, for they remembered Severus and knew that the youths had been one and the same to him, and had been reared as equals from childhood; consequently they gave each brother the same support and loyalty.

[6] παρείχοντο. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, ἐπεὶ μὴ προεχώρει αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, σπείσάμενος πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, δούς τε εἰρήνην τὰ τε πιστὰ λαβών, ἐξῆει τε τῆς βαρβάρου πρὸς τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἤδη καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἠπείγετο. ὥς δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο, συνάγειν αὐτοὺς ἢ μήτηρ ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀξιώσει ὄντες καὶ σύμβουλοι

[6] When the soldiers refused to uphold him, Antoninus signed a treaty with the barbarians, offering them peace and accepting their pledges of good faith. And now he abandoned this alien land and returned to his brother and mother. When the boys were together again, their mother tried to reconcile them, as did also men of repute and the friends of Severus who were their advisers.

[7] πατῶροι φίλοι. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, πάντων αὐτῷ πρὸς ᾧ ἐβούλετο ἐναντιουμένων, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν ἐπίπλαστον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθῆ περιήγετο. οὕτως δὴ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφοτέροι διοικοῦντες ἐν ὁμοτίμῳ ἀρχῇ ἀπαῖραι τῆς Βρεττανίας ἠθέλησαν, ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγοντο κομίζοντες τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λείψανα· τὸ γὰρ σωματίον πυρὶ παραδόντες, τὴν τε κόνιν σὺν ἀρώμασιν ἐς κάλπιν ἀλαβάστρου ἐμβαλόντες, ἀπεκόμιζον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐς τὰ βασιλέων ἀποθησόμενοι

[7] Since all these opposed his wishes, Antoninus, from necessity, not from choice, agreed to live with Geta in peace and friendship, but this was pretended, not sincere. Thus, with both of them managing imperial affairs with equal authority, the two youths prepared to sail from Britain and take their father's remains to Rome. After burning his body and putting the ashes, together with perfumes, into an alabaster urn, they accompanied this urn to Rome and placed it in the sacred mausoleum of the emperors.

[8] ἱερὰ μνήματα. αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν στρατὸν παραλαβόντες νικηφόροι δὴ κατὰ Βρεττανῶν ἐς τὴν ἀντικειμένην Γαλλίαν, διαβάντες τὸν ὠκεανόν, ἀφίκοντο.

ὅπως μὲν δὴ Σεβῆρος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο, ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ δεδήλωται.

[8] They now crossed the channel with the army and landed as conquerors on the opposite shore of Gaul.

How Severus came to the end of his life and how his sons succeeded him in the imperial power, I have described in this book.

BOOK IV.

SECTION 1

[1] Τὰ μὲν δὴ πραχθέντα Σεβήρῳ βασιλεύσαντι ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου βιβλίῳ δεδήλωται· οἱ δ' υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἤδη νεανίαι, ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείγοντο, ἤδη μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν στασιάζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὔτε γὰρ καταγωγαῖς ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐχρῶντο οὔτε συνειστιῶντο ἀλλήλοις· πολὺ δ' ἦν τὸ ὑποπτον ἐν ἅπασιν ἐδέσμασί τε καὶ πόμασι, μὴ τις αὐτῶν προλαβὼν καὶ λαθὼν, ἢ τινας ἀναπέισας τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, δηλητηρίῳ

[1] THE activities of Severus during his eighteen years as emperor I have recounted in the preceding book. His sons, who were now young men, quarreled continually on the return journey to Rome with their mother. They did not use the same lodgings or even dine together, since they were extremely suspicious of all they ate and drank; each feared that the other would secretly get prior access to the kitchens and bribe the servants to use poison.

[2] χρήσεται φαρμάκῳ. ταύτῃ γοῦν καὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡπείγον, ἀδεέστερον ἐκάτερος βιώσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, εἰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γένοιτο καὶ τὰ βασιλεία διελόμενοι ἐν πλατείᾳ καὶ πολλῇ οἰκήσει καὶ πάσης πόλεως μείζονι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκάτερος διάγοι ὥς βούλοιο.

[2] This fear led the youths to complete the journey with even greater haste; for they believed that they would be safer in Rome where, by dividing the palace between them, each could manage his own affairs as he pleased in the most spacious dwelling in the entire city.

[3] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὃ τε δῆμος αὐτοὺς δαφνηφορῶν ὑπεδέξατο ἢ τε σύγκλητος προσηγόρευσεν. ἡγοῦντο δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν τὴν βασιλείον φέροντες πορφύραν, εἶποντο δ' ὀπισθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν τότε διέποντες, κάλπιν φέροντες ἔνθα ἦν τὰ Σεβήρου λείψανα. οἱ τε προσαγορεύοντες τοὺς νέους αὐτοκράτορας παριόντες

[3] When they arrived in Rome, the people welcomed them with laurel branches and the senate, too, came out to greet them. The two youths headed the procession, wearing the imperial purple; the consuls for that year followed, carrying the urn which held the ashes of Severus. Then those who had come out to greet the young emperors passed by the urn and paid their respects to the emperor.

[4] καὶ τὴν κάλπιν προσεκύνουν. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν παραπέμψαντες, καὶ προπομπεύσαντες αὐτῆς, ἀπέθεντο ἐν τῷ νεῷ ἔνθα Μάρκου τε καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἱερὰ μνήματα δείκνυται· ἐπιτελέσαντες δὲ τὰς νενομισμένας ἱερουργίας ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς εἰσόδοις ἀνῆλθον ἐς τὰ

[4] The procession escorted the urn to the mausoleum where the remains of Marcus and his imperial predecessors are to be seen. After performing the rites prescribed for new emperors, the youths entered the imperial palace.

[5] βασίλεια. διελόμενοι δὲ αὐτὰ ἑκάτερος ὥκει, παραφράττοντές τε πάσας εἰσόδους, εἴ τινες ἦσαν λανθάνουσαι, μόναις δὲ ταῖς δημοσίαις καὶ αὐλείαις ἀνέδην χρώμενοι, φρουράς τε ἐπιστήσαντες ἰδίᾳ ἑκάτερος, οὐδὲ συνιόντες εἰ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὅσον δημοσίᾳ, εἴ ποτε, ὀφθῆναι. ἐπετέλεσαν δὲ πρὸ πάντων τὴν ἐς τὸν πατέρα τιμὴν.

[5] Each brother now took up residence in his half of the palace. Barricading the inner doors, they used in common only the public outer doors. Antoninus and Geta stationed their own private guards and were never seen together except briefly during their infrequent public appearances. But before doing anything else, the emperors performed the funeral rites for their father.

SECTION 2

[1] ἔθος γάρ ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκθειάζειν βασιλέων τοὺς ἐπὶ παισὶ [ἢ] διαδόχοις τελευτήσαντας· τὴν τε τοιαύτην τιμὴν ἀποθέωσιν καλοῦσι. μεμιγμένον δέ τι πένθος ἐορτῇ

[1] IT IS the Roman custom to elevate to divine status those emperors who at their death leave sons or designated successors; they call this honor deification. To begin with, public mourning, a combination of festive feeling and religious ceremony, is observed throughout the entire city.

[2] καὶ θρησκεία κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν δείκνυται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ τελευτήσαντος πολυτελεῖ κηδεῖα καταθάπτουσιν ἀνθρώπων νόμῳ· κηροῦ δὲ πλάσάμενοι εἰκόνα πάντα ὁμοίαν τῷ τετελευτηκότῃ ἐπὶ μεγίστης ἐλεφαντίνης κλίνης, ἐς ὕψος ἀρθείσης, προτιθέασιν ἐν τῇ τῶν βασιλείων εἰσόδῳ, χρυσοῦφεῖς στρωμνὰς ὑποστρωννύντες. ἡ δ' εἰκὼν ἐκείνη ἐν σχήματι νοσοῦντος πρόκειται ὠχρίῳσα.

[2] After a costly funeral, the body of the emperor is interred in the customary fashion. But then a wax image is fashioned in the exact likeness of the corpse and placed on a large, high couch of ivory draped with coverings embroidered with gold. This wax figure lies on the couch like a sick man, pale and wan.

[3] τῆς δὲ κλίνης ἐκατέρωθεν καθέζονται ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν μὲν τῷ λαιῷ μέρει πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος, μελαίναις ἐφεστίσι χρώμενοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι ὅσαι ἀνδρῶν ἢ πατέρων ἀξίωμα τιμῆς ἐνδόξου μεταδίδωσιν. οὔτε δὲ χρυσοφοροῦσά τις αὐτῶν ὀρᾶται οὔτε περιδεραίοις κοσμουμένη, ἀλλὰ λιτὰς ἐσθῆτας λευκάς

[3] During most of the day people sit on each side of the couch; on the left is the entire senate, clad in black; on the right are all the women who, because of their husbands' or their fathers' positions, are entitled to honor and respect. None of these women wear gold ornaments or necklaces; each affects the plain white garments associated with mourning.

[4] ἀμφιεννύμεναι σχῆμα παρέχουσι λυπουμένων. ἐπτα μὲν οὖν ἡμερῶν τὰ εἰρημένα ἐπιτελεῖται· ἱατροὶ τε εἰσιόντες ἐκάστοτε προσίασι τῇ κλίνῃ, καὶ δῆθεν ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὸν νοσοῦντα χαλεπώτερον ἔχειν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἐκάστοτε. ἐπὰν δὲ δόξη τετελευτηκέναι, τὴν μὲν κλίνην ἀράμενοι τοῦ τε ἵππικοῦ τάγματος εὐγενέστατοι καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπίλεκτοι νεανῖαι κατακομίζουν διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, ἕξ τε τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν προτιθέασιν, ἔνθα οἱ Ῥωμαῖον

[4] The various ceremonies mentioned above continue for seven days. Every day the physicians come and visit the couch; after pretending to examine the sick man, they announce daily that his condition is growing steadily worse. When it appears that he is dead, the noblest of the Equestrians and picked young senators lift the couch and carry it along the Sacred Way to the Old Forum, where the Roman magistrates give up their authority.

[5] ἄρχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπόμυννται. ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ βάθρα τινὰ σύγκειται ἐν κλίμακος σχήματι, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν θατέρου μέρους τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ εὐπατριδῶν χορὸς ἔστηκε παίδων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει εἶναι δοκουσῶν· ἄδουσι δὲ ἑκάτεροι ὕμνους τε καὶ παιᾶνας ἐς τὸν τετελευτηκότα, σεμνῷ μέλει καὶ θρηνῶδει

[5] Tiers of seats are erected on each side of the couch: on one side sits a chorus of children from the noblest and most distinguished families; on the other, a chorus of women who seem to deserve respect. In honor of the dead man each choral group sings hymns and paeans arranged in solemn and mournful measures.

[6] ἐρρυθμισμένους. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο βαστάσαντες τὴν κλίνην φέρουσιν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρεως πεδίον, ἔνθα κατεσκευάζεται ἐν τῷ πλατυτάτῳ τοῦ πεδίου τόπῳ τετράγωνόν τι [καὶ] ἰσόπλευρον, ἄλλης μὲν ὕλης οὐδεμιᾶς μετέχον, ἐκ μόνης δὲ συμπίξεως ξύλων μεγίστων

[6] The couch is then carried out of the city to the Campus Martius, where, in the widest part of the plain, a square building has been constructed entirely of huge wooden beams in the shape of a house.

[7] ἐς σχῆμα οἰκήματος. πᾶν δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔνδοθεν μὲν φρυγάνων πεπλήρωται, ἔξωθεν δὲ χρυσοῦφέσι στρωμαῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις τε ἀγάλμασι γραφαῖς τε ποικίλαις κεκόσμηται. ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἕτερον, σχήματι μὲν καὶ κόσμῳ παραπλήσιον, μικρότερον <δ'> ἐπικείται, πυλίδας ἔχον καὶ θύρας ἀνεωγυίας. τρίτον τε καὶ τέταρτον, αἰεὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου μείον, ἐς τελευταῖον βραχύτατον περατοῦται.

[7] The whole interior of this building is filled with firewood; and on the outside it is decorated with gold-embroidered hangings, ivory figures, colored paintings. Upon this structure rests a smaller second story, similar in shape and decoration, with open windows and doors. And there is a third and a fourth story, each smaller than the one beneath it; finally, the smallest story of all tops this structure.

[8] ἀπεικάσαι τις ἂν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κατασκευάσματος φρυκτωρίοις, ἃ τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐπικείμενα νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς ἀσφαλεῖς καταγωγὰς τὰς ναῦς χειραγωγεῖ· φάρους τε αὐτὰ οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν. ἐς δὴ τὸ οἶκημα τὸ δεύτερον

ἀνακομίσαντες τὴν κλίνην τιθέασιν, ἀρώματά τε καὶ θυμιάματα πάντα ὅσα γῇ φέρει, εἴ τέ τινες καρποὶ ἢ πόαι χυμοὶ τε συμβαλλόμενοι πρὸς εὐωδίαν, ἀνακομίζονται

[8] The building may be compared in shape to the lighthouses along the coast which by the light of their fires bring to safety ships in distress at night. The common name for such a lighthouse is Pharos. They bring the couch to this structure and carry it up to the second story; then they add every kind of perfume and incense the earth provides, together with all the fruits, herbs, and juices that are gathered for their fragrance.

[9] καὶ σωρηδὸν χέονται· οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος οὔτε πόλις τις οὔτε τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει ἢ τιμῇ ἔστιν ὃς μὴ δῶρα ταῦτα ὕστατα πέμπει φιλοτίμως ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπὶ δὲ μέγιστον χῶμα ἀρθῇ τῶν ἀρωμάτων πᾶς τε ὁ τόπος πληρωθῇ, ἱππασία περὶ τὸ κατασκευάσμα ἐκεῖνο γίνεται, πᾶν τε τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα περιθεῖ κύκλῳ μετὰ τινος εὐταξίας καὶ ἀνακυκλώσεως πυρριχίῳ δρόμῳ καὶ

[9] Every province, every city, every man of fame and distinction is happy to furnish these last gifts in the emperor's honor. After a huge pile of aromatic material is collected, and the structure is completely filled, a cavalry exhibition is staged around the building; the entire Equestrian cavalry circles around it, following a fixed rotating pattern in the Pyrrhic choruses and maneuvers.

[10] ῥυθμῷ. ἄρματα τε περιέρχεται ὁμοία εὐταξία, φέροντα τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἡμφιεσμένους μὲν τὰς περιποφύρους ἐσθῆτας, προσωπεῖα δὲ περικειμένους εἰκόνας ἔχοντα ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐνδόξως ἐστρατήγησαν ἢ ἐβασίλευσαν. τούτων δὲ συντελεσθέντων λαβὼν λαμπάδα ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος προσφέρει τῷ οἰκήματι, οἳ τε λοιποὶ πανταχόθεν πῦρ περιτιθέασιν· πάντα δὲ ῥᾶστα ἀνάπτεται «καὶ» εὐμαρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, φρυγάνων τε πλήθους καὶ

[10] Chariots, too, are driven around the building in similar formations by drivers in purple robes; these chariots carry statues whose faces are those of Romans who fought or ruled in distinguished fashion. When these rites have been completed, the emperor's successor puts a torch to the structure, after which the people set it on fire on all sides. The flames easily and quickly consume the enormous pile of fire-wood and fragrant stuffs.

[11] θυμιαμάτων ἐπινηθέντος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ βραχυτάτου κατασκευάσματος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινος ἐπάλξεως, αἰτὸς ἀφίεται σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελευσόμενος ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν θρησκευέται.

[11] From the topmost and smallest story, as if from a battlement, an eagle flies forth, soaring with the flames into the sky; the Romans believe that this eagle carries the soul of the emperor from the earth up to heaven. Thereafter the emperor is worshiped with the rest of the gods.

SECTION 3

[1] ταύτην δὴ τὴν τιμὴν ἐκθειάσαντες οἱ παῖδες τὸν πατέρα ἐπανήλθον ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ ἤδη φανερώς ἑστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐμίσουν τε καὶ ἐπεβούλευον· πάντα τε ἔπραττεν ἑκάτερος πειρώμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποσκευάσασθαι

[1] AFTER completing this ceremony of deification for their father, the youths returned to the palace. Open hostility followed, as they nurtured their hatred and hatched their plots. Each did everything in his power to eliminate his brother and secure the empire for himself alone.

[2] ἐς αὐτόν τε μόνον περιαγαγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐμερίζοντο δὲ καὶ πάντων αἱ γνῶμαι, ὅσοι ἐν ἀξιώσει ἢ τιμῇ τινὶ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐπέστελλέ τε λανθάνων καὶ ᾠκειοῦτο, μεγάλας ὑποσχέσεσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθέλκων. καὶ τό γε πλεῖστον μέρος ἐς τὸν Γέταν ἔβλεπε· φαντασίαν γὰρ τινα ἐπιεικειᾶς ἐπεδείκνυτο, μέτριόν τε καὶ πρᾶον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς προσιοῦσι παρεῖχεν, ἐπιτηδεύμασί τε σπουδαιοτέροις ἐχρήτο,

[2] The honored and respected men of the city held divided opinions. Each of the youths privately solicited their support in secret letters, trying to win them by lavish promises. The majority favored Geta, who showed some evidence of a reasonable disposition, since he conducted himself mildly and moderately toward those who visited him, and devoted his time to the more serious pursuits.

[3] προσιέμενός τε τοὺς ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ ἐπαινουμένους, ἐσπουδακώς τε περὶ παλαιστραν καὶ γυμνάσια ἐλεύθερα· χρηστός τε ὢν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος τοῖς συνοῦσι, φήμη καὶ δόξη ἀρίστη πλείους ἐς εὖνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν προουκαλεῖτο. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἐμβριθῶς τὰ πάντα καὶ θυμοειδῶς ἔπραττε,

[3] He studied with men respected for their learning and exercised frequently at the wrestling schools and the various gymnasia. Because he was kind and courteous to his associates and had an excellent reputation and good name, he won the friendship and good will of most of the Romans.

[4] πολὺν δὲ ἀπάγων ἑαυτὸν τῶν προειρημένων στρατιωτικοῦ τε καὶ πολεμικοῦ βίου ἐραστῆς εἶναι προσεποιεῖτο· ὀργῇ τε πάντα πράττων, καὶ ἀπειλῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πείθων, φόβῳ καὶ οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ φίλους ἐκτᾶτο.

ὥς στασίαζοντας δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἔπραττον, μέχρι τῶν εὐτελεστάτων ἔργων, ἢ μήτηρ συνάγειν

[4] By contrast, Antoninus was harsh and savage in everything he did, scorning the pursuits

mentioned above, and pretending a devotion to the military and martial life. Since he did everything in anger and used threats instead of persuasion, his friends were bound to him by fear, not by affection.

As the brothers were now completely at odds in even the most trivial matters, their mother undertook to effect a reconciliation.

[5] ἐπειρᾶτο. καί ποτε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα δὴ μὴ μένοντες ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, νείμασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. συναγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς πατρώους φίλους, τῆς τε μητρὸς παρούσης, ἤξιοιεν διαιρεθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπ' Εὐρώπῃν πάντα ἔχειν τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, τὴν δὲ ἀντικειμένην ἡπειρον Ἀσίαν τε καλουμένην πᾶσαν

[5] And at that time they concluded that it was best to divide the empire, to avoid remaining in Rome and continuing their intrigues. Summoning the advisers appointed by their father, with their mother present too, they decided to partition the empire: Antoninus to have all Europe, and Geta all the lands lying opposite Europe, the region known as Asia.

[6] Γέτα παραδοθῆναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἔλεγον καὶ θεία τινὶ προνοίᾳ τὰς ἡπείρους διηρῆσθαι τῷ Προποντιδὸς ρεύματι. ἤρεσκε δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἰδρύσαι στρατόπεδον, τὸν δὲ Γέταν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τῆς Βιθυνίας, ὡς ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα φρουροίη τε τὴν ἐκατέρου ἀρχὴν καὶ κωλύοι τὰς διαβάσεις. ἐδόκει τε τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοὺς μὲν Εὐρωπαίους πάντας ἀπομεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελθεῖν σὺν τῷ

[6] For, they said, the two continents were separated by the Propontic Gulf as if by divine foresight. It was agreed that Antoninus establish his headquarters at Byzantium, with Geta's at Chalcedon in Bithynia; the two stations, on opposite sides of the straits, would guard each empire and prevent any crossings at that point. They decided too that it was best that the European senators remain in Rome, and those from the Asiatic regions accompany Geta.

[7] Γέτα. τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ αὐτάρκη ἔσεσθαι ὑποδοχὴν ὁ Γέτας ἔλεγεν ἢ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, οὐ πολὺ τι τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς ᾤετο, μεγέθει ἀποδεούσας. τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ μεσημβρία ἔθνων Μαυρουσίους μὲν καὶ Νομάδας Λιβύης τε τὰ παρακείμενα Ἀντωνίνῳ παραδοθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα μέχρις ἀνατολῆς προσήκειν

[7] For his capital city, Geta said that either Antioch or Alexandria would be suitable, since, in his opinion, neither city was much inferior in size to Rome. Of the Southern provinces, the lands of the Moroccans, the Numidians, and the adjacent Libyans were given to Antoninus, and the regions east of these peoples were allotted to Geta.

[8] τῷ Γέτα. ταῦτα δὴ αὐτῶν διατυπούντων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες σκυθρωποῖς προσώποις ἐς γῆν ἔνευσαν· ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γῆν μὲν ἔφη καὶ θάλασσαν, ὧ τέκνα, εὐρίσκετε ὅπως νείμῃσθε, καὶ τὰς ἡπείρους, ὥς φατε, τὸ Πόντιον ρεῖθρον διαιρεῖ· τὴν δὲ μητέρα πῶς ἂν διέλοισθε, καὶ πῶς ἡ ἀθλία ἐγὼ ἐς ἑκάτερον ὑμῶν νεμηθεῖν ἢ τμηθεῖν; πρῶτον δὴ ἐμὲ φονεύσατε, καὶ διελόντες ἑκάτερος παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ μέρος θαπτέτω· οὕτω γάρ

[8] While they were engaged in cleaving the empire, all the rest kept their eyes fixed on the ground, but Julia cried out: “Earth and sea, my children, you have found a way to divide, and, as you say, the Propontic Gulf separates the continents. But your mother, how would you parcel her? How am I, unhappy, wretched — how am I to be torn and ripped asunder for the pair of you? Kill me first, and after you have claimed your share, let each one perform the funeral rites for his portion. Thus would I, too, together with earth and sea, be partitioned between you.”

[9] ἂν μετὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐς ὑμᾶς μερισθείην. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα μετὰ δακρύων καὶ οἰμωγῆς, ἀμφοτέροις τε τὰς χεῖρας περιβάλλουσα καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ἀγκάλας ἄγουσα, συνάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο. πάντας δὲ οἴκτου καταλαβόντος διελύθη τὸ συνέδριον, ἥ τε σκέψις ἀπεδοκιμάσθη, ἑκάτερός τε ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεία ἀνεχώρησε.

[9] After saying this, amid tears and lamentations, Julia stretched out her hands and, clasping them both in her arms, tried to reconcile them. And with all pitying her, the meeting adjourned and the project was abandoned. Each youth returned to his half of the imperial palace.

SECTION 4

[1] τὸ δὲ μῖσος καὶ ἡ στάσις ἤϋζετο. εἴτε γὰρ ἡγεμόνας ἢ ἄρχοντας ἔδει ποιεῖν, ἑκάτερος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον προάγειν ἤθελεν, εἴτε δικάζοιεν, τὰ ἐναντία ἐφρόνουν, ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν δικάζομένων ἔσθ' ὅτε πλέον γὰρ ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου τὸ φιλόνηκον. ἐν τε τοῖς θεάμασι

[1] BUT the hatred and dissension between them continued to grow. If it became necessary to appoint a governor or a magistrate, each wished to select a friend for the post. If they sat as judges, they handed down dissenting opinions, often to the ruin of those on trial; for rivalry counted more than justice to these two. Even at the shows the brothers took opposite sides.

[2] περὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐσπούδαζον. πάντα τε εἶδη ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξήρτυον, οἰνοχόους τε καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς ἀνέπειθον ἐμβαλεῖν δηλητήρια φάρμακα. οὐ ραδίως δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδετέρῳ προεχώρει, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ φρουρᾶς διητῶντο. τέλος δὲ μὴ φέρων ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαυνόμενος, διέγνω δρᾶσαι τι ἢ παθεῖν γενναῖον, διὰ ξίφους χωρήσας καὶ φόνου·

[2] They tried every sort of intrigue; each, for example, attempted to persuade the other's cooks and cupbearers to administer some deadly poison. It was not easy for either one to succeed in these attempts, however: both were exceedingly careful and took many precautions. Finally, unable to endure the situation any longer and maddened by the desire for sole power, Antoninus decided to act and advance his cause by sword or slaughter or die in a manner befitting his birth.

[3] μὴ προχωρούσης γὰρ τῆς λανθανούσης ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναγκαίαν ἡγήσατο τὴν κινδυνώδη τε καὶ ἀπεγνωσμένην τῆς μὲν διὰ στοργὴν τοῦ δὲ δι' ἐπιβουλήν.

Γέτας μὲν δὴ καιρίως τρωθεὶς, προσχέας τὸ αἷμα τοῖς τῆς μητρὸς στήθεσι, μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον· ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος κατεργασθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ φόνου προπηδᾷ τοῦ δωματίου θεῶν, φερόμενός τε δι' ὅλων τῶν βασιλείων ἐβόα μέγαν

[3] Since his plotting was unsuccessful, he thought he must try some desperate and dangerous scheme; [so he killed his brother in the arms of their mother, and by this act really killed them both], his mother dying of grief and his brother from treachery.

Mortally wounded, Geta died, drenching his mother's breast with his blood. Having succeeded in the murder, Antoninus ran from the room and rushed throughout the palace, shouting that he had escaped grave danger and had barely managed to save his life.

[4] κίνδυνον ἐκπεφευγέναι μόλις τε σωθῆναι. τοὺς τε στρατιώτας, οἳ φρουροῦσι τὰ βασίλεια, κελεύει αὐτὸν ἀρπάσαντας ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥς ἂν σωθῇ φυλαχθεὶς ἐκεῖ· μείνας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς ἔλεγεν ἀπολεῖσθαι. πιστεύσαντές τε ἐκεῖνοι, τό τε πεπραγμένον ἔνδον οὐκ εἰδότες, θέοντι αὐτῷ καὶ φερομένῳ συνεξέδραμον πάντες. ταραχὴ τε τὸν δῆμον κατεῖχεν ὁρῶντα περὶ δειλὴν διὰ μέσης φερόμενον τῆς πόλεως δρόμῳ τὸν

[4] He ordered the soldiers who guard the imperial palace to protect him and escort him to the praetorian camp, where he could be safely guarded, saying that if he remained in the imperial palace he would be murdered. Unaware of what had happened inside, the soldiers believed him and ran with him as he dashed ahead at full speed. Consternation seized the people when they saw the emperor speeding on foot through the middle of the city in the early evening.

[5] βασιλέα. ὥς δὲ εἰσέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔς τε τὸν νεών, ἔνθα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσκυνεῖται, ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐς γῆν ὡμολόγει τε χαριστήρια ἔθυε τε σωτήρια. ὥς δὲ διηγέλη τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἤδη περὶ λουτρά εἶχον οἱ δὲ

[5] Rushing into the camp and into the temple where the standards and decorations of the guard were worshiped, Antoninus threw himself on the ground; in the chapel, he gave thanks and offered sacrifices for his safety. When this was reported to the praetorians, some of whom were in the baths, while others were already asleep, they hurriedly assembled in amazement.

[6] ἀνεπαύοντο, πάντες ἐκπλαγέντες συνέθεον. ὁ δὲ προελθὼν τὸ μὲνπραχθὲν εὐθέως οὐχ ὡμολόγησεν, ἐβόα δὲ πεφευγέναι κίνδυνον καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν πολεμίου καὶ ἐχθροῦ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν λέγων, μόλις τε καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς μάχης τῶν ἐχθρῶν κεκρατηκέναι, κινδυνεύσαντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων κἂν ἓνα ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα τετηρηῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. τοιαῦτα δὴ τινα πλαγίως ἐμφαίνων νοεῖσθαι μᾶλλον

[6] When he appeared before them, Antoninus did not immediately reveal what had happened; instead, shouting that he had escaped the deadly plots of an enemy and rival, he identified his assailant as his brother. He cried out that he had with difficulty emerged victorious, after a severe struggle with his enemies; but when he and his brother had put everything at stake, Fortune had chosen him as sole emperor. His motive in thus distorting the facts was his desire to have them hear from him what had happened rather than from someone else.

[7] ἐβούλετο τὰπραχθέντα ἢ ἀκούεσθαι. ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ μοναρχίας ἐκάστῳ μὲν στρατιώτῃ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς, προστίθῃσι δὲ τῷ σιτηρεσίῳ ἄλλο τοῦ

τελουμένου ἤμισυ. κελεύει τε ἀπελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἤδη ὑποδέχεσθαι ἕκ τε τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν τὰ χρήματα, μιᾷς [τε] ἡμέρας ἀφειδῶς ἐκχέας πάντα ὅσα ἔτεσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὁ Σεβήηρος ἤθροισέ τε καὶ κατέκλεισεν ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων

[7] In gratitude for his deliverance and in return for the sole rule, he promised each soldier 2,500 denarii and increased their ration allowance by one-half. He ordered the praetorians to go immediately and take the money from the temple depositories and the treasuries. In a single day he recklessly distributed all the money which Severus had collected and hoarded from the calamities of others over a period of eighteen years.

[8] συμφορῶν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοσοῦτον χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀκούσαντες, καὶ συνέντες τὸ πεπραγμένον ἤδη [τε] καὶ τοῦ φόνου διαβοήτου γενομένου ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδοθεν φυγόντων, μόνον τε αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορεύουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Γέταν καλοῦσι πολέμιον.

[8] When they heard about this vast amount of money, although they were aware of what had actually occurred, the murder having been made common knowledge by fugitives from the palace, the praetorians at once proclaimed Antoninus emperor and called Geta enemy.

SECTION 5

[1] ἐπιμείνας δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἐν τῷ νεῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, θαρρήσας τε καὶ ταῖς ἐπιδόσεσιν οἰκειωσάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον κατήλθε μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὥπλισμένου μᾶλλον ἢ ἔθος ἐστὶ βασιλέως προπομπεύειν. εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ θύσας,

[1] THE emperor spent that night in the temple in the praetorian camp; then, growing bold because he had won over the soldiers by gifts, he came from the senate house accompanied by the entire guard, which was more heavily armed than was customary for the imperial escort. After he had gone in and offered sacrifices, Antoninus mounted the imperial throne and addressed the senators as follows:

[2] τοῦ τε βασιλείου ἐπιβὰς θρόνου, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. οὐκ ἄγνοῶ μὲν ὅτι πᾶς οἰκείου φόνος εὐθέως ἀκουσθεὶς μεμίσηται, τό τε ὄνομα ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἅμα τῷ προσπεσεῖν εὐθὺς φέρει χαλεπὴν διαβολήν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δυστυχήσασιν ἔλεος, τοῖς δὲ κρατήσασι φθόνος παρακολουθεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡττηθὲν «ἐν» τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀδικεῖσθαι, τὸ

[2] “I am not unaware that every murder of a kinsman, immediately the deed is known, is despised, and that the name ‘kinsman-killer’ arouses harsh censure as soon as it falls upon the ear. Pity follows for the victims, hatred for the victors. In such cases it appears that the victim is abused, the victor abusing.

[3] δὲ νικῆσαν ἀδικεῖν δοκεῖ. πλὴν εἴ τις ὀρθῇ κρίσει καὶ μὴ διαθέσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν πεσόντα τὸ πεπραγμένον λογίζοιτο, τὴν τε αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐξετάζοι, εὖροι ἂν ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐλογον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τὸν μέλλοντα πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ἀμύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπομεῖναι· τῇ μὲν γὰρ συμφορᾷ τοῦ πεσόντος καὶ ἀνανδρίας ψόγος παρακολουθεῖ, ὁ δὲ κρατήσας ἅμα τῷ σεσῶσθαι καὶ δόξαν

[3] But if one were to consider the deed with sober judgment and not with sympathy for the fallen, and if he were to evaluate the victor’s motive and intent, he would find that sometimes it is both reasonable and necessary for the man about to suffer an injury to defend himself and not stand passively and submit. Censure for cowardice follows when a man succumbs to disaster, but the winner gains, together with his safety, a reputation for courage.

[4] ἀνδρείας ἀπηνέγκατο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα, ὅσα διὰ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐνέδρας ἐπεβούλευσέ μοι, ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ διὰ βασάνων χωρήσασι μαθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι, ὅπως εὖρητε τὴν ἀλήθειαν. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἤδη ἐξετασθέντες, καὶ τῆς ἐξετάσεως ἐπακοῦσαι δύνασθε. τὸ δ’ οὖν τελευταῖον ἐπῆλθέ μοι παρὰ τῇ

μητρί ὄντι ξιφήρεις ἔχων τινὰς ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένους.

[4] As to the rest, all the plots he laid against me, using deadly poisons and every kind of treachery, these you can discover by the use of torture. For this reason I issued orders for Geta's servants to be present here so that you may learn the truth. Several have already been examined, and the results of the examination are available. In his final act of treachery, Geta burst in upon me while I was with my mother, accompanied by swordsmen whom he had obtained for this attempt upon my life.

[5] ὅπερ ἐγὼ προμηθεΐα πολλῇ καὶ ἀγχινοΐα συνεῖς ἡμυνάμην ὡς πολέμιον, ἐπεὶ μήτε γνώμην ἔτι μήτε ὀρμὴν ἔφερεν ἀδελφοῦ. ἀμύνεσθαι τε τοὺς ἐπιβουλευόντας οὐ μόνον δίκαιον ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺνηθες. αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως κτίστης Ῥωμύλος οὐκ ἦνεγκεν

[5] But I grasped the situation with great shrewdness and presence of mind and defended myself against an enemy who no longer displayed the attitude or feelings of a brother. Now to defend oneself against plots is not merely proper; it is a standard practice. Indeed, Romulus, the founder of this city, refused to allow his brother to ridicule what he had done.

[6] ἀδελφὸν ὑβρίσαντα μόνον ἐς τὰ ἐκείνου ἔργα. σιγῶ Γερμανικὸν <τὸν Τιβερίου καὶ Βρεττανικὸν> τὸν Νέρωνος καὶ Τίτον τὸν Δομετιανοῦ. Μάρκος αὐτός, φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἐπιείκειαν προσποιούμενος, Λουκίου τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἦνεγκεν ὄντος γαμβροῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτὸν ἀπεσεύσατο. ἐγὼ δὲ δηλητηρίων παρεσκευασμένων <τε> ξίφους ἐπηρωρημένου τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡμυνάμην· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ

[6] And I pass over without comment Germanicus, brother of Tiberius; Britannicus, Nero's brother; and Titus, brother of Domitian. Even Marcus himself, who professed to love philosophy and excellence, would not tolerate the arrogance of Lucius, his brother-in-law, and by a plot removed him from the scene. So I too, when poisons were prepared for me and a sword hung over me, defended myself against my enemy, for this is the name which describes his actions.

[7] τοῦνομα ἐδίδου τὰ ἔργα. ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεοῖς εἰδέναι χάριν ὅτι κἂν τὸν ἕτερον ὑμῖν τῶν βασιλέων ἔσωσαν, παύσασθαι δὲ ἤδη τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας διηρημένους, ἐς ἓνα δὲ βλέποντας ἀμερίμνως βιοῦν. βασιλείαν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἔχει θεῶν μόνος, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐνὶ δίδωσι. τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν μεγάλῃ βοῇ, θυμοῦ πεπληρωμένος, βλέμματι δριμυεῖ ἀφορῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους, τρέμοντάς τε καὶ ὠχρῶντας τοὺς πλείστους καταλιπὼν, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια.

[7] First of all, you must give thanks to the gods for having preserved at least one of your

emperors for you; then you must lay aside your differences of opinion in thought and in attitude and lead your lives in security, looking to one emperor alone. Jupiter, as he is himself sole ruler of the gods, thus gives to one ruler sole charge of mankind.” After making these statements at the top of his voice, in a towering rage, he glared balefully at his brother’s friends and returned to the palace, leaving most of the senators pale and trembling.

SECTION 6

[1] εὐθὺς δὲ πάντες ἐφονεύοντο οἱ ἐκείνου οἰκεῖοί τε καὶ φίλοι, καὶ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔνθα ἐκεῖνος ὥκει· ὑπηρεταὶ τε πάντες ἀνηροῦντο· οὐδὲ τις ἦν φειδῶ ἡλικίας, οὐδὲ μέχρι νηπίων. τὰ δὲ πτώματα συρόμενα μεθ' ὕβρεως πάσης ἀμάξαις ἐπιτεθέντα καὶ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κομισθέντα σωρηδὸν κατεπίμπρατο ἢ ὅπωςδὴ ἐρρίπτετο.

[1] GETA'S friends and associates were immediately butchered, together with those who lived in his half of the imperial palace. All his attendants were put to death too; not a single one was spared because of his age, not even the infants. Their bodies, after first being dragged about and subjected to every form of indignity, were placed in carts and taken out of the city; there they were piled up and burned or simply thrown in the ditch.

[2] οὐδεὶς δὲ περιεγένετο τῶν καὶ μετρίως ἐκείνῳ γνωσθέντων. ἀθληταὶ δὲ καὶ ἡνίοχοι ὑποκριταὶ τε πάσης μούσης καὶ ὀρχήσεως, πᾶν τε ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος δι' ἡδονῆς ἔσχε θέαμα ἢ ἄκουσμα, διεφθείρετο. τῆς τε συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὅσοι γένει ἢ πλούτῳ ὑπερεῖχον, ἐπὶ βραχυτάταις ἢ οὐδ' ὑφεστώσαις αἰτίαις ἐκ τῆς τυχούσης διαβολῆς, ὡς ἐκείνου

[2] No one who had the slightest acquaintance with Geta was spared: athletes, charioteers, and singers and dancers of every type were killed. Everything that Geta kept around him to delight eye and ear was destroyed. Senators distinguished because of ancestry or wealth were put to death as friends of Geta upon the slightest unsupported charge of an unidentified accuser.

[3] φίλοι, ἀνηροῦντο. τὴν τε Κομμόδου ἀδελφὴν, πρεσβῦτιν ἤδη καὶ πρὸς πάντων βασιλέων ὡς Μάρκου θυγατέρα τιμημένην, ἀπέκτεινεν, αἰτίαν ἐπαγαγὼν ὡς δακρυσάσῃ παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς φόνῳ. τὴν τε γυναῖκα γενομένην ἑαυτοῦ, Πλαυτιανοῦ θυγατέρα, οὔσαν δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τὸν τε ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ Σεβήρῳ τε ὁμώνυμον, καὶ τὸν Περτίνακος υἱόν, τῆς τε Κομμόδου ἀδελφῆς Λουκίλλης υἱόν, καὶ εἴ τι γένος ἦν βασιλικὸν ἢ ἐν συγκλήτῳ ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν καταβαῖνον, πᾶν ἐξέκοψεν.

[3] He killed Commodus' sister, then an old woman, who as the daughter of Marcus had been treated with honor by all the emperors. Antoninus offered as his reason for murdering her the fact that she had wept with his mother over the death of Geta. His wife, the daughter of Plautianus, who was then in Sicily; his first cousin Severus, the son of Pertinax; the son of Lucilla, Commodus' sister; in fact, anyone who belonged to the imperial family and any senator of distinguished ancestry, all were cut down to the last one.

[4] ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη πέμπων, ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ ἐπιτρόπους ὡς ἐκείνου φίλους πάντας διεχρήσατο. πᾶσά τε νύξ ἔφερε φόνους παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων. τὰς τε τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείας ζώσας κατάρυττεν ὡς μὴ φυλαττούσας τὴν παρθενίαν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ μήποτε γενόμενον ἔργον· ἵπποδρομίαν μὲν ἐθεᾶτο, ἀπέσκωψε δέ τι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἡνίοχον, περὶ ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐσπουδάκει· ὃ δὲ οἰηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑβρίσθαι κελεύει τῷ πλήθει προσπεσεῖν τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπάγειν τε

[4] Then, sending his assassins to the provinces, he put to death the governors and procurators friendly to Geta. Each night saw the murder of men in every walk of life. He burned Vestal Virgins alive because they were unchaste. Finally, the emperor did something that had never been done before; while he was watching a chariot race, the crowd insulted the charioteer he favored. Believing this to be a personal attack, Antoninus ordered the Praetorian Guard to attack the crowd and lead off and kill those shouting insults at his driver.

[5] καὶ φονεύειν τοὺς κακῶς τὸν ἡνίοχον εἰπόντας. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τε καὶ ἀρπάζειν λαβόντες ἐξουσίαν, οὐκέτι διακρίνοντες τίνες ἦσαν οἱ προπετέστερον φθεγξάμενοι (καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὐρίσκειν ἀδύνατον ἐν δήμῳ τοσοῦτῳ μηδενὸς ὁμολογοῦντος), ἀφειδῶς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀπάγοντες ἀνήρουν, ἢ ἀφαιρούμενοι ἅπερ εἶχον ὥσπερ λύτρα μόλις ἐφείδοντο.

[5] The praetorians, given authority to use force and to rob, but no longer able to identify those who had shouted so recklessly (it was impossible to find them in so large a mob, since no one admitted his guilt), took out those they managed to catch and either killed them or, after taking whatever they had as ransom, spared their lives, but reluctantly.

SECTION 7

[1] τοιαῦτα δὴ πράττων, ὑπὸ τε τῆς τῶν ἔργων συνέσεως ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει διατριβὴν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων, ἀποδημῆσαι τῆς Ῥώμης ἠθέλησεν ὥς δὴ διοικήσων τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐποψόμενος.

[1] AFTER committing such crimes as these, hounded by his conscience and finding life in Rome intolerable, the emperor decided to leave the city to see to matters in the garrison camps and visit the provinces.

[2] ἀπάρας δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐπὶ τε ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἰστρου γενόμενος, διώκει δὴ τὰ ἀρκτῶα τῆς ἀρχῆς μέρη, γυμνάσια τοῦ σώματος ποιούμενος ἡνιοχείας καὶ θηρίων παντοδαπῶν συστάδην ἀναιρέσεις, δικάζων μὲν σπανίως, πλὴν νοῆσαι τὸ κρινόμενον εὐφυῆς ἦν εὐθίκτως τε πρὸς

[2] Leaving Italy, he journeyed to the banks of the Danube, where he concerned himself with the northern part of his empire; at the same time he exercised by driving in chariot races and by fighting at close quarters with wild animals of every kind. Only occasionally did he sit as judge, although he was quick to grasp the essentials of a case in court and quick to pass judgment on the basis of the arguments presented.

[3] τὰ λεχθέντα ἀποκρίνασθαι. ὤκειώσατο δὲ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπέκεινα Γερμανούς, ἔς τε φιλίαν ὑπηγάγετο, ὥς καὶ συμμάχους παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἑαυτοῦ φρουροὺς ποιήσασθαι, γενναίους τε καὶ ὠραίους ἐπιλεξάμενος. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀποθέμενος χλαμύδα ἡμφιέννυτο τὰ Γερμανῶν περιβλήματα, ἐν τε χλαμύσιν αἷς εἰώθασιν, ἀργύρῳ πεποικιλμέναις, ἑωρᾶτο· κόμας τε τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπετίθετο ξανθὰς καὶ ἐς κουρὰν

[3] He grew especially fond of the Germans in those regions; after gaining their friendship, he entered into alliances with them, and selected for his personal bodyguard the strongest and most handsome young men. He frequently put off the Roman cloak and donned German dress, appearing in the short, silver-embroidered cloaks which they customarily wear, augmented by a yellow wig with the locks arranged in the German style.

[4] τὴν Γερμανῶν ἡσκημένας. τούτοις δὴ χαίροντες οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπερηγάπων αὐτόν. ἔχαιρον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεις, αἷς ἀφειδῶς προσεφέρετο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τε πᾶν ὡς στρατιώτης ἔπραττεν, εἴτε ὄρυγμά τι ὀρύττειν ἔδει, σκάπτων πρῶτος, εἴτε ῥεῖθρον γεφυρῶσαι ἢ βάθος χῶσαι· πᾶν θ' ὁ χειρῶν ἢ καμάτου σώματος ἔργον, πρῶτος

[4] Delighted with the emperor's antics, the barbarians became very fond of him, as did the

Roman soldiers also, particularly because of his lavish gifts of money but also because he always played the soldier's part. If a ditch had to be dug anywhere, the emperor was the first man to dig; if it were necessary to bridge a stream or pile up a high rampart, it was the same; in every task involving labor of hand or body, the emperor was first man to the job.

[5] εἰργάζετο. τράπεζάν τε εὐτελῇ παρετίθετο, ἔσθ' ὅπῃ καὶ ξυλίνους ἐς ποτὸν καὶ ἐδέσματα χρώμενος σκεύεσιν. ἄρτον τε προσεφέρετο αὐτοσχέδιον· σῖτον γὰρ ἀλέσας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρί, ὃ ἥρκει μόνῳ, μᾶζαν τε ποιήσας καὶ ἐπ'

[5] He set a frugal table and even went so far as to use wooden dishes at his meals. He ate the bread that was available; grinding with his own hands his personal ration of grain, he made a loaf, baked it in the ashes, and ate it.

[6] ἀνθράκων ὀπτήσας ἐσιτεῖτο. καὶ πάντων μὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν ἀπείχετο· ὅσα δὲ εὐτελέστατα καὶ τοῖς πενεστάτοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐμαρῇ, τούτοις ἐχρήτο. συστρατιώτης τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεὺς καλούμενος χαίρειν προσεποιεῖτο. τὰ πλείστα τε αὐτοῖς συνώδευε περιπατῶν, σπανίως ὀχήματος ἢ ἵππου ἐπιβαίνων, τά τε

[6] Scorning luxuries, he used whatever was cheapest and issued to the poorest soldier. He pretended to be delighted when they called him fellow soldier instead of emperor. For the most part he marched with the troops, carrying his own arms and rarely using a chariot or a horse.

[7] ὅπλα βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων σύμβολα, ἐπιμήκη τε ὄντα καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένα, μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν γενναιοτάτων στρατιωτῶν φερόμενα ἐπιθείς τοῖς ὤμοις ἔφερεν αὐτός. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὡς στρατιωτικὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφιλεῖτο καὶ ὡς γενναῖος ἐθαυμάζετο· καὶ γὰρ ἦν θαύματος ἄξιον ἐν μικρῷ πάνυ τὸ μέγεθος σώματι γενναίων πόνων ἄσκησις τοσαύτη.

[7] Occasionally he even placed the standards of the legions on his shoulders and bore them along; these standards, tall and decorated with many gold ornaments, were a heavy burden for even the strongest soldiers. For these actions Antoninus won the affection of the soldiers by his military prowess and gained their admiration by his feats of strength. And it is certainly true that the performance of such strenuous tasks by a man of small stature was worthy of admiration.

SECTION 8

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῷ Ἰστρῳ στρατόπεδα διώκησε, κατήλθέ τε εἰς Θράκην Μακεδόσι γειτιῶσαν, εὐθὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν, καὶ τὴν τε μνήμην αὐτοῦ παντοίως ἀνενεώσατο, εἰκόνας τε καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐν πάσαις πόλεσιν ἀναστῆναι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν τε Ῥώμην ἐπλήρωσεν ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων, ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς, τῆς

[1] Antoninus, after attending to matters in the garrison camps along the Danube River, went down into Thrace at the Macedonian border, and immediately he became Alexander the Great. To revive the memory of the Macedonian in every possible way, he ordered statues and paintings of his hero to be put on public display in all cities. He filled the Capitol, the rest of the temples, indeed, all Rome, with statues and paintings designed to suggest that he was a second Alexander.

[2] πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συναφείας. ἔσθ' ὅπου δὲ καὶ χλεύης εἶδομεν ἀξίας εἰκόνας, ἐν γραφαῖς ἐνὸς σώματος ὑπὸ περιφερεία κεφαλῆς μιᾶς ὄψεις ἡμιτόμους δύο, Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίνου. προῆι δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Μακεδονικῷ σχήματι, καυσίαν τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φέρων καὶ κρηπῖδας ὑποδύμενος. ἐπιλεξάμενός τε νεανίας καὶ στρατεύσας Μακεδονικὴν ἐκάλει φάλαγγα, τοὺς τε ἡγουμένους αὐτῆς φέρειν τὰ τῶν ἐκείνου στρατηγῶν ὀνόματα.

[2] At times we saw ridiculous portraits, statues with one body which had on each side of a single head the faces of Alexander and the emperor. Antoninus himself went about in Macedonian dress, affecting especially the broad sun hat and short boots. He enrolled picked youths in a unit which he labeled his Macedonian phalanx; its officers bore the names of Alexander's generals.

[3] ἀπὸ τε Σπάρτης μεταπεμψάμενος νεανίας Λακωνικὸν καὶ Πιτανάτην ἐκάλει λόχον.

ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, τά τε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι διοικήσας ὡς ἐνεδέχετο, ἐπείχθη ἐς Πέργαμον τῆς Ἀσίας, χρῆσασθαι βουλόμενος θεραπείαις τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ἀφικόμενος δὴ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐς ὅσον ἤθελε τῶν ὀνείρατων ἐμφορηθεῖς, ἤκεν

[3] He also summoned picked young men from Sparta and formed a unit which he called his Laconian and Pitane battalion.

After doing this, he arranged matters in the cities in that region to his satisfaction and then proceeded to Pergamum in Asia Minor, to try the healing treatments of Aesculapius. When he arrived in that city he made what use he wished of the dream treatments and continued on to

[4] ἔς Ἴλιον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως λείψανα, ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, στεφάνοις τε κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθεσι πολυτελῶς πάλιν Ἀχιλλέα ἐμιμεῖτο. ζητῶν δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν τινα ἐποίησέ τι τοιοῦτον. ἦν αὐτῷ τις τῶν ἀπελευθέρων φίλτατος, Φῆστος μὲν ὄνομα, τῆς δὲ βασιλείου μνήμης προεστώς. οὗτος ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον, φαρμάκῳ ἀναιρεθεὶς ἴν' ὥς Πάτροκλος ταφῇ, ὥς δ' ἕτεροι ἔφασκον, νόσῳ

[4] He visited all the ruins of that city, coming last to the tomb of Achilles; he adorned this tomb lavishly with garlands of flowers, and immediately he became Achilles. Casting about for a Patroclus, he found one ready to hand in Festus, his favorite freedman, keeper of the emperor's daily record book. This Festus died at Troy; some say he was poisoned so that he could be buried as Patroclus, but others say he died of disease.

[5] διαφθαρεῖς. τούτου κομισθῆναι κελεύει τὸν νέκυν, ξύλων τε πολλῶν ἄθροισθῆναι πυράν· ἐπιθεῖς τε αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ζῶα κατασφάξας ὑψηλῇ τε, καὶ φιάλῃν λαβὼν σπένδων τε τοῖς ἀνέμοις εὐχeto. πάνυ τε ὦν ψιλοκόρησας, πλόκαμον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πυρὶ ζητῶν ἐγέλαιτο· πλὴν ὦν εἶχε τριχὼν ἀπεκείρατο. ἐπῆναι δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶν μάλιστα Σύλλαν τε τὸν Ῥωμαῖον καὶ Ἀννίβαν τὸν Λίβυν, ἀνδριάντας τε αὐτῶν καὶ εἰκόνας ἀνέστησεν.

[5] Antoninus ordered a huge pyre of logs to be erected and the body of Festus placed in the center. After sacrificing animals of all kinds, the emperor set fire to the funeral pile; then, taking a bowl and pouring a libation, he offered prayers to the winds. Since he was almost entirely bald, he made himself ridiculous when he wished to place his curls upon the blaze; he did, however, shear off what little hair he had. Among generals, Antoninus admired the Roman Sulla and the Carthaginian Hannibal, and set up statues and paintings of these two.

[6] ἀπάρας δὲ τῆς Ἰλίου διὰ τε τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας τῶν τε λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν, κάκεισε διοικήσας τὰ πρακτέα, ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκεῖ τε ὑποδεχθεὶς πολυτελῶς καὶ διατρίψας χρόνου τινὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστέλλετο, πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμενος ποθεῖν τὴν ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κτισθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσασθαι

[6] The emperor then left Troy and traveled through the rest of Asia, Bithynia, and the remaining provinces. After tending to affairs in these regions, he came to Antioch. Given a warm welcome there, he remained for some time. While in the city he sent letters to Alexandria, pretending to be eager to visit the city founded by Alexander and to pay his respects to the god whom the Alexandrians worship above all other deities.

[7] ὃν ἐκεῖνοι σέβουσιν ἐξαιρέτως· δύο γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπερβαλλόντως προσεποιεῖτο, τὴν τε τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἥρωος μνήμην. ἑκατόμβας τε οὖν κελεύει παρασκευασθῆναι ἐναγισμούς τε παντοδαπούς. ὥς δὲ διηγέλη τῷ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πλήθει, φύσει μὲν ὄντι τὰς γνώμας κουφοτάτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς βραχυτάτοις ῥᾶστα κινουμένῳ, τότε δ' ἐξεπτόηντο τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδὴν

[7] He pretended that the two compelling reasons for his proposed visit were the worship of the god and the memory of his hero Alexander. He therefore ordered a number of hecatombs of cattle to be prepared, together with offerings of every kind. When these matters were reported to the people of Alexandria, who are by nature carefree and very easily aroused on the slightest provocation, they were overjoyed to learn of the emperor's enthusiastic interest and his great affection for them.

[8] τε καὶ εὖνοιαν πυνθανόμενοι. ὑποδοχὴ δὴ παρεσκευάζετο οἷαν μηδενὶ πώποτε βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι φασί· πάσης τε γὰρ μούσης ὄργανα πανταχοῦ διακείμενα ποικίλον ἦχον εἰργάζετο, ἀρωμάτων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἀτμίδες εὐωδίαν παρεῖχον ταῖς εἰσόδοις, δαδουχίαις τε

[8] They prepared a superlative reception for the emperor. Everywhere bands were performing on all kinds of musical instruments and playing a variety of melodies. Billows of perfume and the smoke of incense spread sweet aromas throughout the city. The emperor was honored with torchlight parades and showers of floral bouquets.

[9] καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ἐτίμων τὸν βασιλέα. ὥς δὲ εἰσῆλασεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὸν νεὼν ἀνελθὼν πολλὰς ἑκατόμβας κατέθυσεν λιβάνῳ τε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐσώρευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνῆμα, τὴν τε χλαμύδα ἣν ἔφερεν ἀλουργῇ, δακτυλίους τε οὓς εἶχε λίθων τιμίῳ, ζωστήράς τε καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς ἔφερε, περιελὼν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου

[9] When he entered the city, accompanied by his entire army, Antoninus went first into the temple, where he sacrificed many hecatombs of cattle and heaped the altars with frankincense. Leaving the temple for the tomb of Alexander, he removed there his purple robe, his finger rings set with precious gems, together with his belts and anything else of value on his person, and placed them upon the tomb.

SECTION 9

[1] σορῶ. ἃ δὴ ὁρῶν ὁ δῆμος ὑπερέχαιρε, παννυχίζων τε καὶ ἐορτάζων, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως λανθάνουσαν γνώμην· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἐκεῖνος ὑπεκρίνατο βουλόμενος τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν διαφθεῖραι. ἡ δ' αἰτία

[1] WHEN they saw what the emperor was doing, the people rejoiced and celebrated, making merry the whole night long, but they did not know his secret intent. In all his actions Antoninus was playing the hypocrite; his true plan was to destroy most of them. The source of the enmity he was concealing was this.

[2] τοῦ λανθάνοντος μίσους τοιάδε τις ἦν. ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ διατρίβοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔτι, καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περιόντος καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φόνον, ὅτι ἄρα εἶεν πολλὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀποσκώψαντες. πεφύκασι δέ πως εἶναι φιλοσκώμμονες καὶ λέγειν εὐστόχους ὑπογραφὰς ἢ παιδιὰς, ἀπορριπτοῦντες ἐς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας πολλὰ χαρίεντα μὲν αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα, λυπηρὰ δὲ τοῖς σκωφθεῖσιν· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων κνίζει μάλιστα ὅσα ἐλέγχει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων

[2] While he was still living in Rome, both during his brother's lifetime and after his murder, it was reported to him that the Alexandrians were making endless jokes about him. The people of that city are by nature fond of jesting at the expense of those in high places. However witty these clever remarks may seem to those who make them, they are very painful to those who are ridiculed.

[3] τὴν ἀλήθειαν. πολλὰ τοίνυν ἐκείνων αὐτὸν σκωψάντων ἔς [τε] τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν πρεσβῦτιν Ἰοκάστην καλούντων, ἐκεῖνον δὲ χλευαζόντων ὅτι δὴ μικρὸς ὢν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα γενναιοτάτους καὶ μεγίστους ἥρωας ἐμιμεῖτο, τοιαῦτά τινα παίζειν αὐτῶν δοκούντων, ὀλέθρια καὶ ἐπίβουλα κατ' αὐτῶν σκέψασθαι τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἠνάγκασαν, φύσει ὄντα ὀργίλον καὶ φονικόν.

[3] Particularly galling are quips that reveal one's shortcomings. Thus they made many jokes at the emperor's expense about his murdering his brother, calling his aged mother Jocasta, and mocking him because, in his insignificance, he imitated the bravest and greatest of heroes, Alexander and Achilles. But although they thought they were merely joking about these matters, in reality they were causing the naturally savage and quick-tempered Antoninus to plot their destruction.

[4] συμπανηγυρίσας τοίνυν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεορτάσας, ὥς εἶδε πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πλήθους μεγίστου πεπληρωμένην τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης περὶ αὐτὴν χώρας ἐκεῖ συνελθόντων, διὰ προγράμματος πᾶσαν τὴν νεολαίαν ἔς τι πεδῖον κελεύει

συνελθεῖν, φήσας ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὴν φάλαγγα βούλεσθαι συστήσασθαι, ὥσπερ Μακεδονικὴν καὶ

[4] The emperor therefore joined the Alexandrians in celebrating and merrymaking. When he observed that the city was overflowing with people who had come in from the surrounding area, he issued a public proclamation directing all the young men to assemble in a broad plain, saying that he wished to organize a phalanx in honor of Alexander similar to his Macedonian and Spartan battalions, this unit to bear the name of the hero.

[5] Σπαρτιατῖν, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ ἥρωος ἐπωνύμους. κελεύει δὴ στιχηδὸν τοὺς νεανίας πάντας διαστήναι, ὡς ἂν ἐπελθὼν ἕκαστον ἴδῃ πῶς τε ἡλικίας ἔχοι καὶ μεγέθους σώματος καὶ εὐεξίας ἐς στρατείαν ἐπιτηδεῖον. ταύταις αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι πιστεύσαντες οἱ νεανῖαι πάντες, ἐοικότα τε ἐλπίσαντες διὰ τὴν προϋπάρξασαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τιμὴν, συνῆλθον ἅμα γονεῦσί τε καὶ

[5] He ordered the youths to form in rows so that he might approach each one and determine whether his age, size of body, and state of health qualified him for military service. Believing him to be sincere, all the youths, quite reasonably hopeful because of the honor he had previously paid the city, assembled with their parents and brothers, who had come to celebrate the youths' expectations.

[6] ἀδελφοῖς συνηδομένοις αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος διεστῶτας αὐτοὺς ἐπιών, ἕκαστου ἐφαπτόμενος καὶ ἄλλου ἄλλο λέγων ἐγκώμιον παρήει, ἔστε αὐτοὺς οὔτε τι ὀρῶντας οὔτε προσδοκῶντας τὸ στρατιωτικὸν πᾶν ἐκυκλώσατο. ὡς δὲ ἐτεκμήρατο ἤδη αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐντὸς τῶν ὅπλων περιειλημμένους καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν δικτύοις σεσαγηνευμένους, [ἐπελθὼν πάντας] αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξέρχεται μεθ' ἧς εἶχε φρουρᾶς περὶ ἑαυτόν, ὅφ' ἐνὶ δὲ σημείῳ προσπεσόντες πανταχόθεν οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν ἐν μέσῳ πᾶσαν νεολαίαν, καὶ εἴτινες ἄλλως παρήσαν, παντὶ τρόπῳ φόνων ἀναιρουσιν, ὥπλισμένοι τε ἀόπλους καὶ

[6] Antoninus now approached them as they were drawn up in groups and passed among them, touching each youth and saying a word of praise to this one and that one until his entire army had surrounded them. The youths did not notice or suspect anything. After he had visited them all, he judged that they were now trapped in the net of steel formed by his soldiers' weapons, and left the field, accompanied by his personal bodyguard. At a given signal the soldiers fell upon the encircled youths, attacking them and any others present. They cut them down, these armed soldiers fighting against unarmed, surrounded boys, butchering them in every conceivable fashion.

[7] πανταχόθεν περιειληφότες. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐφόνευσιν οἱ δ'

ἔξωθεν ὄρυττον ὀρύγματα μέγιστα ἔλκοντές τε τοὺς πίπτοντας ἐνέβαλλον, πληροῦντες σωμάτων· καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπιχέοντες μέγιστον ἤγειραν ταχέως πολυάνδριον. πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἡμιθνήτες εἰλκύσθησαν, ἔτι τε ἄτρωτοι συνώσθησαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν

[7] Some did the killing while others outside the ring dug huge trenches; they dragged those who had fallen to these trenches and threw them in, filling the ditch with bodies. Piling on earth, they quickly raised a huge burial mound. Many were thrown in half-alive, and others were forced in unwounded.

[8] οὐκ ὀλίγοι προσαπώλοντο· ὅσοι γὰρ ἔτι ἐμπνέοντες καὶ δυνάμεως μετρίως ἔχοντες συνωθοῦντο, περιπλεκόμενοι συγκαθεῖλκον αὐτούς. τοσοῦτος δὲ ἐγένετο φόνος ὥς ρεῖθροις αἵματος διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τάς τε ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Νείλου μεγίστας οὔσας τόν τε περὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰγιαλὸν πάντα φοινιχθῆναι. τοιαῦτα δὴ ἐργασάμενος τὴν πόλιν, ἀπάρας ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο.

[8] A number of soldiers perished there too; for all who were thrust into the trench alive, if they had the strength, clung to their killers and pulled them in with them. So great was the slaughter that the wide mouths of the Nile and the entire shore around the city were stained red by the streams of blood flowing through the plain. After these monstrous deeds, Antoninus left Alexandria and returned to Antioch.

SECTION 10

[1] ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Παρθικὸς κληθῆναι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστεῖλαι ὥς χειρωσάμενος τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν βαρβάρους, καίτοι γε οὔσης εἰρήνης βαθείας, μηχανᾶται τοιόνδε τι. ἐπιστέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ Παρθυαίων (Ἀρτάβανος δ' ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), πέμπει τε πρεσβεῖαν καὶ

[1] NOT long after this, Antoninus, desirous of gaining the title “Parthicus” and of being able to report to the Romans that he had conquered all the Eastern barbarians, even though there was peace everywhere, devised the following plan. He wrote a letter to the king of Parthia (his name was Artabanus) and sent to him an embassy laden with gifts of expensive materials and fine workmanship.

[2] δῶρα πάσης ὕλης τε πολυτελοῦς καὶ τέχνης ποικίλης. τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγεν ὅτι δὴ βούλεται ἀγαγέσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον· ἀρμόζειν δὲ αὐτῷ, βασιλεῖ τε καὶ βασιλέως υἱῷ, μὴ ιδιώτου τινὸς καὶ εὐτελοῦς γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἀγαγέσθαι δὲ βασιλῖδα τε καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως θυγατέρα, δύο δὲ ταύτας ἀρχὰς εἶναι μεγίστας, τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὴν Παρθυαίων· ἃς συναχθείσας κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν, μηκέτι ποταμῷ διωρισμένας, μίαν

[2] He wrote to the king that he wished to marry his daughter; that it was not fitting that he, emperor and son of an emperor, be the son-in-law of a lowly private citizen. His wish was to marry a princess, the daughter of a great king. He pointed out that the Roman and the Parthian empires were the largest in the world; if they were united by marriage, one empire without a rival would result when they were no longer divided by a river.

[3] ποιήσῃ ἀρχὴν ἀνανταγώνιστον· τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ἔθνη βάρβαρα, ὅσα νῦν ἐπικεῖσθαι ταῖς τούτων βασιλείαις, εὐάλωτα ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ συστήματα ἀρχόμενα. εἶναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν διὰ δοράτων συστάδην μάχην ἀνανταγώνιστον, Παρθυαίοις δὲ ἵππον τε πολλὴν καὶ τὴν διὰ τόξων εὖστοχον

[3] The rest of the barbarian nations now not subject to their authority could easily be reduced, as they were governed by tribes and confederacies. Furthermore, the Roman infantry were invincible in close-quarter combat with spears, and the Parthians had a large force of highly skilled horse-archers.

[4] ἐμπειρίαν. ταῦτα δὴ συνελθόντα, πάντων τε οἷς πόλεμος κατορθοῦται συμπνεόντων, ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἐνὶ διαδήματι βασιλεύσειν πάσης οἰκουμένης. τά τε παρ' ἐκείνοις φυόμενα ἀρώματα ἢ θαυμαζόμενα ὑφάσματα καὶ <τὰ> παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μεταλλευόμενα ἢ διὰ τέχνην ἐπαινούμενα μηκέτι

μόλις καὶ σπανίζοντα λανθάνοντά τε δι' ἐμπορῶν κομισθήσεσθαι, μιᾶς δὲ γῆς οὔσης καὶ μιᾶς ἐξουσίας κοινὴν καὶ ἀκώλυτον ἀμφοτέροις τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἔσεσθαι.

[4] The two forces, he said, complemented each other; by waging war together, they could easily unite the entire inhabited world under a single crown. Since the Parthians produced spices and excellent textiles and the Romans metals and manufactured articles, these products would no longer be scarce and smuggled by merchants; rather, when there was one world under one supreme authority, both peoples would enjoy these goods and share them in common.

[5] τοιοῦτοῖς αὐτοῦ γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν ὁ Παρθυαῖος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντέλεγε, φάσκων οὐχ ἀρμόζειν Ῥωμαίῳ γάμον βάρβαρον. τίνα γὰρ ἔσεσθαι συμφωνίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, μήτε τῆς ἀλλήλων φωνῆς συνιεῖσιν, ἔν τε διαίτῃ καὶ σκευῇ διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων; εἶναι δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εὐπατρίδας πολλούς, ὧν τινὸς ἐπιλέξασθαι δύναιτ' ἂν θυγατέρα, παρὰ τε αὐτῷ Ἀρσακίδας· καὶ μὴ δεῖν μηδέτερον

[5] At first the Parthian king did not approve of the proposals in Antoninus's letters, saying that it was not proper for a barbarian to marry a Roman. What accord could there be when they did not understand each other's language and differed so radically in diet and dress? Surely, the king said, there are many distinguished Romans, one of whose daughters he could marry, just as for him there were the Arsacids; it was not fitting that either race be bastardized.

SECTION 11

[1] γένος νοθεύεσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τοιαῦτά τινα ἐπιστέλλων παρηγεῖτο· ἐγκειμένον δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, δώροις τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὄρκοις τὴν πρὸς τὸν γάμον σπουδὴν τε καὶ εὖνοιαν πιστουμένου, πείθεται ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ δώσειν τε ὑπισχνεῖται, καλεῖ τε γαμβρὸν ἐσόμενον. διαδραμούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι εὐτρέπιζον πάντα ἐς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως,

[1] THE Parthian's initial replies were of this type, and he declined Antoninus's offer of an alliance. But when the emperor persisted and with many gifts and oaths swore to his enthusiasm for the marriage and his good will toward the Parthians, Artabanus was won over; addressing Antoninus as his future son-in-law, he promised him his daughter in marriage. When the news was made public, the barbarians prepared for the reception of the emperor of the Romans and rejoiced in the hope of permanent peace.

[2] ἔχαιρόν τε εἰρήνης αἰωνίου ἐλπίδι· ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος διαβὰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀκωλύτως, εἰσελάσας ἐς τὴν Παρθυαίων γῆν ὡς ἰδίαν ἤδη, πανταχοῦ θυσιῶν αὐτῷ προσαγομένων βωμῶν τε ἐστεμμένων, ἄρωμάτων καὶ θυμιαμάτων παντοίων προσφερομένων, χαίρειν τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων προσεποιεῖτο. ὡς δὲ προχωρήσας τό τε πλεῖστον τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἀνύσας ἤδη τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου ἐπλησίαζεν, οὐκ ἀναμείνας ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ὑπῆντετο αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ, δεξιούμενος

[2] Having crossed the rivers unopposed, Antoninus entered the barbarians' land as if it were already his. Sacrifices were offered to him everywhere; the altars were decked with wreaths, and perfumes and every kind of incense were scattered in his path. Antoninus pretended to be delighted by the barbarians' attentions and continued his advance. He had now completed the greater part of his journey and was approaching the palace of Artabanus. The king did not wait to receive the emperor but came out to meet him in the plain before the city, welcoming his son-in-law, the bridegroom of his daughter.

[3] νυμφίον μὲν τῆς θυγατρὸς γαμβρὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ. πᾶν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων ἄνθεσι τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις κατεστεμμένον, ἐσθῆτί τε χρυσοῦ καὶ βαφαῖς διαφόροις πεποικιλμένον, ἐώρταζε, πρὸς τε αὐλοὺς καὶ σύριγγας τυμπάνων τε ἤχους ἐσκίρτων εὐρύθμως· χαίρουσι γὰρ τοιαύτην τινὰ ὄρχησιν κινούμενοι, ἐπὶ οἶνου πλείονος

[3] All the Parthians, crowned with the traditional flowers and wearing robes embroidered in gold and various colors, celebrated the occasion, dancing wildly to the music of flutes and the throbbing of drums. They take delight in such orgiastic dancing, especially when they are drunk.

[4] ἐμφορηθῶσιν. ὥς δὲ πᾶν συνήλθε τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν τε ἵππων ἀπέβησαν, φαρέτρας τε καὶ τόξα ἀποθέμενοι περὶ σπονδὰς καὶ κύλικας εἶχον. πλεῖστον δὲ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων ἦθροιστο, καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἀτάκτως εἰστήκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἄτοπον προσδοκῶντες, σπεύδων δὲ ἕκαστος

[4] Abandoning their horses and laying aside their quivers and bows, the whole populace came together to drink and pour libations. A huge mob of barbarians gathered and stood about casually, wherever they happened to be, eager to see the bridegroom and expecting nothing out of the ordinary.

[5] ἰδεῖν τὸν νυμφίον. τότε ὕφ' ἐνὶ συνθήματι κελεύει ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φονεύειν τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ τῷ πράγματι, παιόμενοί τε καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι ἐτράποντο. αὐτὸς τε Ἀρτάβανος ἀρπαγεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν δορυφόρων ἵπῳ τε ἐπιτεθεῖς

[5] Then the signal was given, and Antoninus ordered his army to attack and massacre the spectators. Astounded by this onslaught, the barbarians turned and fled, wounded and bleeding. Artabanus himself, snatched up and placed on a horse by some of his personal bodyguards, barely escaped with a few companions.

[6] ἀπέδρα μόλις μετ' ὀλίγων. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐκόπτετο τῶν βαρβάρων οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους ἐχόντων, οἷς χρῶνται μάλιστα (ἀποβεβηκότες γὰρ εἰστήκεσαν, ἐκείνους ἀνέντες νέμεσθαι), οὔτε δρόμῳ χρήσασθαι δυναμένων πρὸς φυγὴν, ἐμποδιζούσης αὐτοῦς τῆς περὶ τοῖς ποσὶ

[6] The rest of the Parthians, lacking their indispensable horses, were cut down (for they had sent the horses out to graze and were standing about). They were unable to escape by running, either; their long, loose robes, hanging to their feet, tripped them up.

[7] χαύνου ἐσθῆτος. φαρέτρας δὲ καὶ τόξα οὐκ εἶχον· τί γὰρ ἔχρηζον αὐτῶν πρὸς γάμους; πολὺν δὲ ἐργασάμενος ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος φόνον τῶν βαρβάρων, λείαν τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτους παμπληθεῖς συλλαβὼν, ἀπῆει μηδενὸς αὐτῷ ἀνθεστῶτος, κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις ἐμπιράς, δοὺς ἐξουσίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀρπάζειν τε ἕκαστον ὃ δύναται καὶ ὃ βούλεται αὐτὸς κτήσασθαι.

[7] Naturally they did not have their quivers and bows with them; what need for weapons at a wedding? After slaughtering a great number of the enemy and taking much booty and many prisoners, Antoninus marched away from the city unopposed. En route he burned the towns and villages and permitted his soldiers to carry off as much as they could of anything they wanted.

[8] τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ πάθει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ βάρβαροι οὐ προσδοκηθέντι· ὁ δὲ

Ἀντωνῖνος ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Παρθυαίων γῆς ἐλάσας, ἤδη καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεκμηκότων ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀρπάζειν καὶ φονεύειν, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν. ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος ἐπιστέλλει τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ πᾶσαν ἀνατολὴν κεχειρωθῆσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐπέκεινα βασιλείας πάντας αὐτῷ παρακεχωρηκέναι.

[8] Such was the nature of the disaster which the barbarians suffered when they were not anticipating anything of the kind. After harassing most of the Parthian empire, Antoninus, since his troops were weary by now of looting and killing, went off to Mesopotamia. From there he sent word to the senate and the Roman people that the entire East was subdued and that all the kingdoms in that region had submitted to him.

[9] ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος, οὐκ ἄγνοοῦντες μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα (λαθεῖν γὰρ ἔργα βασιλέως ἀδύνατον), πλὴν δέει καὶ κολακεία ψηφίζονται αὐτῷ πάσας τιμὰς ἐπινικίους. διέτριβε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, ἡνιοχείαις σχολάζων καὶ θηρία παντοδαπὰ ἀναιρῶν.

[9] The senators were not unaware of what had actually happened (for it is impossible to conceal an emperor's acts); nevertheless, fear and the desire to flatter led them to vote the emperor all the triumphal honors. Thereafter, Antoninus spent some time in Mesopotamia, where he devoted himself to chariot-driving and to fighting all kinds of wild animals.

SECTION 12

[1] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπάρχοντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου δύο, ὃ μὲν πρεσβύτες πάνυ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ιδιώτης καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχων, στρατιωτικὸς δὲ γεγενῆσθαι δοκῶν· Ἄδουεντος ὄνομα αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Μακρίνος μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο, τῶν δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὐκ ἀπείρως εἶχε, καὶ μάλιστα νόμων ἐπιστήμης. ἐς τοῦτον οὖν ὥς μὴ στρατιωτικὸν μηδὲ γενναῖον δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις ἀπέσκωπτε,

[1] Antoninus had two generals in his army: Adventus, an old man, who had some skill in military matters but was a layman in other fields and unacquainted with civil administration; and Macrinus, experienced in public affairs and especially well trained in law. Antoninus often ridiculed Macrinus publicly, calling him a brave, self-styled warrior, and carrying his sarcasm to the point of shameful abuse.

[2] καὶ μέχρις αἰσχρᾶς βλασφημίας· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν αὐτὸν καὶ διαίτη ἐλευθερίῳ χρώμενον καὶ τὰ φαῦλα καὶ ἀπερριμμένα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων καὶ ποτῶν μυσαπτόμενον, οἷς ὡς στρατιωτικὸς δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνίνος ἔχαιρε, γλαμῦδιον ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἐσθίῃτα ἀμφιεσάμενον ἀστειοτέραν ἐς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ θήλειαν νόσον διέβαλλεν, αἰεὶ τε ἀποκτενεῖν ἠπεῖλει. ἅπερ οὐ φέρων ὁ Μακρίνος πάνυ ἥσυχалле.

[2] When the emperor learned that Macrinus was overfond of food and scorned the coarse, rough fare which Antoninus the soldier enjoyed, he accused the general of cowardice and effeminacy, and continually threatened to murder him. Unable to endure these insults any longer, the angry Macrinus grew dangerous.

[3] συνέβη δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον· ἔδει γὰρ ἄρα τέλος λαβεῖν τὸν Ἀντωνίνου βίον. περιεργότατος γὰρ ὢν οὐ μόνον τὰ ἀνθρώπων πάντα εἰδέναι ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ δαιμόνια πολυπραγμονεῖν. αἰεὶ τε πάντας ὑπώπτευεν ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, χρηστηρίων τε πάντων ἐνεφορεῖτο, τοὺς τε πανταχόθεν μάγους τε καὶ ἀστρονόμους καὶ θύτας μετεπέμπετο· καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐλάνθανε τῶν

[3] This is the way the affair turned out; it was, at long last, time for Antoninus's life to come to an end. The emperor, always excessively curious, wished not only to know everything about the affairs of men but also to meddle in divine matters. Since he suspected everyone of plotting against him, he consulted all the oracles and summoned prophets, astrologers, and entrail-examiners from all over the world; no one who practiced the magic art of prophecy escaped him.

[4] τὴν γοητείαν ταύτην ὑπισχνουμένων· ὑποπτεύων δ' αὐτοὺς ὥς οὐ τάληθῃ

αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ πρὸς κολακείαν θεσπίζοντας, ἐπιστέλλει Ματερνιανῷ τινί, τότε πάσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ, πιστοτάτῳ εἶναι δοκοῦντι φίλων καὶ μόνῳ κοινωνῷ τῶν ἀπορρήτων· κελεύει δὲ αὐτῷ μάγων τοὺς ἀρίστους ζητήσαντι νεκυία τε χρησαμένῳ μαθεῖν περὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ βίου

[4] But when he began to suspect that these men were not prophesying truthfully but were flattering him, Antoninus wrote a letter to Materianus, to whom he had entrusted control of affairs at Rome. This Materianus he considered the most trustworthy of his friends, the only one with whom he shared the imperial secrets. He ordered Materianus to locate all the most highly skilled prophets and to make use of their magic arts to discover whether anyone was plotting to seize the empire.

[5] αὐτοῦ, καὶ μή τις ἄρα ἐπιβουλεύοι τῇ ἀρχῇ. ὁ δὲ Ματερνιανὸς χρησάμενος ἀδεῶς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κελευσθεῖσιν, εἴτε ὄντως αὐτῷ δαιμόνων ταῦτα θεσπισάντων εἴτε ἄλλως συσκευαζόμενος [τὸν Μακρίνον], ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇ ἀρχῇ τὸν Μακρίνον καὶ

[5] Materianus obeyed the emperor's orders to the letter, and whether because the spirits actually revealed these things to him or because he was eager to remove Macrinus, he sent Antoninus a dispatch informing him that Macrinus was conspiring to seize control of the empire and must be eliminated.

[6] δεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποσκευάσασθαι. ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα ἀποσημνιάμενος μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ἐπιστολῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος δίδωσι τοῖς διακομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἰδόσιν ἃ φέρουσι. τῷ δὲ συνήθει τάχει τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐκεῖνοι χρησάμενοι ἐφίστανται τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ, ἥδη τε σκευὴν ἡνιόχου ἀνειληφότες καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπιβαίνοντι προσκομίζουσι πάντα τὸν σύνδεσμον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ τὰ κατὰ

[6] Sealing this letter, he gave it routinely with the other dispatches to the couriers, who did not, of course, know what they were carrying. Completing the journey with their usual speed, the messengers approached Antoninus after he had already donned his racing uniform and was about to climb into the waiting chariot, and gave him the whole bundle of dispatches, including the letter concerning Macrinus.

[7] Μακρίνου γράμματα. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν ὁρμὴν ἥδη καὶ τὴν γνώμην περὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἔχων, κελεύει τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἀποστάντι καὶ ιδιάσαντι ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐπεῖγον εἶη, δηλῶσαι αὐτῷ, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτὸν διοικῆσαι ὡς ἔπαρχον. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦτο κελεύειν ἦν σύνηθες αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα προστάξας

[7] Antoninus, about to drive off, and intent upon the coming race, ordered Macrinus, who was standing nearby alone, to examine the dispatches and, if they contained anything urgent, to inform him. If, however, there was nothing pressing in them, he was to handle them himself in the usual manner, in his capacity as praetorian prefect. The emperor frequently ordered Macrinus to do this.

[8] εἶχετο τοῦ προκειμένου· ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος καθ' αὐτὸν γενόμενος τάς τε ἄλλας ἐπιδύεται ἐπιστολάς, περιτυχὼν δὲ καὶ τῇ καθ' αὐτοῦ θανατηφόρῳ ὀρᾷ προὔπτον κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενον. εἰδὼς τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸ φονικὸν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε γράμμασι, καὶ πρόφασιν αὐτῷ εὐλογον ὑπάρξουσιν, τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ὑφαιρεῖται,

[8] After giving these directions, Antoninus turned to his race. Macrinus withdrew and opened the dispatches in private; when he found the one containing his own death sentence, he saw clearly the danger which threatened him. Knowing the emperor's nature, and realizing that the death sentence contained in the letter would give the emperor legitimate cause for putting him to death, Macrinus removed this letter from the pile and reported that the rest were of the routine sort.

SECTION 13

[1] περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπαγγέλλει ὡς εἶεν συνήθεις. φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ δεύτερον ταῦτα ὁ Ματερνιανὸς ἐπιστείλῃ, δρᾶσαί τι μᾶλλον ἠθέλησεν ἢ ἀναμείνας παθεῖν. τολμᾷ δὴ <τι> τοιοῦτον. ἦν τις ἑκατοντάρχης, Μαρτιάλιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν Ἀντωνίνου, αἰὶ παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ. τούτου τὸν ἀδελφὸν πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀνηρήκει διαβληθέντα μὲν οὐκ ἐλεγχθέντα δέ· αὐτῷ τε τῷ Μαρτιαλίῳ ἐνύβρισεν, ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν καὶ

[1] THE prefect, fearing that Materianus might send this information to the emperor a second time, decided to act now rather than wait and suffer the consequences. This is what he did. In Antoninus's bodyguard was a centurion named Martialis, who was always in the emperor's escort. A few days earlier, Antoninus had executed the centurion's brother on an unproved charge. Moreover, the emperor continually insulted the man, calling him cowardly, effeminate, and Macrinus' darling.

[2] ἀγεννῇ καλῶν καὶ Μακρίνου φίλον. τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Μακρίνος ἀλγοῦντά τε σφοδρῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναιρέσει, μὴ φέροντά τε τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεις, μεταπέμπεται (ἐθάρρει δὲ αὐτῷ θεραπεύοντί τε αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν καὶ πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὐεργετηθέντι), πείθει τε καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον παραφυλάζοντα ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ. ὁ δὲ ταῖς τε ὑποσχέσεσι τοῦ Μακρίνου ἀναπεισθεὶς, μισῶν τε ἄλλως καὶ τιμωρῆσαι θέλων τῷ ἀδελφῷ, πάντα ποιήσῃν ἀσμένως ὑπισχνεῖται καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εὐρών.

συνέβη δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς σκέψεως ταύτης θελήσαι

[2] Learning that Martialis was exceedingly grieved by his brother's death and could no longer endure the emperor's insults, Macrinus summoned the centurion (in whom he had confidence because the man had served him before, and had received many favors from him). The prefect persuaded Martialis to be on the watch for a suitable opportunity to carry out a plot against the emperor. Won over by Macrinus' promises, Martialis, since he hated the emperor and was eager to avenge his brother, gladly promised to do the deed when the proper occasion arose.

[3] τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, διατρίβοντα ἐν Κάρραις τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, προελθεῖν τῆς βασιλείου <αὐλῆς> ἀπελθεῖν τε ἐς τὸν νεῶν τῆς σελήνης, ἣν μάλιστα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσιν. ἀφειστήκει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ νεὼς πολὺ, ὡς ὁδοιπορίας χρῆζειν. σὺν ἱπεῦσιν οὖν ὀλίγοις, ἵνα δὴ μὴ πάντα τὸν στρατὸν σκύλῃ, τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς ἂν θύσας

[3] Not long after they made this agreement, it happened that Antoninus, who was spending the time at Carrhae in Mesopotamia, conceived a desire to leave the imperial quarters and

visit the Temple of the Moon, for Selene is the goddess whom the natives particularly adore. The temple was located some distance from Carrhae, and the journey was a long one. Therefore, to avoid involving the entire army, Antoninus made the trip with a few horsemen, intending to sacrifice to the goddess and then return to the city.

[4] τῇ θεᾷ ἐπανεῖλθοι. κατὰ δὲ [τὴν] μέσην ὁδὸν ἐπειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γαστροῦ, ἀποστῆναι τε πάντας κελεύσας, ἀνεχώρει σὺν ἐνὶ ὑπηρέτῃ ἀποσκευασόμενος τὰ ἐνοχλοῦντα. πάντες τοίνυν ἀπεστράφησαν καὶ ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἀπῆσαν,

[4] At the halfway point he stopped to relieve himself; ordering his escort to ride off, he went apart with a single attendant. All the horsemen turned aside and withdrew for some distance, respecting the emperor's modesty.

[5] τιμὴν καὶ αἰδῶ τῷ γινομένῳ νέμοντες. ὁ δὲ Μαρτιάλιος τοὺς καιροὺς πάντας παραφυλάττων, ἰδὼν τε αὐτὸν μεμονωμένον, ὥς δὴ κληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νεύματι ἐρῶν τι ἢ ἀκουσόμενος, προστρέχει, ἐπιστὰς τε αὐτῷ τὰς ἐσθῆτας τῶν μηρῶν καθέλκοντι, ἀπεστραμμένον παῖει ξιφιδίῳ, ὃ μετὰ χειρὸς ἔφερε λανθάνων. καιρίου δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἐπὶ τῆς κατακλείδος γενομένης ἀπροσδοκῆτως τε καὶ

[5] But when Martialis, who was looking for just such an opportunity, saw Antoninus alone, he ran toward him as if the emperor had summoned him by a gesture to question him or receive some information. Standing over Antoninus after he had uncovered himself, Martialis stabbed the emperor from behind with a dagger he had concealed in his hand. The blow under the shoulder was fatal, and Antoninus died, unsuspecting and undefended.

[6] ἀφυλάκτως ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀνῆρέθη. πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐμ>πηδήσας ἵππῳ ἔφυγεν ὁ Μαρτιάλιος. Γερμανοὶ δὲ ἱππεῖς, οἷς <ὁ> Ἀντωνῖνος ἔχαιρε φρουροῖς τε τοῦ σώματος ἐχρῆτο, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀφεστῶτες ἐς ὅσον οἱ λοιποὶ, πρῶτοί τε ἰδόντες τὸ γινόμενον, διώξαντες τὸν Μαρτιάλιον

[6] When the emperor fell, Martialis leaped upon his horse and fled. Those favorites of Antoninus, the German cavalry who served as his bodyguard, were closer to the scene than the rest, and hence were the first to realize what had happened. These horsemen set out in pursuit of Martialis and cut him down.

[7] κατηκόντισαν. ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς στρατὸς εἶδε τὸ πραχθέν, πάντες συνέδραμον, καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπιστὰς τῷ πτώματι ὀλοφύρεσθαι τε καὶ θρηνεῖν προσεποιεῖτο. ὃ τε στρατὸς πᾶς χαλεπῶς καὶ δυσφόρως ἤνεγκε τὸ πραχθέν· συστρατιώτην γὰρ καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ βίου, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρχοντα ᾧ οὐτοὶ ἀποβεβληκέναι. καὶ οὐδεμίαν πῶ ἐπιβουλήν ὑπώπτευνον ἐκ τοῦ Μακρίνου,

[7] When the rest of the army learned what had occurred, they hurried to the spot, and Macrinus was the first to arrive; standing over the body, he pretended to wail and lament for the emperor. The whole army was grieved and distressed by the affair; they felt they had lost a fellow soldier, a comrade-in-arms, rather than their emperor. And yet they never suspected that it was a plot of Macrinus; they believed that Martialis had done it because of his personal hatred for the emperor.

[8] δὲ τὸν Μαρτιάλιον οἰκείαν ἔχθραν ἀμύνασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕκαστος ἐς τὰς σκηναὺς ἐπανῆσαν· ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος πυρὶ παραδοὺς τὸ σωμάτιον, τὴν τε κόνιν κάλπει τινὶ ἐμβαλὼν, ἔπεμψε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ καταθάψαι, ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατριβούσῃ. ἐκείνῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παιδῶν ὁμοίαις συμφοραῖς εἴτε ἐκοῦσα εἴτε κελευσθεῖσα ἀπεκατέρρησε. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ἐχρήσατο ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Ἰουλία, βιώσαντες ὡς προείρηται. πᾶς δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ μόνος ἐβασίλευσεν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐν ἑξ ἔτεσι συνετελέσθη.

[8] Then the soldiers retired, each to his own tent. After burning the body on a pyre and placing the ashes in an urn, Macrinus sent it for burial to the emperor's mother in Antioch. As a result of these similar disasters which befell her two sons, Julia died, either by her own hand or by the emperor's order. Such was the fate suffered by Antoninus and his mother Julia, who lived in the manner I have described above. Antoninus had served as emperor without his father and brother for eleven years.

SECTION 14

[1] τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀντωνίνου ἐν ἀφασίᾳ τε ἦν ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἀπορία τοῦ πρακτέου· ἔμεινάν τε ἡμερῶν δύο ἀβασίλευτοι, ἐζήτουν τε ὃν ἐπιλέξονται ἄρχοντα. καὶ γὰρ ἠγγέλλετο μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιὼν Ἀρτάβανος, δίκας ἀπαιτήσων τιμωρήσων τε τοῖς ἐν σπονδαῖς

[1] AFTER Antoninus's death, the bewildered soldiers were at a loss as to what to do. For two days they were without an emperor while they looked for someone to fill the office. And now it was reported that Artabanus was approaching with a huge army, seeking a legitimate revenge for the Parthians whom Antoninus had murdered under a truce and in time of peace.

[2] καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἀνηρημένοις. αἰροῦνται δὴ βασιλέα πρῶτον μὲν Ἄδουεντον ὡς στρατιωτικόν τε καὶ ἔπαρχον οὐ φαῦλον γενόμενον· ὃ δὲ γῆρας προῖσχύμενος παρητήσατο· μετ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν Μακρίνον, πειθόντων αὐτοὺς χιλιάρχων, οἱ καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου συνωμόται καὶ κοινωνοὶ τοῦ Μακρίνου γεγενῆσθαι ὑπωπτεύθησαν. ὕστερον γοῦν ἐκολάσθησαν μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου

[2] The army first chose Adventus as their emperor because he was a military man and a praetorian prefect of considerable ability; he declined the honor, however, pleading his advanced age. They then decided upon Macrinus, influenced by their tribunes, who were close friends of the general and were suspected of having been involved in the plot against Antoninus. Later, after Macrinus' death, these tribunes were punished, as we shall relate in the pages to follow.

[3] τελευτήν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν. παρέλαβε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Μακρίνος οὐχ οὕτως εὐνοία καὶ πίστει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς ἀνάγκῃ καὶ χρεία τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ.

τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐφίσταται ὁ Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ μεγίστου πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως, ἵππον τε πολλὴν ἄγων καὶ τοξοτῶν μέγα τι πλῆθος καταφράκτους τε

[3] Macrinus thus received the office of emperor not so much because of the soldiers' affection and loyalty as from necessity and the urgency of the impending crisis.

While these events were taking place, Artabanus was marching toward the Romans with a huge army, including a strong cavalry contingent and a powerful unit of archers and those mail-clad soldiers who hurl spears from camels.

[4] ἀπὸ καμήλων ἔξωθεν μακροῖς δόρασιν. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη προσίων, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Μακρίνος ἔλεξε τοιάδε. ἀλγεῖν μὲν ὑμᾶς

πάντας ἐπὶ τοιούτου βασιλέως, ἢ ἵνα τάληθῃ λέγοιμι, <συ>στρατιώτου ἀποβολῇ, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· φέρειν δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰ προσπίπτοντα μετρίως ὑπομένειν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον

[4] When the approach of Artabanus was reported, Macrinus called the soldiers together and addressed them as follows: “That all of you regret the passing of such an emperor, or, more accurately, fellow soldier, is hardly surprising. But to endure misfortunes and disasters with equanimity is the part of intelligent men.

[5] σωφρονούντων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνου μνήμη ἔν τε τοῖς ἡμετέροις στέρνοις ἐγκείσεται, τοῖς τε ἐς ὕστερον παραδοθήσεται [καὶ] δόξαν αἰδίου φέρουσα μεγάλων τε καὶ γενναίων ἔργων ὧν ἔδρασε, φίλτρων τε καὶ εὐνοίας καμάτων τε κοινωνίας τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς. νῦν δὲ καιρός, τιμήσαντας ὡς χρή τὴν μνήμην τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, ἀφοσιωσαμένους τε τὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐπειγόντων.

[5] Truly the memory of Antoninus is locked in our hearts, and to those who come after us will be handed down this memory, which will bring him everlasting fame for his great and noble deeds, his love and affection for you, and his labors and comradeship with you. But now it is time for us, since we have paid the last of the prescribed honors to the memory of the dead and have performed his funeral rites, to look to the present emergency.

[6] ὁρᾶτε τὸν βάρβαρον ἐφεστῶτα σὺν παντὶ τῷ τῆς ἀνατολῆς πλήθει, καὶ δοκοῦντα πρόφασιν εὐλόγον ἔχθρας ἔχειν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν προυκαλεσάμεθα παρασπονδήσαντες, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθεῖα πόλεμον ἠγείραμεν. ἡρτηται δὲ νῦν πᾶσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀνδρείας τε καὶ πίστεως· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὄρων γῆς οὐδὲ ρεῖθρων ποταμῶν ἢ φιλονεικία, περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δέ, πρὸς μέγαν βασιλέα, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ συγγενῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἀδίκως

[6] You see the barbarian with his whole Eastern horde already upon us, and Artabanus seems to have good reason for his enmity. We provoked him by breaking the treaty, and in a time of complete peace we started a war. Now the whole Roman empire depends upon our courage and loyalty. This is no quarrel about boundaries or river beds; everything is at stake in this dispute in which we face a mighty king fighting for his children and kinsmen who, he believes, have been murdered in violation of solemn oaths.

[7] καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους οἶται ἀνηρῆσθαι. τὰ τε οὖν ὅπλα λαμβάνωμεν, καὶ τῇ συνήθει Ῥωμαίοις εὐκοσμία ταπτώμεθα. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς παρατάξεσι τὸ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἄτακτον πλῆθος καὶ προσκαίρως ὠρισμένον αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ ἴσως γένοιτ’ ἂν ἐναντίον· τὸ δ’ ἡμέτερον εὐτακτὸν τε ὄν καὶ συγκεκροτημένον, μετὰ τε ἐμπειρίας μαχόμενον, ἡμῖν τε ἔσται σωτήριον κάκεινοις ὀλέθριον.

μετ' ἀγαθῆς οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀγωνίζεσθε ὡς Ῥωμαίοις πρέπον καὶ

[7] Therefore let us take up our arms and our battle stations in the customary Roman good order. In the fighting, the undisciplined mob of barbarians, assembled only for temporary duty, may prove its own worst enemy. Our battle tactics and our stern discipline, together with our combat experience, will insure our safety and their destruction. Therefore, with hopes high, contest the issue as it is fitting and traditional for Romans to do.

[8] σύνηθες· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τε βαρβάρους ἀπώσεσθε, καὶ δόξης κλέος ἀράμενοι μέγα Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δείξετε, τὴν τε προτέραν νίκην πιστώσεσθε, ὡς μὴ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ παρασπονδήσαντες ἡδικήσατε, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅπλων νικήσαντες ἐκρατήσατε.

τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ πράγματος ὀρῶντες παρετάττοντο κἀν τοῖς

[8] Thus will you repel the barbarians, and by winning a great and glorious reputation you will make it clear to the Romans and to all men — and you will likewise confirm that previous victory — that you did not deceive the barbarians by fraudulently and treacherously breaking your treaty with them, but that you conquered and won by force of arms.”

After this speech the soldiers, recognizing the necessity of the matter, took up battle stations and remained under arms.

SECTION 15

[1] ὅπλοις ἦσαν. ἅμα δὲ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐφάνη Ἀρτάβανος σὺν μεγίστῳ πλήθει στρατοῦ. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, οἱ βάρβαροι, μεγίστη τε κλαγγῇ βοήσαντες, ἐπέδραμον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοξεύοντές τε καὶ καθιπεύοντες. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐτάκτως τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς συστήσαντες τὰς φάλαγγας, ἐκατέρωθεν τε τοὺς ἵππεῖς καὶ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους παρατάξαντες, τὰ τε κενὰ πληρώσαντες τῶν κούφως καὶ εὐσταλῶς ἐκτρέχειν δυναμένων, δεξάμενοι

[1] ARTABANUS appeared at sunrise with his vast army. When they had saluted the sun, as was their custom, the barbarians, with a deafening cheer, charged the Roman line, firing their arrows and whipping on their horses. The Romans had arranged their divisions carefully to insure a stable front; the cavalry and the Moroccan javelin men were stationed on the wings, and the open spaces were filled with light-armed and mobile troops that could move rapidly from one place to another. And so the Romans received the charge of the Parthians and joined battle.

[2] τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῷ πλήθει τῶν τόξων τοῖς τε ἐπιμήκεσι δόρασι τῶν καταφράκτων ἀπὸ τε ἵπων καὶ καμήλων τιτρώσκοντες αὐτοὺς ἄνωθεν μεγάλως ἔβλαπτον· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν μὲν συστάδην μαχομένων ῥαδίως ἐκράτουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἦ τε ἵππος πολλὴ οὖσα καὶ τὸ τῶν καμήλων πλῆθος ἐλυμαίνετο, προσποιούμενοι ἀναχωρεῖν τριβόλους τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τεχνάσματα σιδηρίων, ὀξυτάτας ἐξοχὰς περικείμενα, ἐρρίπτουν. λανθάνοντα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ψάμμοις καὶ οὐ καθορώμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱπέων ἢ τῶν καμηλιτῶν

[2] The barbarians inflicted many wounds upon the Romans from above, and did considerable damage by the showers of arrows and the long spears of the mail-clad camel riders. But when the fighting came to close quarters, the Romans easily defeated the barbarians; for when the swarms of Parthian cavalry and hordes of camel riders were mauling them, the Romans pretended to retreat and then they threw down caltrops and other keen-pointed iron devices. Covered by the sand, these were invisible to the horsemen and the camel riders and were fatal to the animals.

[3] ὀλέθρια ἦν αὐτοῖς· πατοῦντες γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι, αἱ τε κάμηλοι μάλιστα, ἔχουσιν ἀπαλὰ τὰ πέλματα, ὥκλαζον καὶ ἐχώλευον, τοὺς τε ἐπιβάτας οὓς ἔφερον ἀπεσεύοντο. οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα βάρβαροι ἐς ὅσον μὲν ἐποχοῦνται ἵπποις ἢ καμήλοις, γενναίως μάχονται, ἦν δὲ ἀποβῶσιν αὐτῶν ἢ κατενεχθῶσι, ῥᾶστα ἀλίσκονται, μὴ φέροντες τὴν ἐκ συστάσεως μάχην. πρὸς τε τὸ φυγεῖν ἢ

διῶξαι, εἰ δέοι, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἐσθῆτος χαύνως παρηωρημένης ἐμποδίζονται.

[3] The horses, and particularly the tender-footed camels, stepped on these devices and, falling, threw their riders. As long as they are mounted on horses and camels, the barbarians in those regions fight bravely, but if they dismount or are thrown, they are very easily captured; they cannot stand up to hand-to-hand fighting. And, if they find it necessary to flee or pursue, the long robes which hang loosely about their feet trip them up.

[4] πρώτης μὲν οὖν καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ ἐς ἑσπέραν ἐμαχέσαντο, καὶ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε τὰς μάχας, ἐκάτεροί τε ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδα νικᾶν ἀξιοῦντες. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πεδῖον μαχούμενοι, ἐπειρῶντο δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι, πολὺ τι τῷ πλήθει ὑπερέχοντες, κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ σαγηνεῦσαι· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκέτι τὰς φάλαγγας ἐς βάθος συνίστασαν, ἐς μῆκος δ' ἐκτείνοντες

[4] On the first and second days the two armies fought from morning until evening, and when night put an end to the fighting, each side withdrew to its own camp, claiming the victory. On the third day they came again to the same field to do battle; then the barbarians, who were far superior in numbers, tried to surround and trap the Romans. The Romans, however, no longer arranged their divisions to obtain depth; instead, they broadened their front and blocked every attempt at encirclement.

[5] αἰεὶ τὸ κυκλούμενον ἐνεπόδιζον. πλήθος δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ κτηνῶν ἐφονεύθη ὥς πᾶν πληρωθῆναι τὸ πεδῖον μεγίστους τε σωρούς πτωμάτων ἐς ὕψος ἀρθῆναι, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν καμήλων ἐπαλλήλων πιπτουσῶν. πρὸς τε οὖν τὸ διατρέχειν ἐνεποδίζοντο οἱ μαχόμενοι· οὐκέτι δὲ οὐδὲ καθεώρων ἀλλήλους, μεγάλου οἰονεῖ χώματος ἐν μέσῳ καὶ δυσβάτου ὑπὸ τῶν σωμάτων σεσωρευμένου, ὅφ' οὗ κωλυόμενοι [τοῖς] ἀλλήλοις ἐπιέναι ἕκαστοι ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδα.

[5] So great was the number of slaughtered men and animals that the entire plain was covered with the dead; bodies were piled up in huge mounds, and the camels especially fell in heaps. As a result, the soldiers were hampered in their attacks; they could not see each other for the high and impassable wall of bodies between them. Prevented by this barrier from making contact, each side withdrew to its own camp.

[6] ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος συνεῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως Ἀρτάβανος ἐκθύμως τε μάχεται καὶ προσμένει ἀλλ' ἢ οἰόμενος Ἀντωνίῳ μάχεσθαι, εἰωθότων αἰεὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ῥᾶστα ἀποκάμνειν ἐθελοκακεῖν τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἐν ταῖς πρώταις ὁρμαῖς

[6] Macrinus knew that Artabanus was making so strong a stand and battling so fiercely only

because he thought that he was fighting Antoninus; the barbarian always tires of battle quickly and loses heart unless he is immediately victorious.

[7] κατορθώσουσι, τότε δὲ προσμενόντων ὡς ἂν τὴν μάχην ἀνανεώσαιντο μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσίν τε καὶ κατάφλεξιν, οὐκ οἰομένων τεθνηκέναι τὸν τῆς ἔχθρας αἴτιον, πέμπει πρεσβείαν ἐπιστέλλει τε τῷ Παρθουαίῳ, λέγων τὸν μὲν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀδικήσαντα βασιλέα τεθνηκέναι δίκας τε ἀξίας ὧν ἔδρασε δεδωκέναι, Ῥωμαίους δέ, ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχή, ἑαυτῷ [τε] τὰ

[7] But on this occasion the Parthians resolutely stood their ground and renewed the struggle after they had carried off their dead and buried them, for they were unaware that the cause of their hatred was dead. Macrinus therefore sent an embassy to the Parthian king with a letter telling him that the emperor who had wronged him by breaking his treaties and violating his oaths was dead and had paid a richly deserved penalty for his crimes. Now the Romans, to whom the empire really belonged, had entrusted to Macrinus the management of their realm.

[8] τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκεχειρικέναι· μήτε δὲ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖςπραχθεῖσιν, αἰχμαλώτους τε τοὺς περιόντας ἀποδοῦναι, χρήματά τε ὅσα ἠρπάγη ἀποτίσαι, φίλῳ τε ἀντὶ ἐχθροῦ χρῆσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὅρκοις καὶ σπονδαῖς βεβαιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβανος ταῦτά τε ἀναγνοὺς καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβων περὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίνου ἀναιρέσεως, αὐτάρκη τιμωρίαν τὸν παρασπονδήσαντα δεδωκέναι νομίζων, τοῦ

[8] He told Artabanus that he did not approve of Antoninus's actions and promised to restore all the money he had lost. Macrinus offered friendship to Artabanus instead of hostility and assured him that he would confirm peace between them by oaths and treaties. When he learned this and was informed by envoys of Antoninus's death, Artabanus believed that the treaty breaker had suffered a suitable punishment; as his own army was riddled with wounds, the king signed a treaty of peace with Macrinus, content to recover the captives and stolen money without further bloodshed.

[9] τε στρατοῦ αὐτῷ τετραχωμένου, ἀγαπῶν τε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀναιμωτὶ ἀπολαβεῖν, σπεισάμενος εἰρήνην πρὸς τὸν Μακρίνον ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπανέρχεται. τὸν τε στρατὸν ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ διατριβῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἠπείγετο.

[9] The Parthian then returned to his own country, and Macrinus led his army out of Mesopotamia and hurried on to Antioch.

BOOK V.

SECTION 1

[1] Ὅπως μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἤρξεν τε καὶ ἐτελεύτησε, δεδήλωται ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι [ἢ τε πρὸ τούτου ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ διαδοχὴ]· γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ τε δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ

[1] ANTONINUS' life and death have been described in the preceding book. While at Antioch, Macrinus wrote a letter to the senate and the Roman people in which he said the following:

[2] τῇ συγκλήτῳ, λέγων τοιαύδε. ἐν εἰδόσι μὲν ὑμῖν τοῦ τε βίου μου τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαίρεσιν τοῦ τε τρόπου τὸ πρὸς χρηστότητα ἐπιρρεπές, καὶ τὸ πρᾶον τῆς διοικηθείσης πρότερον πράξεως, οὐ πολὺ τι ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως βασιλικῆς ἀποδεούσης, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐπάρχουσι τῶν στρατοπέδων πεπίστευται, περιττὸν νομίζω μακρηγορεῖν. ἴστε γάρ με καὶ οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενον, καὶ προκινδυνεύσαντα ὑμῶν ἐν οἷς πολλάκις ταῖς τυχούσαις διαβολαῖς πιστεύων ἀφειδῶς

[2] “You are familiar with the course of my life from its very beginning. You know my inclination toward uprightness of character, and are aware of the moderation with which I previously managed affairs, when my power and authority were little inferior to that of the emperor himself. For that reason, and since the emperor sees fit to put his trust in the praetorian prefects, I do not think it necessary for me to address you at great length. You know that I did not approve of the emperor's actions. Indeed, I frequently risked my life on your behalf when he listened to random charges and attacked you without mercy.

[3] ὑμῖν προσεφέρετο. καὶ μὲν κακῶς ἠγόρευε, καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις τὸ μέτριόν μου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους φιλάνθρωπον διαβάλλων καὶ διασκώπτων ἐς ῥαθυμίαν καὶ τρόπων χαννότητα· κολακείαις δὲ χαίρων, καὶ τοὺς εἰς ὁμότητα παροξύνοντας τῷ τε θυμῷ τὸ ἐνδόσιμον αὐτοῦ διδόντας τὴν τε ὀργὴν διαβολαῖς ἐγείροντας εὖνους καὶ πιστοὺς ἐδοκίμαζε φίλους. ἐμοὶ δὲ

[3] He criticized me harshly too, often publicly complaining about my moderation and my restraint in dealing with those under my authority, and ridiculing me for my easygoing ways and mild manner. He delighted in flatterers and men who encouraged him to cruelty and gave him good reason

for his savagery by arousing his anger with slanderous charges. These people he considered his loyal friends. I, on the other hand, have from the beginning been mild, moderate, and agreeable.

[4] ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ πρᾶον καὶ μέτριον προσφιλές. τὸν γοῦν πρὸς Παρθυαίους πόλεμον, μέγιστόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ πᾶσα Ῥωμαίων ἐσάλευν ἀρχή, κατελύσαμεν καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀνδρείως παραταξάμενοι οὐδέν τι ἡττήμεθα, καὶ ἐν οἷς σπείσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐλθόντα μέγαν βασιλέα πιστὸν φίλον ἀντ' ἐχθροῦ δυσμάχου ἐποιήσαμεν. ἐμοῦ δὲ κρατοῦντος ἐν ἀδείᾳ τε καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ πάντες βιώσονται, ἀριστοκρατία τε μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεία νομισθήσεται.

[4] We brought the war against the Parthians to a conclusion, a critical struggle involving the safety of the whole Roman empire. In our courageous opposition to the Parthians we proved in no way inferior to them, and in signing a treaty of peace we made a loyal friend instead of a dangerous enemy of a great king, who had marched against us at the head of a formidable army. Under my rule all men shall live in peace, and senatorial rule shall replace the autocracy.

[5] μηδὲ τις ἀπαξιούτω ἢ τύχης παῖσμα νομιζέτω, ὅτι δὴ ὄντα με ἐκ τῆς ἱππάδος τάξεως ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤγαγε. τί γὰρ ὄφελος εὐγενείας, εἰ μὴ χρηστὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος συνοικεῖ τρόπος; τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης δῶρα καὶ ἀναξίοις περιπίπτει, ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὴ ἰδίαν ἐκάστω δόξαν περιτίθησιν. εὐγένεια δὲ καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μακαρίζεται μὲν, οὐκ ἐπαινεῖται δέ, ὥς παρ'

[5] But let no one think me unworthy of my post, and let no one believe that Fortune blundered in raising me to this position, even though I am of the Equestrian order. For what advantage is there in nobility of birth unless it be combined with a beneficent and kindly nature? The gifts of Fortune fall upon the undeserving also, but it is the excellence of his own soul which brings every man his measure of personal glory. Nobility of birth, wealth, and the like are presumed to bring happiness, but, since they are bestowed by someone else, they deserve no praise.

[6] ἄλλου δοθέντα· ἐπιείκεια δὲ καὶ χρηστότης ἅμα τῷ θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐς αὐτόν τινα ἔχει τὸν κατορθοῦντα. τί γοῦν ὑμᾶς ὤνησεν ἡ Κομόδου εὐγένεια ἢ Ἀντωνίνου ἡ πατρώα διαδοχή; οἱ μὲν γὰρ

ὥσπερ ὄφλημα κληρονομίας εἰληφότες ἀποχρῶνται τε καὶ ἐνυβρίζουσιν ὡς ἄνωθεν ἰδίῳ κτήματι· οἱ δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν λαβόντες χάριτός τε αἰδίου εἰσὶ χρεῶσται καὶ πειρῶνται

[6] Virtue and kindness, on the other hand, besides commanding admiration, win a full measure of praise for anyone who succeeds by his own efforts. What, may I ask, did the noble birth of Commodus profit you ? Or the fact that Antoninus inherited the throne from his father? Indeed, having received the empire as legal heirs, the two youths abused their high office and conducted themselves insolently, as if the empire were their own personal possession by right of inheritance. But those who receive the empire from your hands are eternally in your debt for the favor, and they undertake to repay those who have done them previous good services.

[7] ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς εὐεργεσίαις προειληφότας. καὶ τῶν μὲν εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέων τὸ εὐγενὲς ἐς ὑπεροψίαν ἐκπίπτει καταφρονήσει τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς πολὺ ἐλαττόνων· οἱ δὲ ἐκ μετρίων πράξεων ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντες περιέπουσιν αὐτὸ ὡς καμάτῳ κτηθέν, αἰδῶ τε καὶ τιμῇ ἀπονέμουσιν,

[7] The noble ancestry of the highborn emperors leads them to commit insolent acts out of contempt for their subjects, whom they regard as far below them. By contrast, those who come to the throne as a result of temperate behavior treat the post with respect, since they secured it by toil; they continue to show to those who were formerly their superiors the same deference and esteem they were accustomed to show.

[8] ἦν εἰώθεσαν, τοῖς ποτὲ κρεῖττοσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ σκοπὸς μηδέν τι πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμβούλους ἔχειν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεως. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ βιώσεσθε, ὧν ἀφηρέθητε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπειράθησαν πρότερον μὲν Μάρκος ὕστερον δὲ Περτίναξ, ἐξ ἰδιωτικῶν σπαργάνων ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντες. γένους γὰρ ἔνδοξον ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν καὶ τῷ ὑστέρῳ γένει ἄμεινον ἢ κλέος προγονικὸν παραλαμβάνοντα τρόπον φαυλότητι καταισχύναι.

[8] I intend to have you senators as my associates and assistants in managing the empire, and I intend to do nothing without your approval. You shall live in freedom and security, enjoying the privileges of which you were deprived by your nobly born emperors and which Marcus, of old, and Pertinax, recently,

undertook to restore to you; the latter also are emperors who came to the throne from private circumstances. Surely it is better for a man to provide his descendants with the glorious beginnings of a family line than, having inherited ancestral glory, to disgrace it by outrageous behavior.”

SECTION 2

[1] ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστολῆς, εὐφημεῖ τε αὐτὸν ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ τὰς σεβασμίους τιμὰς πάσας ψηφίζεται. οὐχ οὕτως δὲ εὐφραине πάντας ἡ Μακρίνου διαδοχή, ὡς ὑπερήδοντό τε καὶ πανδημεὶ ἐώρταζον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀντωνίνου ἀπαλλαγῇ. ἕκαστός τε ᾤετο, μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει τινὶ ἢ πράξει καθεστῶτων, ξίφος ἀποσεσεῖσθαι

[1] AFTER they heard this message, the cheering senate voted Macrinus all the imperial honors. The fact is, however, that they rejoiced not so much at Macrinus' succession as at their own deliverance from Antoninus. Every man, but especially those who had any claim to merit or distinction, felt that he had escaped a sword suspended over his head.

[2] τοῖς αὐχέσιν ἐπαιωρούμενον. συκοφάνται τε ἢ δοῦλοι, ὅσοι δεσπότας κατήγγελλον, ἀνεσκολοπίσθησαν· ἢ τε Ῥωμαίων πόλις καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους οἰκουμένη καθαρθεῖσα πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν μὲν κολασθέντων τῶν δὲ ἐξωσθέντων, εἰ δέ τινες καὶ ἔλαθον, δι' εὐλάβειαν ἡσυχάζόντων, ἐν ἀδείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ εἰκόνι ἐλευθερίας ἐβίωσαν ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους οὗ μόνου ὁ Μακρίνος

[2] All informers and all slaves who had betrayed their masters were crucified; the city of Rome and virtually the entire Roman empire were purged of these scoundrels. Some were killed, others exiled; any who managed to escape, prudently laid low. As a result, men lived in complete security and in a semblance of freedom during the single year in which Macrinus was emperor.

[3] ἐβασίλευσε. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἤμαρτεν ὅσον μὴ διέλυσεν εὐθέως τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἐκάστους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτός τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ποθοῦσαν ἐπείχθη, τοῦ δήμου ἐκάστοτε καλοῦντος μεγάλας βοαῖς, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβε γένειόν τε ἀσκῶν, βαδίζων τε πλεόν τοῦ δέοντος ἡρεμαίως, βραδύτατά τε καὶ μόλις τοῖς προσιούσιν ἀποκρινόμενος ὡς μὴδ' ἀκούεσθαι πολλάκις διὰ

[3] But he made a great mistake in not immediately disbanding the armies, sending the soldiers back to their regular stations, and hurrying off to a Rome eager to welcome him, where the people were shouting for him on every occasion. Instead, he loitered at Antioch, cultivating his beard. He moved with

greater deliberation than was necessary, and to those who approached him he made replies that were very slow, difficult to understand, and often inaudible because of the softness of his voice.

[4] τὸ καθειμένον τῆς φωνῆς. ἐξήλου δὲ ταῦτα ὡς δὴ Μάρκου ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν βίον οὐκ ἐμμήσατο, ἐπεδίδου δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίατον, ὀρχηστῶν τε θέαις καὶ πάσης μούσης κινήσεώς τε εὐρύθμου ὑποκριταῖς σχολάζων, τῆς τε τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεως ἀμελῶς ἔχων. προῆει τε πόρπαις καὶ ζωστῆρι χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις πεποικιλμένος, τῆς τοιαύτης πολυτελείας παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης, βαρβάρου δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ θηλυπρεποῦς εἶναι

[4] In doing all this he was imitating Marcus, but he failed to follow that emperor's example in other respects; he indulged in endless luxuries and devoted his time to dancing shows, recitals of every kind of music, and exhibitions of pantomime, while neglecting the administration of the empire. He appeared in public resplendent in brooches and wearing a stomacher lavishly adorned with gold and precious gems, extravagances of which the Roman soldiers did not approve because such ornaments seemed more appropriate to barbarians and women.

[5] δοκούσης. ἅπερ ὁρῶντες οἱ στρατιῶται οὐ πάνυ τι ἀπεδέχοντο, ἀπηρεσκοντό τε αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ ὡς ἀνειμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἄνδρα στρατιωτικόν· παραβάλλοντες δὲ τὴν μνήμην τῆς Ἀντωνίνου διαίτης ἐπιστραφείσης τε καὶ στρατιωτικῆς γενομένης, κατεγίνωσκον τῆς Μακρίνου

[5] The soldiers were not at all pleased by what they saw; they disapproved of his way of life as too dissolute for a military man. When they contrasted it with their recollection of Antoninus's daily routine, which, being soldierly and austere, was the exact opposite, they had only contempt for Macrinus' extravagant behavior.

[6] πολυτελείας. ἔτι τε ἡγανάκτουν αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ σκηναῖς καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ διαιτώμενοι, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ σπανίζοντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἔς τε τὰ ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἐπανιόντες εἰρήνης εἶναι δοκούσης· ὁρῶντες δὲ τὸν Μακρίνον «ἐν» γλιδῇ καὶ τρυφῇ διαιτώμενον, ἀφηνιάζοντες ἤδη πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτὸν κακῶς ἡγόρευον, προφάσεώς τε ὀλίγης λαβέσθαι εὐχοντο ἐς τὸ ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὸ λυποῦν.

[6] Other circumstances increased their irritation; still living in tents and sometimes short of supplies in a foreign land, even though a state of peace seemed to exist, they longed to return to their regular stations. When they saw Macrinus' luxury and laxity, they rebelled and spoke bitterly about him, praying for even a flimsy excuse to rid themselves of this annoyance.

SECTION 3

[1] ἐχρῆν δὲ ἄρα Μακρίνον ἐνιαυτοῦ μόνου τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐντροφήσαντα ἅμα τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταλῦσαι, μικρὰν καὶ εὐτελεῖ πρόφασιν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς ἃ ἐβούλοντο

[1] THEREFORE it was inevitable that Macrinus, after ruling for a single year, should lose the empire and his life when Fortune provided the soldiers with a trivial and inadequate excuse for accomplishing their desire.

[2] τῆς τύχης παρασχούσης. Μαῖσα ἦν τις ὄνομα, τὸ γένος Φοίνισσα, ἀπὸ Ἑμέσου καλουμένης οὕτω πόλεως ἐν Φοινίκη· ἀδελφὴ δὲ ἐγγόνει Ἰουλίᾳς τῆς Σεβήρου μὲν γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίνου δὲ μητρός. παρὰ πάντα οὖν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς βίον ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ διέτριπεν αὐτῇ χρόνου πολυετοῦς, παρ' ὃν Σεβήρος τε καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐβασίλευσαν. τὴν δὲ Μαῖσαν ταύτην ὁ Μακρίνος, μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς τελευτὴν Ἀντωνίνου δὲ ἀναίρεσιν, προσέταξεν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανελθοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις καταβῶναι, πάντα ἔχουσιν τὰ ἑαυτῆς. πλείστον δὲ ἦν χρημάτων ἀνάπλεως ἅτε μακροῦ χρόνου βασιλικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ

[2] Julia, wife of Severus and mother of Antoninus, had a sister, Maesa, a Phoenician named after the city of Emesa in that country. During her sister's imperial career, the many years that Severus and Antoninus were emperors, this woman lived in the imperial palace. After the assassination of Antoninus and Julia's death, Macrinus ordered Maesa to return to her own estates in Phoenicia, allowing her to live there in full possession of her property. Since Maesa had lived for a long time under imperial protection, she had amassed a huge personal fortune. Thus the old woman now went off to live on her estates. Maesa had two daughters.

[3] ἐντεθραμμένη. ἐπανελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτὶς διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῇ θυγατέρες δύο· Σοαμίς μὲν ἡ πρεσβυτέρα ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα Μαμαία. παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν τῇ μὲν πρεσβυτέρᾳ Βασιανὸς ὄνομα, τῇ δὲ νεωτέρᾳ Ἀλεξιανός. ὑπὸ δὲ ταῖς μητράσι καὶ τῇ μάμμῃ ἀνετρέφοντο, ὁ μὲν Βασιανὸς περὶ ἔτη γεγρονὼς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξιανὸς δεκάτου ἔτους ἐπιβεβηκώς.

[3] The elder was called Soaemias; the younger, Mamaea. Each of the girls had an only son: Soaemias' son was named Bassianus; Mamaea's, Alexianus.

These boys, who were reared by their mothers and their grandmother, were at that time about fourteen and ten, respectively.

[4] ἰέρωντο δὲ αὐτοὶ θεῷ ἡλίῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσι, τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ Ἑλαιαγάβαλον καλοῦντες. νεῶς δὲ αὐτῷ μέγιστος κατεσκεύαστο, χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκοσμημένος λίθων τε πολυτελείᾳ. θρησκεύεται δὲ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ γειννιῶντες σατράπαι τε καὶ βασιλεῖς βάρβαροι φιλοτίμως πέμπουσι τῷ θεῷ ἐκάστου τοῦ ἔτους πολυτελῆ ἀναθήματα.

[4] They were priests of the sun god, whom their countrymen worship under the Phoenician name Elagabalus. A huge temple was erected to this god, lavishly decorated with gold, silver, and costly gems. Not only is this god worshiped by the natives, but all the neighboring rulers and kings send generous and expensive gifts to him each year.

[5] ἄγαλμα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις, οὐδὲν ἔστηκε χειροποίητον, θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δὲ τις ἔστι μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερῆς, λήγων ἐς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἢ χροιά. διοπετῇ τε αὐτὸν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν, ἐξοχὰς τέ τινας βραχείας καὶ τύπους δεικνύουσιν, εἰκόνα τε ἡλίου ἀνέργαστον

[5] No statue made by man in the likeness of the god stands in this temple, as in Greek and Roman temples. The temple does, however, contain a huge black stone with a pointed end and round base in the shape of a cone. The Phoenicians solemnly maintain that this stone came down from Zeus; pointing out certain small figures in relief, they assert that it is an unwrought image of the sun, for naturally this is what they wish to see.

[6] εἶναι θέλουσιν, οὕτω βλέπειν ἐθέλοντες. τοῦτῳ δὴ τῷ θεῷ ὁ Βασιανὸς ἱερωμένος (ἅτε γὰρ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐγκεχείριστο ἢ θρησκεία) προήει τε σχήματι βαρβάρῳ, χιτῶνας χρυσοῦφεῖς καὶ ἄλουργεῖς χειριδωτοὺς καὶ ποδήρεις ἀνεζωσμένος, τά τε σκέλη πάντα σκέπων ἅπ' ὀνύχων ἐς μηροὺς ἐσθῆσιν ὁμοίως χρυσῷ καὶ πορφύρᾳ πεποικιλμέναις. τήν τε κεφαλὴν ἐκόσμει στέφανος λίθων

[6] Bassianus was the chief priest of this god. (Since he was the elder of the boys, the priesthood had been entrusted to him.) He went about in barbarian

dress, wearing long-sleeved purple tunics embroidered with gold which hung to his feet; robes similarly decorated with gold and purple covered his legs from hip to toe, and he wore a crown of varicolored precious gems.

[7] πολυτελῶν χροιᾷ διηριθσμένος. ἦν δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμαῖος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ὠραιότατος μεираκίων πάντων. ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ συνιόντων κάλλους σώματος, ἡλικίας ἀκμῆς, ἀβροῦ σχήματος, ἀπέεικασεν ἂν τις τὸ μεираκίον Διονύσου καλαῖς εἰκόσιν.

[7] Bassianus, in the prime of youth, was the handsomest lad of his time. With physical beauty, bloom of youth, and splendor of attire combining to produce the same effect, the youth might well be compared to the handsome statues of Bacchus.

[8] ἱεουργοῦντα δὴ τοῦτον, περί τε τοῖς βωμοῖς χορεύοντα νόμῳ βαρβάρων ὑπὸ τε αὐλοῖς καὶ σύριγξι παντοδαπῶν τε ὀργάνων ἤχῳ, περιεργότερον ἐπέβλεπον οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ στρατιῶται, εἰδότες γένους ὄντα βασιλικῷ, καὶ τῆς ὥρας αὐτοῦ πάντων τὰς

[8] When Bassianus was performing his priestly duties, dancing about the altars in barbarian fashion to the music of flutes, pipes, and every kind of instrument, the natives and the soldiers watched him with more than ordinary curiosity, aware that he belonged to the imperial family.

[9] ὄψεις ἐς ἑαυτὴν ἐπιστρεφούσης. ἐγεινίαζε δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ τότε μέγιστον στρατόπεδον, ὃ τῆς Φοινίκης προήσπιζεν· ὕστερον δὲ μετηνέχθη, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν. φοιτῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκάστοτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἔς τε τὸν νεῶν ἰόντες θρησκευίας δὴ χάριν, τὸ μεираκίον ἡδέως ἔβλεπον. ἦσαν δὲ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πρόσφυγες

[9] His youthful beauty attracted the eyes of all. At that time a huge army was quartered at Emesa to guard Phoenicia. This army was later transferred from the city, as we shall relate in the pages to follow. The soldiers were therefore frequent visitors in the city and went to the temple on the pretext of worshiping the god; there they delighted in watching Bassianus.

[10] οἰκεῖοί τε τῆς Μαίσης, πρὸς οὓς ἐκείνῃ θαυμάζοντας τὸν παῖδα, εἴτε πλασαμένη εἴτε καὶ ἀληθεύουσα, ἐξεῖπεν ὅτι ἄρα Ἀντωνίνου υἱός ἐστι φύσει, τῇ δὲ ὑπολήψει ἄλλου δοκοίη· ἐπιφοιτῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτῆς

νέαις τε οὔσαις καὶ ὠραίαις, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ διέτριβεν. ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες, τοῖς συστρατιώταις κατ' ὀλίγον ἀπαγγέλλοντες διαβόητον ἐποίησαν τὴν φήμην, ὥς ἐς πᾶν χωρῆσαι τὸ

[10] Some were deserters and compatriots of Maesa; while they stood admiring the youth, Maesa, either inventing the story or telling the truth, informed them that Bassianus was really the son of Antoninus, although it might appear that he had another father. She claimed that when she was living in the palace with her sister, Antoninus slept with both of her daughters, who were young and beautiful. The men repeated her story to their fellow soldiers, and it soon became common knowledge throughout the army.

[11] στρατιωτικόν. τῇ δὲ Μαίσει ἐλέγετο σωροὺς εἶναι χρημάτων, ἐκείνην δὲ ἐτοίμως πάντα προέσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, εἰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ γένει ἀνανεώσαιντο. ὥς δὲ συνέθεντο νύκτωρ, εἰ κατέλθοιεν λαθόντες, ἀνοίξειν τὰς πύλας καὶ δέξεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γένος ἔνδον βασιλέα τε καὶ υἱὸν ἀποδείξειν Ἀντωνίνου «τὸν Βασιανόν», ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὴν ἢ πρεσβῦτις, ἐλομένη πάντα κίνδυνον ἀναρρῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἰδιωτεύειν καὶ δοκεῖν ἀπερριφθαι· νύκτωρ τε λάθρα τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε σὺν ταῖς θυγατράσι καὶ

[11] Maesa was rumored to be enormously wealthy, and it was reported that she would immediately give all her money to the soldiers if they restored the empire to her family. The soldiers agreed that if the family would come secretly to the camp at night, they would open the gates, receive the family inside, and proclaim Bassianus emperor and son of Antoninus. The old woman agreed to the plan, preferring to risk any danger rather than live in obscurity and appear to have been discarded. And so she slipped unnoticed out of the city at night with her daughters and grandsons.

[12] τοῖς ἐγγόνιοις. καταγαγόντων τε αὐτοὺς τῶν προσφυγόντων στρατιωτῶν γενόμενοι πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ῥᾶστα ὑπεδέχθησαν· εὐθέως τε τὸν παῖδα πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀντωνίνον προσηγόρευσαν, τῇ τε πορφυρᾷ χλαμύδι περιβαλόντες εἶχον ἔνδον. πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ὅσα τε εἶχον ἐν κώμαις ἢ ἀγροῖς τοῖς πλησίον, εἰσκομίσαντες, τὰς τε πύλας ἀποκλείσαντες, παρεσκεύαζον ἑαυτοὺς ὥς, εἰ δέοι, ὑπομενοῦντες πολιορκίαν.

[12] Guided by soldiers who had deserted, they came to the wall of the camp

and were warmly received inside. Immediately the entire army saluted Bassianus as “Son of Antoninus,” and, wrapping him in a purple military cloak, held him inside the camp. Then, bringing in all the supplies from the villages and adjacent fields, together with the women and children, they prepared to endure a siege if it should prove necessary.

SECTION 4

[1] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρίβοντι, ἥ τε φήμη διέδραμεν ἀνὰ τὰ λοιπὰ στρατόπεδα ὅτι τε Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸς εὐρέθη καὶ ὅτι <ῆ> Ἰουλίας ἀδελφὴ χρήματα δίδωσι, πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ ἐνδεχόμενα καὶ ἀληθῆ πιστεύσαντες εἶναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐξεπτόητο.

[1] THESE matters were reported to Macrinus while he was at Antioch, and the rumor quickly spread through the rest of the armies that the son of Antoninus had been found and that the sister of Julia was handing out money. Believing everything that was said and accepting it as true, the soldiers were deeply stirred.

[2] ἐνῆγε δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέπειθεν ἐς πραγμάτων καινοτομίαν τό τε Μακρίνου μῖσος καὶ <τὸ> Ἀντωνίνου τῆς μνήμης πάθος, καὶ πρό γε πάντων ἢ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλπίς, ὥς πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτομολοῦντας φοιτᾶν πρὸς τὸν νέον Ἀντωνῖνον. ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος καταφρονῶν τοῦ πράγματος ὥς παιδαριώδους, χρώμενός τε τῇ συνήθει ῥαθυμίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν οἴκοι μένει, πέμπει δὲ ἓνα τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ στρατοπέδου, δύναμιν δούς ὅσῃν ᾤετο ῥᾶστα ἐκπορθήσειν

[2] They were moved by hatred of Macrinus and pity for the memory of Antoninus; these considerations persuaded them to support a change of emperors. More than any other factor, however, the hope of money influenced their decision, and many soldiers voluntarily deserted to the new Antoninus. Contemptuously dismissing the affair as the efforts of children, and displaying his usual indolence, Macrinus remained at home, but he did send one of the praetorian prefects to Emesa with a contingent of troops which he considered large enough to crush the rebels with the greatest of ease.

[3] τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας. ὥς δ' ἦλθεν Ἰουλιανός (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ἐπάρχῳ) καὶ προσέβαλε τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἔνδοθεν οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τε τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τὸν τε παῖδα τῷ ἔξωθεν πολιορκοῦντι στρατῷ ἐδείκνυσαν, Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν εὐφημοῦντες, βαλάντιά τε χρημάτων μεστὰ δέλεαρ προδοσίας αὐτοῖς ἐδείκνυσαν.

[3] When Julianus (for this was the prefect's name) arrived and attacked the walls of the camp, the soldiers inside, mounting the towers and battlements, displayed Bassianus to the besieging army; cheering the son of Antoninus,

they waved their full purses to induce the attackers to desert.

[4] οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες Ἀντωνίνου τε εἶναι τέκνον καὶ ὁμοιότατόν γε (βλέπειν γὰρ οὕτως ἤθελον) τοῦ μὲν Ἰουλιανοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνουσι καὶ πέμπουσι τῷ Μακρίνῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντες ἀνοιχθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδέχθησαν. οὕτως ἡ δύναμις αὐξηθεῖσα οὐ μόνον ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολιορκίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συστάδην καὶ ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀξιόχρεως· ἔτι τε καὶ τῶν αὐτομόλων τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάστοτε, εἰ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσιόν, τὴν δύναμιν ἠΰξησεν.

[4] Believing that Bassianus was the son of Antoninus and looked exactly like him (for this is what they wanted to see), the besieging soldiers cut off Julianus' head and sent it back to Macrinus; when the gates were opened, all of them were welcomed into the camp. The troops, thus augmented, were sufficient not only to withstand a siege but also to fight a pitched battle at close quarters. The number of those who deserted each day, though they came in small groups, continued to increase the size of the army in the camp.

[5] ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος ὡς ταῦτα ἐπυνθάνετο, ἀθροίσας πάντα ὃν εἶχε στρατόν, ἐπῆει ὡς δὴ πολιορκήσων τοὺς ἐκείνῳ προσκεχωρηκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος, οὐκ ἀναμενόντων τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν πολιορκηθῆναι, θαρρησάντων δὲ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐξελθεῖν τε καὶ ὑπαντώμενοι τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἐξάγει τὴν αὐτοῦ

[5] When he learned of these developments, Macrinus assembled all the available troops and marched out to put under siege those who had deserted him for Elagabalus. The soldiers of Elagabalus, however, did not wait for the attack. Finding his troops bold enough to march out confidently to engage Macrinus in battle, the youth led them from the city.

[6] δύναμιν. συμμίζαντα δὲ ἀλλήλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίας ἐν μεθορίοις, οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου προθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο, δεδιότες, εἰ ἡττηθεῖεν, τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν τιμωρίαν ἀναδέξασθαι· οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Μακρίνῳ ῥαθυμότερον προσεφέροντο τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀποδιδράσκοντες

[6] When the two armies met on the borders of Phoenicia and Syria, Elagabalus' soldiers fought with spirit, fearing that if they should lose, they would suffer for what they had done. The soldiers of Macrinus, on the other

hand, were completely indifferent and deserted to Elagabalus.

[7] καὶ μετιόντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον. ἅπερ ὁρῶν ὁ Μακρίνος, φοβηθεὶς τε μὴ παντάπασι γυμνωθεὶς τῆς δυνάμεως αἰχμάλωτός τε ληφθεὶς αἰσχίστως ὕβρισθεῖν, ἔτι τῆς μάχης συνεστῶσης, ἐσπέρας ἤδη προσιούσης, ἀπορρίψας τὸ χλαμύδιον καὶ εἴ τι σχῆμα βασιλικὸν περιέκειτο, λαθὼν ἀποδιδράσκει σὺν ὀλίγοις ἑκατοντάρχαις, οὓς πιστοτάτους ᾤετο, τὸ γένειον ἀποκειράμενος, ὥς μὴ γνωρίζοιτο, ἐσθῆτά τε ὁδοιπορικὴν λαβὼν καὶ

[7] When Macrinus saw what was happening, he was afraid that, having lost all his troops, he would be captured and shamefully treated. While the battle was still raging, he stripped off his purple cloak and other imperial insignia and secretly left the field with a few centurions whom he believed to be especially loyal to him. To avoid recognition he shaved off his beard, donned a traveling cloak, and kept his head covered.

[8] τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀεὶ σκέπων. νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁδοιπόρει, φθάνων τὴν φήμην τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης, τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων μεγάλην σπουδὴν τὰ ὀχήματα ἐπειγόντων, ὥς ἂν ὑπὸ Μακρίνου ἔτι βασιλεύοντος ἐπὶ τινα σπουδαῖα πεμφθέντων.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ἔφυγεν, ὥς εἴρηται· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἑκατέρωθεν ἐμάχοντο, ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Μακρίνου οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ δορυφόροι, οὓς δὴ πραιτωριανοὺς καλοῦσιν, οἱ γενναίως ἀνθεστήκεσαν παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἅτε ὄντες μέγιστοί τε καὶ ἐπίλεκτοι· τὸ δὲ ἐπίλοιπον πᾶν πληθὺς

[8] He traveled night and day and thus outdistanced the report of his disaster; the centurions drove the chariots at top speed, as if they had been sent by Macrinus, still emperor, on an urgent mission.

And so Macrinus fled from the battle. Both armies continued the fight; the bodyguards and spearbearers whom they call praetorians fought for Macrinus, these picked men making a courageous stand against the rest of the army; the remainder of the troops fought for Elagabalus.

[9] ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἠγωνίζοντο. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸν Μακρίνον οὐκ ἔβλεπον οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα, διηπόρουσαν δὴ ποῦ ποτὲ ἄρα εἶναι, πότερον ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν κειμένων ἢ ἀποδράς ᾤχετο, ἠγνόουν τε πῶς χρήσονται τῷ πράγματι· οὔτε γὰρ μάχεσθαι ἤθελον ὑπὲρ τοῦ

μὴ παρόντος, παραδοῦναί τε

[9] But when those who were fighting for Macrinus saw neither the emperor nor the imperial emblems for some time, they did not know whether he had been killed or had fled the battlefield, nor did they know what course they should follow under the circumstances. They had no desire to fight for a man who was absent, and were ashamed to surrender and, betrayed, become prisoners of war.

[10] αὐτοὺς ἐκδότους καὶ ὥσπερ αἰχμαλώτους ἡδοῦντο. ὥς δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπύθετο Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν τοῦ Μακρίνου φυγὴν, πέμψας κήρυκας διδάσκει αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάτην ὑπὲρ ἀνάνδρου καὶ φυγάδος μάχονται, ἄδειάν τε καὶ ἀμνηστίαν ἐνόρκως ὑπισχεῖται, καλεῖ τε καὶ αὐτὸν δορυφορήσοντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πεισθέντες προσεχώρησαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος πέμπει τοὺς διώζοντας τὸν Μακρίνον

[10] Informed by deserters of Macrinus' flight, Elagabalus sent heralds to advise the praetorians that they were fighting vainly for a cowardly fugitive; he solemnly promised them security and amnesty, and offered them service as his bodyguard. Convinced, the praetorians switched their allegiance. Elagabalus then sent men in pursuit of Macrinus, who by that time had fled some distance.

[11] πολὺ προκεχωρηκότα. ἐν Χαλκηδόνι γοῦν τῆς Βιθυνίας κατελήφθη, νοσῶν χαλεπώτατα ὑπὸ τε τῆς συνεχοῦς ὁδοιπορίας συντετριμμένος. ἔνθα αὐτὸν εὐρόντες ἔν τινι κρυπτόμενον προαστείῳ οἱ διώκοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἐλέγετο δὲ σπεύδειν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, θαρρῶν τῇ τοῦ δήμου περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ· περαιούμενον δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διὰ τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Προποντίδος πορθμοῦ, ἥδη τε τῷ Βυζαντίῳ προσπελάζοντα, φασὶν ἀντιπνοίᾳ χρήσασθαι, ἐπανάγοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς

[11] The fugitive was finally captured at Chalcedon in Bithynia, desperately ill and exhausted by his continuous flight. His pursuers found him hiding in the outskirts of the city and cut off his head. It is said that he was hurrying to Rome, putting his faith in the people's enthusiastic support; but when he attempted to cross over to Europe by the narrow Propontic Gulf and was already close to Byzantium, they say that the wind was against him and carried him back to Asia and his fate.

[12] τὴν τιμωρίαν. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ Μακρίνος οὐκ ἐξέφυγε τοὺς διώξαντας, τέλει τε ἐχρήσατο αἰσχροῦ ὕστερον θελήσας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνελθεῖν, δέον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· ὁμοῦ δὲ ἔπταισε καὶ γνώμη καὶ τύχη.

τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ Μακρίνος ἐχρήσατο, συναναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ παιδός, ὃν ἦν ποιήσας Καίσαρα,

[12] So, by mischance, Macrinus failed to elude his pursuers and met an ignoble end a little later while striving to get to Rome, where he should have gone in the beginning. Thus he owed his downfall equally to bad judgment and bad luck.

Such was the fate of Macrinus; with him perished his son Diadumenianus, who was his Caesar.

SECTION 5

[1] Διαδοιμενιανὸν καλούμενον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε στρατὸς πᾶς μετελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον προσεῖπε βασιλέα, τά τε τῆς ἀρχῆς «ἐκεῖνος» ὑπεδέξατο, διοικηθέντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων ὑπὸ τῆς μάμμης καὶ τῶν συνόντων φίλων (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν νέος τε τὴν ἡλικίαν, πραγμάτων τε καὶ παιδείας ἄπειρος), οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου διατρίψας εἶχε περὶ ἔξοδον, σπευδούσης μάλιστα τῆς

[1] NOW the entire army went over to Elagabalus, proclaiming him emperor, and the youth assumed control of the empire. After affairs in the East had been set in order for him by his grandmother and his advisers (for he was young in years, and lacking in education and administrative experience), he delayed his departure for only a short time, as Maesa was eager to return to her familiar imperial life at Rome.

[2] Μαίσης ἐς τὰ συνήθη ἑαυτῇ βασιλεία Ῥώμης. ὥς δὲ τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ τὰ πραχθέντα ἐδηλώθη, δυσφόρως μὲν πάντες ἤκουσαν, ὑπήκουον δὲ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ στρατοῦ ταῦτα ἡρημένου. κατεγίνωσκόν τε τοῦ Μακρίνου ῥαθυμίαν τε καὶ τρόπων χαννότητα, αἰτιὸν τε οὐκ ἄλλον ἄλλ' ἢ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ γεγενῆσθαι ἔλεγον.

[2] The senate and the Roman people were dismayed at the report of these developments, but submitted through necessity because the army had elected to follow this course. They attributed the affair to the indolence and weakness of Macrinus and said that he alone was responsible for what had happened.

[3] ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀπάρας τῆς Συρίας ἐλθὼν τε ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐχείμαζε, τῆς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους οὕτως ἀπαιτούσης. εὐθέως τε ἐξεβακχεύετο, τὴν τε ἱερωσύνην τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ, ἣ ἐντέθραπτο, περιεργότερον ἐξωρχεῖτο, σχήμασί τε ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεστάτοις χρώμενος, διαχρύσοις τε πόρφυρας ὑφάσμασι περιδεραίοις τε καὶ ψελίοις κοσμούμενος, ἐς εἶδος δὲ τιάρας στεφάνην ἐπικείμενος

[3] Leaving Syria, Elagabalus proceeded to Nicomedia, where he was forced by the season of the year to spend the winter. Immediately he plunged into his mad activities, performing for his native god the fantastic rites in which he had been trained from childhood. He wore the richest clothing, draping

himself in purple robes embroidered in gold; to his necklaces and bracelets he added a crown, a tiara glittering with gold and jewels.

[4] χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλῃν τιμίῳις. ἦν τε αὐτῷ τὸ σχῆμα μεταξὺ Φοινίσσης ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ χλιδῆς Μηδικῆς. Ῥωμαϊκὴν δὲ ἢ Ἑλληνικὴν πᾶσαν ἐσθῆτα ἐμυσάττετο, ἐρίου φάσκων εἰργάσθαι, πράγματος εὐτελοῦς· τοῖς δὲ Σηρῶν ὑφάσμασι μόνῳις ἡρέσκετο. προῆει τε ὑπὸ αὐλοῖς καὶ τυμπάνοις, τῷ θεῷ δῆθεν ὀργιάζων.

[4] His dress showed the influence of the sacred robe of the Phoenicians and the luxurious garb of the Medes. He loathed Greek and Roman garments because they were made of wool, in his opinion an inferior material; only the Syrian cloth met with his approval. Accompanied by flutes and drums, he went about performing, as it appeared, orgiastic service to his god.

[5] ἡ δὲ Μαῖσα ταῦτα ὁρῶσα πάνῃ ἡσχαλλε, πείθειν τε λιπαροῦσα ἐπειρᾶτο μεταμφιέσασθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων στολὴν μέλλοντά [τε] ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελεύσεσθαι, μὴ ἄλλοδαπὸν ἢ παντάπασι βάρβαρον τὸ σχῆμα ὀφθὲν εὐθὺς λυπήσῃ τοὺς ἰδόντας, ἀήθεις τε ὄντας καὶ οἰομένους τὰ τοιαῦτα καλλωπίσματα

[5] When she saw what Elagabalus was doing, Maesa was greatly disturbed and tried again and again to persuade the youth to wear Roman dress when he entered the city to visit the senate. She was afraid that his appearance, obviously foreign and wholly barbaric, would offend those who saw him; they were not used to such garb and considered his ornaments suitable only for women.

[6] οὐκ ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ θηλείαις πρέπειν. ὃ δὲ καταφρονήσας τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος λεχθέντων, μηδ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ πεισθεῖς (οὐδὲ γὰρ προσίετο εἰ μὴ τοὺς ὁμοιοτρόπους τε καὶ κόλακας αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων), βουλόμενος ἐν ἔθει γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ σχήματος ὄψεως τὴν τε σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων, ἀπόντος τε αὐτοῦ πεῖραν δοθῆναι πῶς φέρουσι τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ σχήματος, εἰκόνα μεγίστην γράψας παντὸς ἑαυτοῦ, οἷος προϊὼν τε καὶ ἱερουργῶν ἐφαίνετο, παραστήσας τε ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τὸν

[6] But Elagabalus had nothing but contempt for the old woman's warnings, nor did anyone else succeed in convincing him. (He would listen only to those

who were like him and flattered his faults.) Since, however, he wished the senate and the Roman people to grow accustomed to seeing him in this costume and wished to test their reaction to this exotic sight, before he returned to Rome he had a full-length portrait painted, showing him performing his priestly duties in public. His native god also appeared in the painting; the emperor was depicted sacrificing to him under favorable auspices.

[7] τύπον τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καλλιερῶν ἐγγράπτο, πέμψας τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς συγκλήτου τόπῳ ὑψηλοτάτῳ τε τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνατεθῆναι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῆς νίκης, ᾧ συνιόντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον λιβανωτόν τε θυμιῶσιν ἕκαστος καὶ οἴνου σπένδουσι. προσέταξέ τε πάντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντας, καὶ εἴ τινες δημοσίας θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσι, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οὓς δὴ καλοῦσιν ἱερουργοῦντες, ὀνομάζειν τὸν νέον θεὸν Ἐλαιαγάβαλον. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο τῷ προειρημένῳ σχήματι, οὐδὲν

[7] Elagabalus sent this picture to Rome to be hung in the center of the senate house, high above the statue of Victory before which each senator burns frankincense and pours a libation of wine upon entering the chamber. He directed all Roman officials who perform public sacrifices to call upon the new god Elagabalus before all the other gods whom they invoke in their rites. By the time the emperor came to Rome presenting the appearance described above, the Romans saw nothing unusual in it, for the painting had prepared them for what to expect.

[8] παράδοξον εἶδον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τῇ γραφῇ ἐνειθισμένοι. δοὺς δὲ τὰς συνήθεις τῷ δήμῳ νομὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βασιλείας διαδοχῇ, φιλοτίμως τε καὶ πολυτελῶς ἐπιτελέσας παντοδαπὰς θέας, νεῶν τε μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον κατασκευάσας τῷ θεῷ, βωμούς τε πλείστους περὶ τὸν νεῶν ἰδρύσας, ἐκάστοτε προῖον ἔωθεν ἐκατόμβας τε ταύρων καὶ προβάτων πολὺ πλῆθος κατέσφαττε τοῖς τε βωμοῖς ἐπιτίθει, παντοδαποῖς ἀρώμασι σωρεύων, οἴνου τε τοῦ παλαιοτάτου καὶ καλλίστου πολλοὺς ἀμφορέας τῶν βωμῶν προχέων, ὥς ῥεῖθρα φέρεσθαι οἴνου τε καὶ αἵματος

[8] Elagabalus then made the distribution of money customary at the succession of an emperor and staged lavish and extravagant spectacles of

every kind. He erected a huge and magnificent temple to his god and surrounded it with numerous altars. Coming forth early each morning, he sacrificed there hecatombs of bulls and a vast number of sheep. These he placed upon the altars and heaped up spices of every kind; he also set before the altars many jars of the oldest and finest wines, so that the streams of blood mingled with streams of wine.

[9] μεμιγμένον. περί τε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐχόρευεν ὑπὸ παντοδαποῖς ἤχοις ὀργάνων, γύναιά τε ἐπιχώρια ἐχόρευε σὺν αὐτῷ, περιθέοντα τοῖς βωμοῖς, κύμβαλα ἢ τύμπανα μετὰ χειρὸς φέροντα· περιειστῆκει δὲ πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα ἐν θεάτρῳ σχήματι. τὰ δὲ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἱεουργηθέντων τὰ τε ἀρώματα ἐν χρυσοῖς σκεύεσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οὐκ οἰκέται δὴ τινες ἢ εὐτελεῖς

[9] Elagabalus danced around the altars to music played on every kind of instrument; women from his own country accompanied him in these dances, carrying cymbals and drums as they circled the altars. The entire senate and all the knights stood watching, like spectators at the theater. The spices and entrails of the sacrificial animals were not carried by servants or men of low birth;

[10] ἄνθρωποι ἔφερον, ἀλλ' οἳ τε ἑπαρχοὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις πράξεσιν, ἀνεζωσμένοι [οἱ] μὲν χιτῶνας ποδήρεις καὶ χειριδωτοὺς νόμῳ Φοινίκων, ἐν μέσῳ φέροντες μίαν πορφύραν· ὑποδήμασί τε λίνου πεποιημένοι ἐχρῶντο, ὥσπερ οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία προφητεύοντες. ἐδόκει δὲ τιμὴν μεγίστην νέμειν οἷς ἐκοινώνει τῆς ἱεουργίας.

[10] rather, they were borne along in gold vessels held on high by the praetorian prefects and the most important magistrates, who wore long-sleeved robes with a broad purple stripe in the center, robes which hung to their feet in the Phoenician style. On their feet were the linen shoes customarily worn by the Eastern prophets. It was obvious that Elagabalus was paying the highest honor to those associated with him in the performance of the sacred rites.

SECTION 6

[1] πλὴν καίτοι χορεύειν αἰεὶ καὶ ἱερουργεῖν δοκῶν, πλείστους ἀπέκτεινε τῶν ἐνδόξων τε καὶ πλουσίων, διαβληθέντας αὐτῷ ὥς ἀπαρεσκομένους καὶ σκώπτοντας αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον. ἡγάγετο δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν εὐγενεστάτην Ῥωμαίων, ἣν Σεβαστὴν ἀναγορεύσας μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀπεπέμψατο, ἰδιωτεύειν κελεύσας καὶ τῶν τιμῶν παρελόμενος.

[1] EVEN though the emperor seemed to be devoting all his attention to dancing and to his priestly duties, still he found time to execute many famous and wealthy men who were charged with ridiculing and censuring his way of life. He married one of the noblest of the Roman ladies and proclaimed her Augusta; but he soon divorced her and, after depriving her of the imperial honors, ordered her to return to private life.

[2] μετ' ἐκείνην δὲ προσποιησάμενος ἑρᾶν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πράττειν δοκοίη, παρθένου τῇ Ῥωμαίων Ἑστία ἱερωμένης ἀγνεύειν τε πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων κελευομένης καὶ μέχρι τέλους τοῦ βίου παρθενεύεσθαι, ἀποσπάσας αὐτὴν τῆς Ἑστίας καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρθενώνους γυναῖκα ἔθετο, ἐπιστείλας τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ παραμυθησάμενος ἀσέβημά τε καὶ ἀμάρτημα τηλικούτον, φήσας ἀνθρώπινόν τι πεπονθέναι πάθος· ἔρωτι γὰρ τῆς κόρης ἐαλωκέναι, ἀρμόζοντά τε καὶ σεβάσμιον εἶναι γάμον ἱερέως τε καὶ ἱερείας. πλὴν καὶ ταύτην αὖ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπεπέμψατο, τρίτην δὲ πάλιν ἡγάγετο, ἀναφέρουσαν τὸ γένος ἐς Κόμοδον.

[2] So that he might seem to be doing something manly, he made love to one of the Vestal Virgins of Rome, priestesses who are bound by sacred vows to be chaste and remain virgin to the end of their lives; taking the maiden away from Vesta and the holy virgins' quarters, he made her his wife. He sent a letter to the senate asking to be forgiven his impious and adolescent transgression, telling them that he was afflicted with a masculine failing — an overwhelming passion for the maiden. He also informed them that the marriage of a priest and a priestess was both proper and sanctioned. But a short time later he divorced this girl and took yet a third wife, a girl who belonged to the family of Commodus.

[3] ἔπαιζε δὲ γάμους οὐ μόνον ἀνθρωπεύουσ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ ἱεράτευε, γυναῖκα ἐζήτει· καὶ τῆς τε Παλλάδος τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃν κρυπτὸν καὶ ἀόρατον

σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάλαμον μετέγαγε· καὶ μὴ κινήθην ἐξ οὔπερ ἦλθεν ἀπὸ Ἰλίου, εἰ μὴ ὅτε πυρὶ κατεφλέχθη ὁ νεὼς, ἐκίνησεν οὗτος, καὶ πρὸς γάμον δὴ ἐς τὴν βασίλειον

[3] Not content with making a mockery of human marriage, he even sought a wife for the god whose priest he was. He brought into his own bedroom the statue of Pallas which the Romans worship hidden and unseen. Even though this statue had not been moved from the time when it was first brought from Troy, except when the temple of Vesta was destroyed by fire, Elagabalus moved it now and brought it into the palace to be married to his god.

[4] αὐλὴν τῷ θεῷ ἀνήγαγε. φήσας δὲ ἀπαρέσκεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς πάντα ἐν ὅλοις καὶ πολεμικῇ θεῷ, τῆς Οὐρανίας τὸ ἄγαλμα μετεπέμψατο, σεβόντων αὐτὸ ὑπερφυῶς Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀνθρώπων. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸ Διδῶ τὴν Φοίνισσαν ιδρύσασθαι, ὅτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Καρχηδόνα πόλιν ἔκτισε, βύρσαν κατατεμουσα. Λίβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δὲ Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες.

[4] But proclaiming that his god was not pleased by a goddess of war wearing full armor, he sent for the statue of Urania which the Carthaginians and Libyans especially venerate. This statue they say Dido the Phoenician set up at the time when she cut the hide into strips and founded the ancient city of Carthage. The Libyans call this goddess Urania, but the Phoenicians worship her as Astroarche, identifying her with the moon.

[5] ἀρμόζειν τοίνυν λέγων ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος γάμον ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τό τε ἄγαλμα μετεπέμψατο καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐκεῖθεν χρυσόν, χρήματά τε πάμπλειστα τῇ θεῷ ἐς προῖκα δὴ ἐπιδοῦναι ἐκέλευσε. κομισθέν τε τὸ ἄγαλμα συνώκισε δὴ τῷ θεῷ, κελεύσας πάντας τοὺς κατὰ Ῥώμην καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀνθρώπους ἐορτάζειν παντοδαπαῖς τε εὐφροσύναις καὶ εὐωχίαις χρῆσθαι δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὡς δὴ γαμούντων θεῶν.

[5] Claiming that he was arranging a marriage of the sun and the moon, Elagabalus sent for the statue and all the gold in the temple and ordered the Carthaginians to provide, in addition, a huge sum of money for the goddess' dowry. When the statue arrived, he set it up with his god and ordered all men in Rome and throughout Italy to celebrate with lavish feasts and festivals, publicly and privately, in honor of the marriage of the deities.

[6] κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ νεὼν μέγιστόν τε καὶ πολυτελέστατον, ἐς ὃν ἐκάστου ἔτους κατήγε τὸν θεὸν ἀκμάζοντος θέρους. πανηγύρεις τε παντοδαπὰς συνεκρότει, ἵπποδρόμους τε κατασκευάσας καὶ θέατρα, διὰ τε ἡνιοχείας καὶ πάντων θεαμάτων τε καὶ ἀκροαμάτων πλείστων εὐωχούμενον τὸν δῆμον καὶ παννυχίζοντα εὐφραίνειν ᾤετο. τὸν τε θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσας ἄρματι χρυσῷ τε καὶ λίθοις τιμιωτάτοις πεποικιλμένῳ κατήγεν

[6] In the suburbs of Rome the emperor built a very large and magnificent temple to which every year in midsummer he brought his god. He staged lavish shows and built race tracks and theaters, believing that chariot races, shows, and countless recitals would please the people, who held night-long feasts and celebrations. He placed the sun god in a chariot adorned with gold and jewels and brought him out from the city to the suburbs.

[7] ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον. τὸ δὲ ἄρμα ἦγεν ἐξάπῳλον, ἵππων λευκῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ ἀσπίλων, χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ φαλάραις ποικίλοις κεκοσμημένων, τάς τε ἡνίας κατεῖχεν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄρματος ἄνθρωπος ἐπέβαινε, αὐτῷ δὲ περιέκειντο ὡς ἡνιοχοῦντι δὴ τῷ θεῷ. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἔθεε πρὸ τοῦ ἄρματος ἀναποδίζων ἐς τοῦπίσω, ἔς τε τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπων καὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς ἀντέχων τῶν ἵππων· πᾶσάν τε τὴν ὁδὸν ἤνυε τρέχων ἔμπαλιν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφορῶν τε ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ.

[7] A six-horse chariot bore the sun god, the horses huge and flawlessly white, with expensive gold fittings and rich ornaments. No one held the reins, and no one rode in the chariot; the vehicle was escorted as if the sun god himself were the charioteer. Elagabalus ran backward in front of the chariot, facing the god and holding the horses' reins. He made the whole journey in this reverse fashion, looking up into the face of his god.

[8] πρὸς τε τὸ μὴ πταῖσαι αὐτὸν ἢ διολισθαίνειν, οὐχ ὀρῶντα ὅπου βαίνει, γῇ τε ἢ χρυσίζουσα παμπλείστη ὑπέστρωτο, οἱ τε προασπίζοντες ἐκατέρωθεν ἀντεῖχον, τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ τοιούτου δρόμου προνοοῦμενοι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκατέρωθεν παρέθει μετὰ παντοδαπῆς δαδουχίας, στεφάνους καὶ ἄνθη ἐπιρριπτοῦντες· ἀγάλματά τε πάντων θεῶν, καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς ἀνάθημα <ῆ> τίμιον, ὅσα τε τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα ἢ πολυτελῆ κειμήλια, οἱ τε ἵππεῖς

[8] Since he was unable to see where he was going, his route was paved with gold dust to keep him from stumbling and falling, and bodyguards supported

him on each side to protect him from injury. The people ran parallel to him, carrying torches and tossing wreaths and flowers. The statues of all the gods, the costly or sacred offerings in the temples, the imperial ornaments, and valuable heirlooms were carried by the cavalry and the entire Praetorian Guard in honor of the sun god.

[9] καὶ «ὁ» στρατὸς πᾶς προεπόμευον τοῦ θεοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδρῦσαι ἐν τῇ ναῷ τάς τε προειρημένας θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπετέλει, πύργους τε μεγίστους καὶ ὑψηλοτάτους κατασκευάσας, ἀνίων τε ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐρρίπτει τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἀρπάζειν πᾶσιν ἐπιτρέπων, ἐκπώματά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ὀθόνας παντοδαπάς, ζῷα τε πάντα, ὅσα ἡμερα, πλὴν χοίρων·

[9] After thus bringing the god out and placing him in the temple, Elagabalus performed the rites and sacrifices described above; then, climbing to the huge, lofty towers which he had erected, he threw down, indiscriminately, cups of gold and silver, clothing, and cloth of every type to the mob below. He also distributed all kinds of tame animals except swine, which, in accordance with Phoenician custom, he shunned.

[10] τούτων γὰρ ἀπείχετο Φοινίκων νόμῳ. ἐν δὴ ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς πολλοὶ διεφθείροντο, ὑπὸ τε ἀλλήλων πατούμενοι καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τῶν στρατιωτῶν περιπίπτοντες, ὡς τὴν ἐκείνου ἐορτὴν πολλοῖς φέρειν συμφορὰν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐβλέπετο πολλάκις ἡνιοχῶν ἢ ὀρχούμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ λανθάνειν ἤθελεν ἁμαρτάνων. προΐει τε ὑπογραφόμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς παρειὰς ἐρυθραίνων, φύσει τε πρόσωπον ὡραῖον ὑβρίζων βαφαῖς ἀσχήμοσιν.

[10] Many lost their lives in the ensuing scramble, impaled on the soldiers' spears or trampled to death; thus the celebration of the emperor brought tragedy to a host of people. Elagabalus was often seen driving a chariot or dancing. He had no desire to sin in secret, but appeared in public with eyes painted and cheeks rouged; these cosmetics marred a face naturally handsome.

SECTION 7

[1] ὀρῶσα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Μαῖσα, ὑποπεύουσά τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπαρέσκεσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ τοῦ βασιλέως βίῳ, καὶ δεδοικυῖα μὴ τι ἐκείνου παθόντος πάλιν ἰδιωτεύῃ, πείθει αὐτόν, κοῦφον ἄλλως καὶ ἄφρονα νεανίαν, θέσθαι υἱὸν Καίσαρά τε ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀνεψιὸν ἐκείνης δὲ ἔγγονον ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας θυγατρὸς Μαμαίας,

[1] OBSERVING his actions, Maesa suspected that the soldiers were outraged by his eccentricities. Fearing that if Elagabalus were killed, she would become a private citizen again, she tried to persuade the youth, who was in every respect an empty-headed young idiot, to adopt as his son and appoint as Caesar his first cousin and her grandson, the child of her other daughter, Mamaea.

[2] εἰποῦσα αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα, ὥς ἄρα χρὴ ἐκεῖνον μὲν τῇ ἱερῳσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ σχολάζειν τοῦ θεοῦ, βακχεῖαις καὶ ὀργίοις τοῖς τε θείοις ἔργοις ἀνακείμενον, εἶναι δὲ ἕτερον τὸν τὰ ἀνθρώπεια διοικοῦντα, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ παρέξοντα τῆς βασιλείας τὸ ἀνενόχλητόν τε καὶ ἀμέριμνον· μὴ δεῖν τοῖνυν ξένον ζητεῖν μηδ' ἀλλότριον,

[2] She told the emperor what it pleased him to hear, that it was clearly necessary for him to have time to attend to the worship and service of his god and to devote himself to the rites and revelries and divine functions, but that there should be another responsible for human affairs, to afford him leisure and freedom from the cares of empire. It was not necessary for him, she said, to look for a stranger or someone not a relative; he should entrust these duties to his own cousin.

[3] ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνεψιῷ ταῦτα ἐγχειρίσαι. μετονομάζεται δὴ ὁ Ἀλεξιανός, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καλεῖται, παραχθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ παππῶου ὀνόματος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνο· ὥς πάνυ τε ἐνδόξου καὶ τιμηθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δοκοῦντος πατρὸς ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι· τὴν <γὰρ> Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Σεβήρου παιδὸς μοιχείαν ἀμφοτέραι αἱ Μαΐσης θυγατέρες αὐτὴ τε ἡ πρεσβῦτις ἐσεμνύνετο πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας στέργειν τοὺς παῖδας, υἱοὺς ἐκείνου δοκοῦντας εἶναι.

[3] It was then that the name of Alexianus was changed to Alexander; the name of his grandfather became Alexander the Great, since the Macedonian was

very famous and was held in high esteem by the alleged father of them both. Maesa's daughters, and the old woman too, boasted of their adultery with Antoninus, son of Severus, in order to increase the soldiers' love for the youths, who thus appeared to be Antoninus's sons.

[4] ἀποδείκνυται δὴ Καῖσαρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπατός τε σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ. κατελθὼν τε ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον ταῦτα ἐκύρωσε, γελοιότατα ψηφισαμένον πάντων ἃ ἐκελεύοντο, πατέρα μὲν ἐκεῖνον δοκεῖν ἔτι γεγονότα περὶ που ἐκκαίδεκα, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ υἱὸν τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἐπιβαίνοντα. ὥς δὲ Καῖσαρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπεδείχθη, ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος αὐτὸν ἐβούλετο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδεύειν ἐπιτηδεύματα, ὀρχεῖσθαι τε καὶ χορεύειν τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης

[4] Alexander was then appointed Caesar and served as consul with Elagabalus himself. Appearing before the senate, Elagabalus confirmed this appointment, and all the senators voted approval of the fantastic and ridiculous situation they were ordered to endorse — that the emperor, who was about sixteen, assume the role of father to Alexander, who was twelve. After adopting Alexander as Caesar, Elagabalus undertook to teach him his own practices; he instructed him in dancing and prancing, and, enrolling him in the priesthood, wanted the lad to imitate his appearance and actions.

[5] κοινωνεῖν καὶ σχήμασι καὶ ἔργοις ὁμοίοις. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτὸν ἡ Μαμαία ἀπῆγε μὲν τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀπρεπῶν βασιλεῦσιν ἔργων, διδασκάλους δὲ πάσης παιδείας λάθρα μετεπέμπετο, τοῖς τε σώφροσιν αὐτὸν ἥσκει μαθήμασι, παλαιστραῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρῶν γυμνασίοις εἵθιζε, παιδεῖαν τε τὴν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαίδευεν. ἐφ' οἷς Ἀντωνῖνος πάνυ ἥσχαλλε, καὶ μετεγίνωσκε θέμενος αὐτὸν

[5] But his mother Mamaea kept Alexander from taking part in activities so disgraceful and unworthy of an emperor. Privately, she summoned teachers of every subject and had her son trained in the lessons of self-discipline; since he devoted himself to wrestling and to physical exercise as well, he was, by his mother's efforts, educated according to both the Greek and the Roman systems. Elagabalus, much annoyed at this, regretted his decision to make Alexander his son and partner in the empire.

[6] υἱὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς. τοὺς τε οὖν διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπεσόβει τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς, τινάς τε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους οὓς μὲν

ἀπέκτεινεν οὕς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν, αἰτίας γελοιότητος ἐπιφέρων, ὥς διαφθείροιεν αὐτῷ τὸν δοκοῦντα υἱόν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντες χορεύειν ἢ βακχεύεσθαι, σωφρονίζοντες δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν διδάσκοντες. ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐξώκευε παροινίας ὥς πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν δημοσίων θεάτρων μεταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν βασιλικῶν πράξεις, καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατοπέδοις ἑπαρχὸν ἐπιστῆσαι ὀρχηστήν τινα γεγονότα καὶ δημοσία ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων θεάτρῳ ὀρχησάμενον,

[6] He therefore banished Alexander's teachers from the imperial palace; he put to death some of the most distinguished and sent others into exile. The emperor offered the most absurd excuses for doing this, claiming that these men, by teaching Alexander self-control, educating him in human affairs, and refusing to allow him to dance and take part in the frenzied orgies, would corrupt his adopted son. The madness of Elagabalus increased to such a degree that he appointed all the actors from the stage and the public theaters to the most important posts in the empire, selecting as his praetorian prefect a man who had from childhood danced publicly in the Roman theater.

[7] ὅτε ἦν νέος· πάλιν δὲ ἕτερον ὁμοίως ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς βαστάσας, παιδείας τῶν νέων καὶ εὐκοσμίας τῆς τε ὑποστάσεως τῶν ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν ἢ τὸ ἵππικὸν τάγμα κατατασσομένων προέστησεν. ἡνιόχοις τε καὶ κωμωδοῖς καὶ μίμων ὑποκριταῖς τὰς μεγίστας τῶν βασιλείων πίστεων ἐνεχείρισε. τοῖς δὲ δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀπελευθέρους, ὥς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐπ' αἰσχρῷ τινὶ εὐδοκίμῃσας, τὰς ὑπατικὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξουσίας ἐνεχείρισε.

[7] He elevated in similar fashion another young actor, putting him in charge of the education and conduct of the Roman youths and of the qualifications of those appointed to membership in the senatorial and Equestrian orders. To charioteers, comedians, and actors of mimes he entrusted the most important and responsible imperial posts. To slaves and freedmen, to men notorious for disgraceful acts, he assigned the proconsular provincial governorships.

SECTION 8

[1] πάντων δὲ οὕτως τῶν πάλοι δοκούντων σεμνῶν ἐς ὕβριν καὶ παροινίαν ἐκβεβακχευμένων, οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο καὶ ἐδυσφόρουν· ἐμυσάττοντο δὲ αὐτὸν ὀρῶντες τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον καλλωπιζόμενον περιεργότερον ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα σώφρονα, περιδεραίοις δὲ χρυσίοις ἐσθῆσί τε ἀπαλαῖς

[1] WITH everything that formerly had been held sacred being done in a frenzy of arrogance and madness, all the Romans, especially the praetorians, were angered and disgusted. They were annoyed when they saw the emperor, his face painted more elaborately than that of any modest woman, dancing in luxurious robes and effeminately adorned with gold necklaces.

[2] ἀνάνδρως κοσμούμενον, ὀρχούμενόν τε οὕτως ὥς ὑπὸ πάντων ὀρᾶσθαι. ἐπιρρεπεστέρας τοίνυν τὰς γνώμας πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον, καὶ ἐλπίδας κρείττους ἐν παιδὶ κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως ἀνατρεφομένῳ. ἐφρούρουν τε αὐτὸν παντοίως ὀρῶντες ἐπιβουλεύόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου. ἢ τε μήτηρ Μαμαία οὔτε ποτὸν οὔτε ἐδώδιμόν τι εἶα τὸν παῖδα προσφέρεσθαι τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεμπομένων· ὀψοποιοῖς τε καὶ οἰνοχοοῖς ὁ παῖς ἐχρῆτο οὐ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ ἐν κοινῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπιλεχθεῖσι πιστοτάτοις τε

[2] As a result, they were more favorably disposed toward Alexander, for they expected great things of a lad so properly and modestly reared. They kept continual watch upon the youth when they saw that Elagabalus was plotting against him. His mother Mamaea did not allow her son to touch any food or drink sent by the emperor, nor did Alexander use the cupbearers or cooks employed in the palace or those who happened to be in their mutual service; only those chosen by his mother, those who seemed most trustworthy, were allowed to handle Alexander's food.

[3] εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ χρήματα λανθάνουσα διανέμεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις κρύβδην, ὅπως αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὐνοίαν καὶ διὰ χρημάτων, ἐς ἃ μάλιστα ἀποβλέπουσιν, οἰκειώσεται.

ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πυνθανόμενος παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς πάσας ἀπειργέ τε καὶ ἐκώλυεν ἢ

κοινή μάμμη ἀμφοτέρων Μαῖσα, γυνὴ καὶ ἄλλως ἐντρεχῆς καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐλῇ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐνδιατηθεῖσα, ἅτε τῆς Σεβήρου γυναικὸς Ἰουλίας ἀδελφὴ γενομένη καὶ τὰ

[3] Mamaea secretly distributed money to the praetorians to win their good will for her son; it was to gold that the praetorians were particularly devoted.

When he learned this, Elagabalus plotted against Alexander and his mother in every conceivable way, but Maesa, the grandmother of them both, foiled all his schemes; she was astute in every way and had spent much of her life in the imperial palace. As the sister of Severus' wife Julia, Maesa had always lived with the empress at the court.

[4] πάντα σὺν αὐτῇ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίψασα. οὐδὲν οὖν αὐτὴν ἐλάνθανε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου βουλευομένων, φύσει τε χαύνου τὸν τρόπον ὄντος, καὶ ἀφειδῶς πάντα καὶ φανερώς ἃ ἐβουλεύετο λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος. ὥς δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῇ οὐ προεχώρει, παραλῦσαι τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμῆς ἠθέλησε τὸν παῖδα, καὶ οὔτε ἐν ταῖς προσαγορεύσεσιν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς προόδοις

[4] Therefore, none of Elagabalus' schemes escaped her attention, for the emperor was careless by nature, and his intrigues were always obvious. Since his plots failed, the emperor undertook to strip Alexander of the honor of Caesar, and the youth was no longer to be seen at public addresses or in public processions.

[5] Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι ἐωρᾶτο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπεζήτουν τε αὐτόν, καὶ ἠγανάκτουν ὅτι δὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλυθείη. διεσκέδασε δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ φήμην ὥς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τεθνήξασθαι μέλλοντος, ἐποιεῖτό τε ἀπόπειραν ὅπως οἴσουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ θρυλούμενον. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ μήτε τὸν παῖδα ἔβλεπον ὑπὸ τε τῆς φήμης τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτρώθησαν, ἀγανακτήσαντες οὔτε τὴν συνήθη φρουρὰν ἔπεμψαν τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ, κατακλείσαντές τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν <τῷ> ἱερῷ ἡξίουσαν ἰδεῖν.

[5] But the soldiers called for Alexander and were angry because he had been removed from his imperial post. Elagabalus circulated a rumor that Alexander was dying, to see how the praetorians would react to the news. When they did not see the youth, the praetorians were deeply grieved and enraged by the report; they refused to send the regular contingent of guards to the emperor

and remained in the camp, demanding to see Alexander in the temple there.

[6] ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἐν δέει πολλῷ γενόμενος, παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, συγκαθεσθεὶς αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ φορείῳ, ὅπερ διὰ χρυσοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ λίθων τιμίων πεποίκιλτο, κατήλθεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ὡς δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέξαντο αὐτοὺς ἕς τε τὸν νεὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἤγαγον, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερφυῶς ἠσπάζοντό τε καὶ εὐφήμουν, τῷ δὲ Ἀντωνίνῳ

[6] Thoroughly frightened, Elagabalus placed Alexander in the imperial litter, which was richly decorated with gold and precious gems, and set out with him for the praetorian camp. The guards opened the gates and, receiving them inside, brought the two youths to the temple in the camp.

[7] ἀμελέστερον προσεφέροντο. ἐφ' οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἀγανακτῶν, καὶ διανυκτερεύσας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, πάντῃ ἡσχαλλε καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠργίζετο· ἐκέλευέ τε τοὺς παρασήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυῶς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὐφημήσαντας, τοὺς δὲ αἰτίους δῆθεν στάσεως καὶ θορύβου, συλλαμβάνεσθαι

[7] They welcomed Alexander with enthusiastic cheers, but ignored the emperor. Fuming at this treatment, although he spent the night in the camp, Elagabalus unleashed the fury of his wrath against the praetorians. He ordered the arrest and punishment of the guards who had cheered Alexander openly and enthusiastically, pretending that these were responsible for the revolt and uproar.

[8] πρὸς τιμωρίαν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτήσαντες, ἄλλως μὲν μισοῦντες τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ ἀποσκευάσασθαι θέλοντες ἀσχημονοῦντα βασιλέα, τότε δὲ καὶ τοῖς συλλαμβανομένοις ἐπαμύνειν δεῖν ἡγούμενοι, καιρὸν εὐκαιρον καὶ πρόφασιν δικαίαν νομίζοντες, τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα Σοαιμίδα (παρὴν γὰρ ὡς Σεβαστή τε καὶ μήτηρ) ἀναιροῦσι, τοὺς τε περὶ αὐτὸν πάντας, ὅσοι ἔνδον κατελήφθησαν ὑπηρεταί τε καὶ συνεργοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.

[8] The praetorians were enraged by this order; since they had other reasons, also, for hating Elagabalus, they wished now to rid themselves of so disgraceful an emperor, and believed, too, that they should rescue the

praetorians under arrest. Considering the occasion ideal and the provocation just, they killed Elagabalus and his mother Soaemias (for she was in the camp as Augusta and as his mother), together with all his attendants who were seized in the camp and who seemed to be his associates and companions in evil.

[9] τὰ δὲ σώματα τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου καὶ τῆς Σοαμίδος παρέδοσαν σύρειν τε καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν τοῖς βουλομένοις· ἅπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως συρέντα τε καὶ λωβηθέντα ἐς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἀπερρίφθη τοὺς ἐς τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ῥέοντας.

[9] They gave the bodies of Elagabalus and Soaemias to those who wanted to drag them about and abuse them; when the bodies had been dragged throughout the city, the mutilated corpses were thrown into the public sewer which flows into the Tiber.

[10] Ἀντωνῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐς ἕκτον ἔτος ἐλάσας τῆς βασιλείας καὶ χρησάμενος τῷ προειρημένῳ βίῳ, οὕτως ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ κατέστρεψεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναγορεύσαντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ἀνήγαγον, κομιδῇ νέον καὶ πάνυ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ μάμμῃ παιδαγωγούμενον.

[10] After having ruled the empire for more than five years, leading the kind of life described above, Elagabalus perished in this manner together with his mother. The praetorians then proclaimed Alexander emperor and conducted him into the palace while he was still a youth and still being given a thorough education by his mother and his grandmother.

BOOK VI.

SECTION 1

[1] Ὅποιῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ὁ νέος Ἀντωνῖνος ἐχρήσατο, ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις δεδήλωται· παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ «μὲν» σχῆμα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκεῖνῳ περιέκειτο, ἡ μὲντοι διοίκησις τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἰκονομία ὑπὸ ταῖς γυναιξὶ διωκεῖτο, ἐπὶ τε τὸ σωφρονέστερον καὶ σεμνότερον πάντα

[1] THE fate which Elagabalus suffered I have described in the preceding pages. When Alexander received the empire, the appearance and the title of emperor were allowed him, but the management and control of imperial affairs were in the hands of his women, and they undertook a more moderate and more equitable administration.

[2] μετὰγειν ἐπειρῶντο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοὺς δοκοῦντας καὶ ἡλικία σεμνοτάτους καὶ βίῳ σωφρονεστάτους ἑκκαίδεκα ἐπελέξαντο συνέδρους εἶναι καὶ συμβούλους τοῦ βασιλέως· οὐδέ τι ἐλέγετο ἢ ἐπράττετο, εἰ μὴ κάκεῖνοι αὐτὸ ἐπικρίναντες σύμψηφοι ἐγένοντο. ἥρεσκέ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκ τυραννίδος ἐφυβρίστου ἐς ἀριστοκρατίας τύπον μεταχθείσης.

[2] First, they chose from the senate, to be the emperor's advisory council, sixteen men who because of their age seemed most dignified and temperate in their conduct. Nothing was said or done unless these men had first considered the matter and given unanimous approval. The fact that the character of the imperial government was changed from an arrogant autocracy to a form of aristocracy pleased the people, the army, and especially the senators.

[3] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν, ἅπερ ἔτυχεν ἐκεῖνος κινήσας καὶ μεταγαγών, ἔπεμψαν ἐς τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἀρχαίους ναοὺς τε καὶ σηκοὺς· τοὺς τε ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου ἀλόγως, ἢ ἐφ' οἷς εὐδοκιμήκεσαν ἀμαρτήμασιν, ἐς τιμὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας προαχθέντας τῶν δοθέντων ἀφεείλοντο, ἐκάστους κελεύσαντες ἐς τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν ἐπανιέναι

[3] To begin with, the statues of the gods which Elagabalus had moved or transferred were returned to their original positions in the ancient temples and shrines. The unqualified men whom Elagabalus had promoted to positions of trust or honor or who were notorious for their crimes were deprived of what they had received from the emperor and were ordered by the councilors to return to their former occupations.

[4] τῆς ἀξίας αἶρεσιν. τὰς τε πράξεις ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς διοικήσεις, τὰς μὲν πολιτικὰς καὶ ἀγοραίους ἐνεχείρισαν τοῖς ἐπὶ λόγοις εὐδοκιμωτάτοις καὶ νόμων ἐμπείροις, τὰς δὲ στρατιωτικὰς τοῖς ἐξετασθεῖσί τε καὶ εὐδοκιμήσασιν

ἐν εὐτάκτοις τε καὶ πολεμικαῖς πράξεσιν.

ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικουμένης, ἡ μὲν Μαῖσα πρεσβῦτις ἤδη οὖσα ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ βίου, ἔτυχέ τε βασιλικῶν τιμῶν, καὶ ὡς νομίζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐξεθείασθη·

[4] In all government business and matters of state, the emperor's council entrusted political matters and public affairs to those who were competent lawyers and skillful orators, while they put in charge of military affairs experienced men who were skilled in the arts of war.

After the empire had been governed in this manner for some time, Maesa, then an old woman, died; receiving the imperial honors, she became, as the Romans believe, a deity.

[5] ἡ δὲ Μαμαία μόνη τῷ παιδί καταλειφθεῖσα ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ ἄρχειν τε καὶ κρατεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. ἤδη τε ὁρῶσα ἐν ἀκμῇ τὸν νεανίαν γενόμενον, καὶ δεδοικυῖα μὴ ἄρα ἡλικία ἀκμάζουσα ὑπηρετούσης ἀδείας τε καὶ ἐξουσίας ἔς τι τῶν γενικῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐξοκείλη, πανταχόθεν ἐφρούρει τὴν αὐλήν, οὐδέ τινα εἶα προσιέναι τῷ μεираκίῳ τῶν ἐπὶ φαύλῳ βίῳ διαβεβλημένων, μὴ πως τὸ ἦθος διαφθαρείη, προκαλεσαμένων αὐτοῦ τῶν κολάκων τὰς

[5] Now left alone with her son, Mamaea tried to govern and control him in the same fashion. Fearing that his vigorous young manhood might plunge him into the errors of adolescence because his power and position were assured, Mamaea kept the palace under close guard and allowed no one suspected of debauchery to approach the youth. She was afraid that his character would be corrupted if his flatterers aroused his growing appetites to disgraceful desires.

[6] ὁρέξεις ἀκμαζούσας ἔς αἰσχροῦς ἐπιθυμίας. δικάζειν [τε] οὖν αὐτὸν ἔπειθε συνεχέστατα καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥς ἂν ἀσχολούμενος περὶ τὰ κρείττονα καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἀναγκαῖα μὴ ἔχῃ καιρὸν ἐς τὸ ἐπιτηδεύειν τι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὑπῆρχε δέ τι καὶ φυσικὸν ἦθος πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔς τε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον πάνυ ἐπιρρεπές, ὥς ἐδήλωσε καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας προχωρούσης.

[6] She therefore induced him to serve as judge in the courts continually and for most of each day; occupied with important matters and the necessary business of the empire, he would have no opportunity to indulge in scandalous practices. Alexander's deportment was governed by a character naturally mild and civilized, and much inclined to benevolence, as was made clear when the youth grew older.

[7] ἐς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατον γοῦν ἐλάσας τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἀναιμῶτι ἥρξεν, οὐδέ τις εἶπεῖν ἔχει ὑπ' ἐκείνου φονευθέντα. καίτοι τινῶν μεγίσταις αἰτίαις

ὑποπεσόντων, ὅμως ἐφείσατο ὥς μὴ φονεῦσαι, οὐ ραδίως τοῦτο ἄλλου βασιλέως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποιήσαντος ἢ παραφυλάξαντος μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου ἀρχήν. ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ἢ μνημονεῦσαι ἐν ἔτεσι τοσοῦτοις ἀκρίτως φονευθέντα.

[7] At any rate, he entered the fourteenth year of his reign without bloodshed, and no one could say that the emperor had been responsible for anyone's murder. Even though men were convicted of serious crimes, he nevertheless granted them pardons to avoid putting them to death, and not readily did any emperor of our time, after the reign of Marcus, act in this way or display so much concern for human life. Indeed, over a period of many years, no one could recall that any man had been condemned to death by Alexander without a trial.

[8] ἦτιᾶτο δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ πάνυ ἥσχαλλεν ὁρῶν αὐτὴν οὔσαν φιλοχρήματον καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ὑπερφυῶς ἐσπουδακυῖαν. προσποιουμένη γὰρ ἀθροίζειν αὐτὰ ἵνα ἔχοι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀφθόνως καὶ ραδίως ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος χαρίζεσθαι, ἰδίᾳ ἐθησαύριζε· καὶ διέβαλλεν ἔσθ' ὅπῃ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτοῦ ἄκοντός τε καὶ ἀσχάλλοντος οὐσίας τινῶν καὶ κληρονομίας ἐξ ἐπηρείας ὑφαρπασάσης ἐκείνης.

[8] Alexander blamed his mother for her excessive love of money and was annoyed by her relentless pursuit of gold. For a time she pretended to be gathering funds to enable Alexander to gratify the praetorians readily and generously, but in truth she was hoarding it for herself. And her miserliness in some measure reflected discredit upon his reign, even though he personally opposed it and was angry when she confiscated anyone's property and inheritance illegally.

[9] ἠγάγετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκα τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, ἣν συνοικοῦσαν καὶ ἀγαπωμένην μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν βασιλείων ἐδίωξεν· ἐνυβρίζουσά τε καὶ βασιλίσσα εἶναι μόνη θέλουσα, φθονοῦσά τε τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκείνης, ἐς τοσοῦτον προεχώρησεν ὕβρεως ὥς τὸν πατέρα τῆς κόρης, καίτοι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου γαμβροῦ ὄντος πάνυ τιμώμενον, μὴ φέροντα τὴν Μαμαίαν ἐνυβρίζουσαν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ, φυγεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, τῷ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χάριν εἰδότα ἐφ' οἷς ἐτιμᾶτο, τὴν δὲ Μαμαίαν

[9] Mamaea secured for Alexander a wife from the aristocracy. Although he loved the girl and lived with her, she was afterward banished from the palace by his mother, who, in her egotistic desire to be sole empress, envied the girl her title. So excessively arrogant did Mamaea become that the girl's father, though Alexander esteemed him highly, could no longer endure the woman's insolence toward him and his daughter; consequently, he took refuge in the praetorian camp, fully aware of the debt of gratitude he owed Alexander for the honors he had received from him, but complaining bitterly about Mamaea's insults.

[10] αἰτιώμενον ἐφ' οἷς ὑβρίζετο. ἐκεῖνη δὲ ἀγανακτήσασα αὐτόν τε ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν κόρην ἐκβληθεῖσαν τῶν βασιλείων εἰς Λιβύην ἐφυγάδευσεν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράττετο ἄκοντός τε καὶ ἀναγκαζομένου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἦρχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαλλόντως ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ πᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον ἐκεῖνος ἐποίει. τοῦτο δ' ἂν τις μόνον ἔσχεν ἐγκαλέσαι αὐτῷ, ὅτι δὴ ὑπὸ περιττῆς πραότητος καὶ αἰδοῦς πλείονος ἢ ἐχρῆν τῇ μητρὶ, ἐν οἷς ἀπηρέσκετο, ὅμως ἐπείθετο.

[10] Enraged, Mamaea ordered him to be killed and at the same time drove the girl from the palace to exile in Libya. She did this against Alexander's wishes and in spite of his displeasure, but the emperor was dominated by his mother and obeyed her every command. One might bring this single charge against Alexander, that his excessive amiability and abnormal filial devotion led him to bow to his mother in matters he personally disapproved.

And so for thirteen years he ruled the empire in blameless fashion so far as he personally was concerned.

SECTION 2

[1] ἐτῶν μὲν οὖν τρισκαίδεκα οὕτως, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμέμπτως διώκησε· τῷ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει αἰφνιδίως ἐκομίσθη γράμματα τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν τε καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν ἡγεμόνων, δηλοῦντα ὅτι Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὸ Παρθυαίους καθελεῖν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν ἀρχῆς παραλῦσαι, Ἀρτάβανόν τε τὸν πρότερον καλούμενον [τὸν] μέγαν βασιλέα καὶ δυσὶ διαδήμασι χρώμενον ἀποκτεῖναι, πάντα τε τὰ περίοικα βάρβαρα χειρώσασθαι καὶ ἐς φόρου συντέλειαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, οὐχ ἡσυχάζει οὐδ' ἐντὸς Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ μένει, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὄχθας ὑπερβαίνων καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὅρους Μεσοποταμίαν τε κατατρέχει καὶ Σύροις ἀπειλεῖ, πᾶσάν τε τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἥπειρον

[1] IN THE fourteenth year, however, unexpected dispatches from the governors of Syria and Mesopotamia revealed that Artaxerxes, the Persian king, had conquered the Parthians and seized their Eastern empire, killing Artabanus, who was formerly called the Great King and wore the double diadem. Artaxerxes then subdued all the barbarians on his borders and forced them to pay tribute. He did not remain quiet, however, nor stay on his side of the Tigris River, but, after scaling its banks and crossing the borders of the Roman empire, he overran Mesopotamia and threatened Syria.

[2] Εὐρώπῃ καὶ διαιρουμένην Αἰγαίῳ τε καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ τῆς Προποντίδος, Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν καλουμένην προγονικὸν κτῆμα ἡγούμενος τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἀνακτήσασθαι βούλεται, φάσκων ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ Μήδων ἐς Πέρσας μεταστήσαντος μέχρι Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου Περσῶν βασιλέως, οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καθεῖλε, πάντα μέχρις Ἰωνίας καὶ Καρίας ὑπὸ σατράπαις Περσικοῖς διοκῆσθαι· προσήκειν οὖν αὐτῷ Πέρσαις ἀνανεώσασθαι πᾶσαν ὁλόκληρον, ἣν πρότερον ἔσχον, ἀρχήν.

[2] The entire continent opposite Europe, separated from it by the Aegean Sea and the Propontic Gulf, and the region called Asia he wished to recover for the Persian empire. Believing these regions to be his by inheritance, he declared that all the countries in that area, including Ionia and Caria, had been ruled by Persian governors, beginning with Cyrus, who first made the Median empire Persian, and ending with Darius, the last of the Persian monarchs, whose kingdom was seized by Alexander the Great. He asserted that it was therefore proper for him to recover for the Persians the kingdom which they had formerly possessed.

[3] τοιαῦτα τοίνυν δηλωσάντων καὶ ἐπιστειλάντων τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἡγεμόνων, πρὸς τὴν αἰφνίδιον καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα κομισθεῖσαν ἀγγελίαν οὐ

μετρίως ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐταράχθη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰρήνη ἐκ παίδων ἐντραφεὶς καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αἰεὶ σχολάσας τρυφῇ. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ κοινωσαμένῳ τοῖς φίλοις πρεσβεῖαν πέμψαι καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κωλύσαι τὴν ὁρμὴν

[3] When the Eastern governors revealed these developments in their dispatches, Alexander was greatly disturbed by these unanticipated tidings, particularly since, raised from childhood in an age of peace, he had spent his entire life in urban ease and comfort. Before doing anything else, he thought it best, after consulting his advisers, to send an embassy to the king and by his letters halt the invasion and disappoint the barbarian's hopes.

[4] καὶ ἐλπίδα τοῦ βαρβάρου. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰ γράμματα δεῖν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἰδίων ὅροις καὶ μὴ καινοτομεῖν μηδὲ ματαίαις αἰωρούμενον ἐλπίσι μέγαν ἐγείρειν πόλεμον, ἀγαπητῶς τε ἔχειν ἕκαστον τὰ αὐτοῦ· μηδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίαν ἔσεσθαι μάχην αὐτῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οἷαν σχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας καὶ ὁμοφύλους βαρβάρους. ὑπεμίμνησκε δὲ τὰ γράμματα τῶν τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῶν Τραϊανοῦ Λουκίου τε καὶ Σεβήρου κατ' αὐτῶν τροπαίων. τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ τίνα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστεύλας ᾤετο πείσειν ἢ φοβήσιν ἐς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τὸν

[4] In these letters he told Artaxerxes that he must remain within his own borders and not initiate any action; let him not, deluded by vain hopes, stir up a great war, but rather let each of them be content with what was already his. Artaxerxes would find fighting against the Romans not the same thing as fighting with his barbarian kinsmen and neighbors. Alexander further reminded the Persian king of the victories won over them by Augustus, Trajan, Verus, and Severus. By writing letters of this kind, Alexander thought that he would persuade the barbarian to remain quiet or frighten him to the same course.

[5] βάρβαρον· ὃ δ' οὐδέν τι φροντίζων τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων, ὅπλοις ἄλλ' οὐ λόγοις οἰόμενος δεῖν τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖσθαι, ἐνέκειτο ἄγων καὶ φέρων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντα, κατατρέχων τε καὶ καθιππεύων Μεσοποταμίαν λείας τε ἀπῆλυνε, καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα στρατόπεδα ταῖς ὄχθαις τῶν ποταμῶν προασπίζοντά τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐπολιόρκει. φύσει δ' ὢν ἀλαζών, καὶ ταῖς παρ' ἐλπίδας εὐπραγίαις ἐπαιρόμενος, πάντα ῥαδίως χειρώσασθαι

[5] But Artaxerxes ignored Alexander's efforts; believing that the matter would be settled by arms, not by words, he took the field, pillaging and looting all the Roman provinces. He overran and plundered Mesopotamia, trampling it under the hoofs of his horses. He laid siege to the Roman garrison camps on the banks of the rivers, the camps which defended the empire. Rash by nature and elated by successes beyond his expectations, Artaxerxes was convinced that he could surmount every obstacle in his path.

[6] προσεδόκα. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ ἀναπείθοντα οὐ μικρὰ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρχῆς μείζονος. πρῶτος γὰρ Περσῶν ἐτόλμησε τῇ Παρθηαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπιθέσθαι Πέρσαις τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνανεώσασθαι. μετὰ γὰρ Δαρεῖον τὸν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλυθέντα, παμπλείστοις ἐν ἔτεσι Μακεδόνες μὲν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐθνῶν καὶ κατ' Ἀσίαν

[6] The considerations which led him to wish for an expanded empire were not small. He was the first Persian to dare to launch an attack on the Parthian empire and the first to succeed in winning back that empire for the Persians. Indeed, after Darius had been deprived of his kingdom by Alexander of Macedon, the Macedonians and Alexander's successors divided up the territory by countries and ruled the nations of the East and all Asia for many years.

[7] ἅπασαν, νειμάμενοι κατὰ χώρας, ἐβασίλευσαν. ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένων, πολέμοις τε συνεχέσι τῆς Μακεδόνων δυνάμεως ἐξασθενούσης, πρῶτος Ἀρσάκης λέγεται, τὸ γένος Παρθηαῖος, ἀναπεῖσαι τοὺς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρους ἀποστῆναι Μακεδόνων· περιθέμενός τε τὸ διάδημα ἐκόντων Παρθηαίων καὶ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων αὐτός τε ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον παρέμενεν ἡ ἀρχή, μέχρις Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενομένου, ὃν Ἀρταξάρης ἀποκτείνας Πέρσαις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεκτήσατο, τὰ τε γειννῶντα ἔθνη βάρβαρα χειρωσάμενος ῥαδίως ἤδη καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπεβούλευσεν.

[7] When these governors quarreled and the power of the Macedonians was weakened by continual wars, they say that Arsaces the Parthian was the first to persuade the barbarians in those regions to revolt from the Macedonians. Invested with the crown by the willing Parthians and the neighboring barbarians, Arsaces ruled as king. For a long time the empire remained in his own family, down to Artabanus in our time; then Artaxerxes killed Artabanus and took possession of his kingdom for the Persians. After easily subduing the neighboring barbarian nations, the king began to plot against the Roman empire.

SECTION 3

[1] ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐδηλώθη διατρίβοντι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τολμώμενα, οὐκ ἀνασχετὰ ἡγούμενος, καλούντων δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἡγεμόνων, ἀσχάλλων μὲν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, ὅμως δ' ἔσχε περὶ ἑξοδον. ἔκ τε οὖν αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πάντων ἐθνῶν λογάδες ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἡθροίζοντο, ὅσοι σώματος εὐεξία καὶ ἡλικίας ἀκμῇ ἐς

[1] WHEN the bold actions of this Eastern barbarian were disclosed to Alexander while he was passing the time in Rome, he found these affronts unendurable. Though the undertaking distressed him and was contrary to his inclinations, since his governors there were calling for him, he made preparations for departure. He assembled for army service picked men from Italy and from all the Roman provinces, enrolling those whose age and physical condition qualified them for military service.

[2] μάχην ἐπιτήδευοι ἐνομίζοντο. κίνησίς τε μεγίστη πάσης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, δυνάμειος ἰσορρόπου ἀθροισμένης πρὸς τὸ ἀγγελλόμενον τῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων βαρβάρων πλῆθος. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας, συνελθεῖν τε πάντας κελεύσας ἐς τὸ σύνηθες πεδῖον, ἐπὶ βήματος ἀνελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

[2] The gathering of an army equal in size to the reported strength of the attacking barbarians caused the greatest upheaval throughout the Roman world. When these troops were gathered in Rome, Alexander ordered them to assemble on the usual plain. There he mounted a platform and addressed them as follows:

[3] ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, τοὺς συνήθεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, δι' ὧν αὐτὸς τε ἐκοσμούμην δημηγορῶν ὑμᾶς τε ἀκούοντας εὖφραινον· εἰρήνης γὰρ πολυετοὺς ἀπολαύσαντες εἴ τι καινὸν νῦν ἀκούοιτε,

[3] “I wished, fellow soldiers, to make the customary speech to you, the speech from which I, speaking to the popular taste, receive approval, and you, when you hear it, receive encouragement. Since you have now enjoyed many years of peace, you may be startled to hear something unusual or contrary to your anticipations.

[4] ἴσως ἂν ὥς παρ' ἐλπίδα λεχθέντι ἐκπλαγείητε. χρηὶ δ' ἄνδρας γενναίους τε καὶ σώφρονας εὖχεσθαι μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὰ βέλτιστα, φέρειν δὲ τὰ προσπίπτοντα· τῶν μὲν γὰρ δι' ἡδονῆς πραττομένων ἢ ἀπόλαυσις γλυκεῖα, τῶν δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατορθουμένων ἔνδοξος ἢ ἀνδρεία. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων ἔργων οὐκ εὐγνώμονα ἔχει τὴν πρόκλησιν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἐνὸς οὐλοῦντας

ἀποσιεῖσθαι ἐκ τε τῆς ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως ἔχει τὸ θαρραλέον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ

[4] Brave and intelligent men should pray for things to turn out for the best, but they should also endure whatever befalls. It is true that the enjoyment of things done for pleasure brings gratification, but good repute results from the manliness involved in setting matters straight when necessity demands. To initiate unjust actions is not proof of good intentions, but it is a courageous deed to rid oneself of those who are troublesome if it is done with good conscience; one may expect good results if he has done nothing unjust but has avoided injustice.

[5] μὴ ἀδικεῖν ἀλλ' ἀμύνεσθαι ὑπάρχει τὸ εὖελπι. Ἀρταξέρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην Ἀρτάβανον ἀποκτείνας τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐς Πέρσας μεταστήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅπλων καταθαρρήσας καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δόξης καταφρονήσας, πειρᾶται κατατρέχειν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς κτήματα. τοῦτον ἐπειράθην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γράμμασι καὶ πειθοῖ παῦσαι τῆς ἀπλήστου μανίας καὶ τῆς ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίας· ὁ δὲ βαρβάρῳ φερόμενος ἀλαξονεῖα οὔτε μένειν οἶκοι βούλεται, προκαλεῖται τε ἡμᾶς ἐς μάχην. μὴ δὴ μέλλωμεν

[5] The Persian Artaxerxes has slain his master Artabanus, and the Parthian empire is now Persian. Despising our arms and contemptuous of the Roman reputation, Artaxerxes is attempting to overrun and destroy our imperial possessions. I first endeavored by letters and persuasion to check his mad greed and his lust for the property of others. But the king, with barbarian arrogance, is unwilling to remain within his own boundaries and challenges us to battle.

[6] μὴδὲ ὀκνῶμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ὑπομνήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τροπαίων ἃ μετὰ Σεβήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἠγεῖρατε πολλάκις κατὰ βαρβάρων, οἱ δ' ἐν ἀκμῇ ὄντες δόξης καὶ κλέους ἐπιθυμήσαντες δεῖξατε ὅτι ἄρα καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρῶως καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς ἐπίστασθε καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ τῆς χρεῖας ἀπαιτούσης γενναίως κατορθοῦτε.

[6] Let us not hesitate to accept his challenge. You veterans remind yourselves of the victories which you often won over the barbarians under the leadership of Severus and my father, Caracalla. You recruits, thirsting for glory and honor, make it clear that you know how to live at peace mildly and with propriety, but make it equally clear that you turn with courage to the tasks of war when necessity demands.

[7] τὸ δὲ βάρβαρον πρὸς μὲν τὰ ὑπεῖκοντα καὶ ὀκνοῦντα θρασύνεται, τῷ δ' ἀντιπίπτοντι οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀντέχει, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκ συστάσεως αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὑπισχνεῖται τὸ εὖελπι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἢ φυγῆς

κερδαίνειν νομίζουσιν ὅπερ ἂν σχῶσι δι' ἀρπαγῆς. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ εὐτακτον
ἅμα τῷ κοσμίῳ ὑπάρχει, καὶ νικᾷν αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ δεδιδάγμεθα.

[7] The barbarian is bold against the hesitant and the cowardly, but he does not stand up in like fashion to those who fight back; it is not in close-quarter combat that they battle the enemy with hope of success. Rather, they believe that whatever success they win is the result of plundering after a feigned retreat and flight. Discipline and organized battle tactics favor us, together with the fact that we have always been taught to conquer the barbarian.”

SECTION 4

[1] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀνευφήμησε, προθυμίαν τε πᾶσαν ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ὁ δ' ἐπιδούς αὐτοῖς χρήματα μεγαλοφρόνως, εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκέλευσε. κατελθὼν τε ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλήν, καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις

[1] WHEN Alexander finished speaking, the cheering army promised its wholehearted support for the war. After a lavish distribution of money to the soldiers, the emperor ordered preparations for his departure from the city. He then went before the senate and made a speech similar to the one recorded above; following this, he publicly announced his plans to march out.

[2] ὅμοια διαλεχθεῖς, ἐπήγγειλε τὴν ἔξοδον. καταλαβούσης δὲ τῆς ὀρισμένης ἡμέρας θύσας τε τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑξόδοις νενομισμένας ἱερουργίας, παραπεμφθεῖς τε ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου, τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆρεν, ἐπιστρεφόμενος αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ δακρύων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν δημοτῶν ἦν τις ὃς ἀδακρυτὶ παρέπεμπεν αὐτόν· πόθον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ πλήθει ἐμπεποιήκει ἀνατραφεῖς τε ὑπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ μετρίως ἄρξας τοσούτων ἐτῶν.

[2] On the appointed day, after he had performed the sacrifices prescribed for departures, Alexander left Rome, weeping and repeatedly looking back at the city. The senate and all the people escorted him, and everyone wept, for he was held in great affection by the people of Rome, among whom he had been reared and whom he had ruled with moderation for many years.

[3] μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ σπουδῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν, τὰ τε Ἰλλυρικά ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα ἐπελθὼν, πλείστην τε δύναμιν κάκειθεν ἀθροίσας, ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξήρτυε, γυμνάζων τε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀσκῶν.

[3] Traveling rapidly, he came to Antioch, after visiting the provinces and the garrison camps in Illyricum; from that region he collected a huge force of troops. While in Antioch he continued his preparations for the war, giving the soldiers military training under field conditions.

[4] ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ πρεσβείαν πάλιν πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας διαλέγεσθαι· ἤλπιζε γὰρ αὐτὸν πείσειν ἢ φοβήσιν αὐτὸς παρῶν. ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέπεμψε ἀπράκτους, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τετρακοσίους Περσῶν τοὺς μεγίστους, ἐσθῆσί τε πολυτελέσι καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένους ἵππων τε καὶ τόξων παρασκευῇ, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε

δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καταπλήξειν οἰηθεὶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

[4] He thought it best to send another embassy to the Persian king to discuss the possibility of peace and friendship, hoping to persuade him or to intimidate him by his presence. The barbarian, however, sent the envoys back to the emperor unsuccessful. Then Artaxerxes chose four hundred very tall Persians, outfitted them with fine clothes and gold ornaments, and equipped them with horses and bows; he sent these men to Alexander as envoys, thinking that their appearance would dazzle the Romans.

[5] τῇ τε ὄψει καὶ τῷ σχήματι τῶν Περσῶν. ἔλεγε δ' ἡ πρεσβεία ὅτι [δὴ] κελεύει μέγας βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξέρης ἀφίστασθαι Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Συρίας τε πάσης Ἀσίας τε τῆς Εὐρώπῃ ἀντικειμένης, ἑᾶσαι δὲ ἄρχειν Πέρσας μέχρις Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Καρίας καὶ ὅσα Αἰγαίῳ καὶ Πόντῳ ἔθνη διαιρεῖται· εἶναι γὰρ

[5] The envoys said that the great king Artaxerxes ordered the Romans and their emperor to withdraw from all Syria and from that part of Asia opposite Europe; they were to permit the Persians to rule as far as Ionia and Caria and to govern all the nations separated by the Aegean Sea and the Propontic Gulf, inasmuch as these were the Persians' by right of inheritance.

[6] αὐτὰ Περσῶν προγονικὰ κτήματα. τοιαῦτά τινα τῶν τετρακοσίων πρέσβεων ἀπαγγειλάντων, κελεύει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τετρακοσίους συλληφθῆναι, καὶ παρελόμενος πάσης τῆς περικειμένης σκευῆς ἐς Φρυγίαν ἐξέπεμψε, δοὺς κώμας τε οἰκεῖν καὶ χώραν γεωργεῖν, τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεὶς τιμωρίαν ὥς οἴκαδε μὴ ἐπανελθεῖν· ἀποκτεῖναι γὰρ ἀνόσιον καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἀνδρεῖον ἡγήσατο μήτε μαχομένους καὶ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν δεσπότης ἀγγείλαντας.

[6] When the Persian envoys delivered these demands, Alexander ordered the entire four hundred to be arrested; stripping off their finery, he sent the group to Phrygia, where villages and farm land were assigned to them, but he gave orders that they were not to be allowed to return to their native country. He treated them in this fashion because he thought it dishonorable and cowardly to put them to death, since they were not fighting but simply carrying out their master's orders.

[7] τούτων δὴ οὕτως πραττομένων, παρασκευαζομένου τε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ διαβῆναι τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔξ τε τὴν βάρβαρον γῆν τὸν στρατὸν διαγαγεῖν, ἐγένοντό τινες καὶ ἀποστάσεις στρατιωτῶν, ἀπὸ τε Αἰγύπτου ἐληλυθότων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν, καινοτομήσαί τινα ἐπιχειρησάντων περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· οἱ ταχέως φωραθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τινα τῶν

στρατοπέδων μετέστησεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἕτερα χωρία, ἐπιτηδειότερα δοκοῦντα εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομάς.

[7] This is the way the affair turned out. While Alexander was preparing to cross the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and lead his army into barbarian territory, several mutinies broke out among his troops, especially among the soldiers from Egypt; but revolts occurred also in Syria, where the soldiers attempted to proclaim a new emperor. These defections were quickly discovered and suppressed. At this time Alexander transferred to other stations those field armies which seemed better able to check the barbarian invasions.

SECTION 5

[1] τούτων δὴ αὐτῷ διοικηθέντων, τῆς τε στρατιᾶς παμπληθοῦς συνειλεγμένης, ὅτε δὴ ἀντίπαλα καὶ ἰσόρροπα ῥήθη εἶναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματα τῷ πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων, σκεψάμενος σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἔνειμε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐς τρεῖς μοῖρας, καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὰ ἄρκτῳ μέρη ἀφορῶσαν, δι' Ἀρμενίας ἐπελθοῦσαν φιλίου Ῥωμαίοις δοκούσης, κατατρέχειν τὴν Μῆδων χώραν·

[1] AFTER thus setting matters in order, Alexander, considering that the huge army he had assembled was now nearly equal in power and numbers to the barbarians, consulted his advisers and then divided his force into three separate armies. One army he ordered to overrun the land of the Medes after marching north and passing through Armenia, which seemed to favor the Roman cause.

[2] τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὰ ἑῷα μέρη τῆς βαρβάρου γῆς βλέπουσαν, ἔνθα συρρέοντας τὸν Τίγρητα καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἔλη πυκνότατα ὑποδέχεσθαι λέγουσι καὶ λανθάνειν ποταμῶν ἐκείνων μόνων διὰ τοῦτο τὰς ἐκβολάς· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν καὶ γενναιοτάτην τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτὸς ἔχων ὑπέσχετο ἐπάξειν τοῖς βαρβάροις κατὰ μέσσην τὴν πορείαν. οὕτω γὰρ ᾧετο διαφόροις ἐφόδοις ἀφυλάκτως τε καὶ ἀπροόπτως αὐτοῖς ἐπελεύσεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Περσῶν αἰεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας διαιρούμενον ἀσθενέστερόν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀτακτότερον

[2] He sent the second army to the eastern sector of the barbarian territory, where, it is said, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers at their confluence empty into very dense marshes; these are the only rivers whose mouths cannot be clearly determined. The third and most powerful army he kept himself, promising to lead it against the barbarians in the central sector. He thought that in this way he would attack them from different directions when they were unprepared and not anticipating such strategy, and he believed that the Persian horde, constantly split up to face their attackers on several fronts, would be weaker and less unified for battle.

[3] μαχεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μισθοφόροις χρῶνται στρατιώταις οἱ βάρβαροι ὥσπερ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐδὲ στρατόπεδα ἔχουσι συνεστῶτα καὶ μένοντα, πολέμου τέχναις ἐγγεγυμνασμένα· ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔσθ' ὅπῃ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐπὶ κελεύσει βασιλεὺς, ἀθροίζεται. διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἕκαστος ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπανέρχεται, τοσοῦτον ἀποκερδήσας ὅσα ἂν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς αὐτῷ

[3] The barbarians, it may be noted, do not hire mercenary soldiers as the Romans do, nor do they maintain trained standing armies. Rather, all the available men, and sometimes the

women too, mobilize at the king's order. At the end of the war each man returns to his regular occupation, taking as his pay whatever falls to his lot from the general booty.

[4] περιγένηται. τόξοις τε καὶ ἵπποις οὐκ ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μόνον χρῶνται ὥσπερ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ παιδῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέφονται καὶ θηρῶντες διαιτῶνται, οὔτε τὰς φαρέτρας ποτὲ ἀποτιθέμενοι οὔτε τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντες, ἀεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι ἢ κατὰ πολεμίων ἢ κατὰ θηρίων.

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν, ὥς ᾤετο, ἄριστα βεβούλευτο·

[4] They use the bow and the horse in war, as the Romans do, but the barbarians are reared with these from childhood, and live by hunting; they never lay aside their quivers or dismount from their horses, but employ them constantly for war and the chase.

Alexander therefore devised what he believed to be the best possible plan of action, only to have Fortune defeat his design.

[5] ἔσφηλε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἡ τύχη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεμφθὲν δι' Ἀρμενίας στρατιωτικόν, μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ τῆς χώρας ὄρη τραχύτατά τε ὄντα καὶ κρημνωδέστατα (πλὴν ἔτι θέρους ὄντος ἀνεκτὴν εἶχε τὴν πορείαν), ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὴν Μήδων χώραν ἐπόρθει τε αὐτὴν καὶ πολλὰς ἐνέπρησε κόμας λείαν τε ἀπήγαγεν. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης μαθὼν ἐπήμυνε κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀπείργειν δὲ τοῦς

[5] The army sent through Armenia had an agonizing passage over the high, steep mountains of that country. (As it was still summer, however, they were able to complete the crossing.) Then, plunging down into the land of the Medes, the Roman soldiers devastated the countryside, burning many villages and carrying off much loot. Informed of this, the Persian king led his army to the aid of the Medes, but met with little success in his efforts to halt the Roman advance.

[6] Ῥωμαῖους οὐ πάνυ τι ἐδύνατο· τραχεῖα γὰρ οὖσα ἡ χώρα τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς καὶ τὴν βάσιν εὐπαγῇ καὶ τὴν πορείαν εὐμαρῇ παρεῖχεν, ἡ δ' ἵππος τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀρέων τραχύτητος ὁμοῦ καὶ πρὸς δρόμον ἐπέιχετο καὶ καθιππεύειν ἢ ἐπιέναι ἐκωλύετο. ἦκον δὲ τινες ἀγγέλλοντες τῷ Πέρσῃ ὥς ἄρα φαίνοιτο Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἕτερος ἐν τοῖς ἐφ' οἷς μέρεσι Παρθυαίων, τὰ τε πεδία

[6] This is rough country; while it provided firm footing and easy passage for the infantry, the rugged mountain terrain hampered the movements of the barbarian cavalry and prevented their riding down the Romans or even making contact with them. Then men came and reported to the Persian king that another Roman army had appeared in eastern Parthia and was

overrunning the plains there.

[7] κατατρέχουσι. διόπερ φοβηθεῖς ἐκεῖνος μὴ τὰ ἐν Πάρθοις ῥαδίως λυμηνάμενοι ἐς Πέρσας ἐμβάλωσι, καταλιπὼν τινα δύναμιν, ὅσῃν αὐτάρκη ᾤετο ῥύεσθαι Μηδίαν, αὐτὸς σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ ἐξῶ μέρη ἡπείγετο. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ τὴν πορείαν ἀμελέστερον ἐποιεῖτο μήτε τινὸς φαινομένου μήτε ἀνθεστῶτος, ἥλπιζε τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον σὺν <τῇ> τρίτῃ μοίρᾳ, γενναιοτάτῃ οὔσῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ, ἐς μέσους ἐμβεβληκέναι τοὺς βαρβάρους, κἀκεῖνους ἀνθελκομένους ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν σχολαιτέραν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀδεεστέραν παρέξειν τὴν ἔφοδον.

[7] Fearing that the Romans, after ravaging Parthia unopposed, might advance into Persia, Artaxerxes left behind a force which he thought strong enough to defend Media, and hurried with his entire army into the eastern sector. The Romans were advancing much too carelessly because they had met no opposition and, in addition, they believed that Alexander and his army, the largest and most formidable of the three, had already attacked the barbarians in the central sector. They thought, too, that their own advance would be easier and less hazardous when the barbarians were constantly being drawn off elsewhere to meet the threat of the emperor's army.

[8] προεῖρητο γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς στρατοῖς ὑπερᾶραι εἰς τὴν <πολεμίαν>, καὶ τόπος ὥριστο ἐς ὃν [καὶ] ἅπαντας συνελθεῖν ἔδει, παντὰ τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ χειρουμένους. ἔσφηλε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μήτε εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν στρατὸν μήτε εἰσελθὼν, ἢ διὰ δέος, ἵνα μὴ δὴ αὐτὸς κινδυνεύει ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἢ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπισχούσης γυναικεῖα δειλία καὶ ὑπερβαλλούση

[8] All three Roman armies had been ordered to invade the enemy's territory, and a final rendezvous had been selected to which they were to bring their booty and prisoners. But Alexander failed them: he did not bring his army or come himself into barbarian territory, either because he was afraid to risk his life for the Roman empire or because his mother's feminine fears or excessive mother love restrained him.

[9] φιλοτεκνία. ἤμβλυνε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰς πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ὁρμάς, πείθουσα δεῖν ἄλλους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτὸν παρατάττεσθαι· ὅπερ τὸν εἰσελθόντα Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἀπώλεσεν. ὁ γὰρ Πέρσης σὺν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἐπελθὼν οὐ προσδοκῶντος τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐκπεριελθὼν καὶ ὥσπερ σαγηνεύσας, πανταχόθεν τε τοξεύων, διέφθειρε τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὀλίγων τε πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀνθίστασθαι μὴ δυναμένων, καὶ ἀεὶ τὰ γυμνά ἑαυτῶν, ἐς ἃ ἐτοξεύοντο, φραττόντων τοῖς ὅπλοις· ῥύεσθαι

[9] She blocked his efforts at courage by persuading him that he should let others risk their lives for him, but that he should not personally fight in battle. It was this reluctance of his which led to the destruction of the advancing Roman army. The king attacked it unexpectedly with his entire force and trapped the Romans like fish in a net; firing their arrows from all sides at the encircled soldiers, the Persians massacred the whole army. The outnumbered Romans were unable to stem the attack of the Persian horde; they used their shields to protect those parts of their bodies exposed to the Persian arrows.

[10] γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ σώματα, οὐ μάχεσθαι ἀγαπητὸν ἦν· ἔστε δὴ πάντες ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συναλισθέντες καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀσπίδων προβολῇ ὥσπερ τειχίσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἐν σχήματι πολιορκίας καὶ πανταχόθεν βαλλόμενοι καὶ τιρωσκόμενοι, ἀντισχόντες ἐς ὅσον ἐνεδέχετο ἀνδρείως, τὸ τελευταῖον πάντες διεφθάρησαν. μεγίστη τε αὕτη συμφορὰ καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως μνημονευθεῖσα Ῥωμαίους ἐπέσχε, δυνάμεως μεγίστης διαφθαρείσης, γνώμη καὶ ῥώμη μηδεμιᾶς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποδεούσης· τὸν τε Πέρσην ἐς ἐλπίδα μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἐτύφωσε τηλικούτων ἔργων εὐπραγία.

[10] Content merely to protect themselves, they offered no resistance. As a result, all the Romans were driven into one spot, where they made a wall of their shields and fought like an army under siege. Hit and wounded from every side, they held out bravely as long as they could, but in the end all were killed. The Romans suffered a staggering disaster; it is not easy to recall another like it, one in which a great army was destroyed, an army inferior in strength and determination to none of the armies of old. The successful outcome of these important events encouraged the Persian king to anticipate better things in the future.

SECTION 6

[1] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐδηλώθη χαλεπῶς νοσοῦντι εἴτε διὰ δυσθυμίαν εἴτε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἀήθειαν, αὐτός τε δυσφόρως ἤνεγκε, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς στρατὸς ἠγανάκτησε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐχαλέπαιεν, ὅτι δὴ ψευσαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντος τὰ συνθήματα

[1] WHEN the disaster was reported to Alexander, who was seriously ill either from despondency or the unfamiliar air, he fell into despair. The rest of the army angrily denounced the emperor because the invading army had been destroyed as a result of his failure to carry out the plans faithfully agreed upon.

[2] προδοθεῖν ὁ εἰσελθὼν στρατός. πλὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μήτε τὴν νόσον φέρων καὶ τὸ πνιγῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ τε στρατοῦ παντὸς νοσοῦντος, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ ὑγρῷ καὶ χειμερίῳ ἀέρι ἐνειθισμένοι τροφάς τε πλείονας συνήθως εἰσφερόμενοι χαλεπῶς νοσοῦντες διεφθείροντο, ἐπανελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐβουλεύσατο, καὶ πέμψας τὸν ἐν Μηδίᾳ στρατὸν ἐπανελθεῖν

[2] And now Alexander refused to endure his indisposition and the stifling air any longer. The entire army was sick and the troops from Illyricum especially were seriously ill and dying, being accustomed to moist, cool air and to more food than they were being issued. Eager to set out for Antioch, Alexander ordered the army in Media to proceed to that city.

[3] ἐκέλευσεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπανιὼν πλεῖστος ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡκρωτηριάσθησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν δυσχειμέρῳ χώρᾳ, ὥς ὀλιγίστους πάνυ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπανελθεῖν· τὸ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανήγαγε, πολλῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς μοίρας ἀπολωλότων, ὥς μεγίστην ἐνεγκεῖν δυσθυμίαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀδοξίαν, σφαλέντι καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ τύχῃ, καὶ τῶν τριῶν μοιρῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ ὧν ἔνειμε τὸ πλεῖστον ἀποβαλόντι διαφόροις συμφοραῖς, νόσῳ πολέμῳ κρύει.

[3] This army, in its advance, was almost totally destroyed in the mountains; a great many soldiers suffered mutilation in the frigid country, and only a handful of the large number of troops who started the march managed to reach Antioch. The emperor led his own large force to that city, and many of them perished too; so the affair brought the greatest discontent to the army and the greatest dishonor to Alexander, who was betrayed by bad luck and bad judgment. Of the three armies into which he had divided his total force, the greater part was lost by various misfortunes — disease, war, and cold.

[4] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτός τε ῥαδίως ἐπερρώσθη

τῷ εὐψυχῇ καὶ ἐνύδρῳ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τὸν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ ξηρὸν αὐχμὸν, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἀνεκτᾶτο, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς λελύπηντο παρεμυθεῖτο μεγαλοδωρία χρημάτων· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον ἐς εὐνοίας ἀνάκτησιν στρατιωτῶν ἐνόμιζε φάρμακον. δυνάμιν τε ἤθροιζε καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ὡς δὴ πάλιν ἐπάξων Πέρσαις,

[4] In Antioch, Alexander was quickly revived by the cool air and good water of that city after the acrid drought in Mesopotamia, and the soldiers too recovered there. The emperor tried to console them for their sufferings by a lavish distribution of money, in the belief that this was the only way he could regain their good will. He assembled an army and prepared to march against the Persians again if they should give trouble and not remain quiet.

[5] εἰ ἐνοχλοῖεν καὶ μὴ ἡσυχάζοιεν. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Πέρσης λύσας τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐκάστους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀποπέμψας. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος ὑπέρτεροι ἐδόκουν γεγενῆσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι, πλὴν ὅμως ἐτετρύχωντο ταῖς τε κατὰ Μηδίαν πολλάκις γενομέναις συμβολαῖς τῇ τε ἐν Παρθίᾳ μάχῃ, πολλῶν μὲν πεσόντων παμπλείστων δὲ τετρωμένων. οὐ γὰρ ἀνάνδρως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡττήθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔσθ' ὅπῃ κακώσαντες, παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολόμενοι παρ' ὅσον πλήθει ἐλάττους

[5] But it was reported that Artaxerxes had disbanded his army and sent each soldier back to his own country. Though the barbarians seemed to have conquered because of their superior strength, they were exhausted by the numerous skirmishes in Media and by the battle in Parthia, where they lost many killed and many wounded. The Romans were not defeated because they were cowards; indeed, they did the enemy much damage and lost only because they were outnumbered.

[6] εὐρέθησαν, ὡς σχεδὸν ἰσαρίθμου γενομένου τοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν πεσόντος στρατοῦ τὸ περιλειφθὲν τῶν βαρβάρων πλήθει ἄλλ' οὐ δυνάμει δοκεῖ νενικηκέναι. δεῖγμα δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μικρὸν τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων κακώσεως· ἐτῶν γοῦν τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡσύχασαν οὐδ' ἐν ὅπλοις ἐγένοντο. ἄπερ μανθάνων ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβεν· εὐθυμότερος δὲ καὶ ἀδεέστερος γενόμενος ἀνειμένης αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ φροντίδος, ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐσχόλαζε τρυφαῖς.

[6] Since the total number of troops which fell on both sides was virtually identical, the surviving barbarians appeared to have won, but by superior numbers, not by superior power. It is no little proof of how much the barbarians suffered that for three or four years after this they remained quiet and did not take up arms. All this the emperor learned while he was at Antioch. Relieved of anxiety about the war, he grew more cheerful and less apprehensive and devoted himself to enjoying the pleasures which the city offered.

SECTION 7

[1] οιομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐν Πέρσαις μὴ μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ συγκειμένη ἡσυχάζειν, ἔχειν δὲ ἀνακωχὴν καὶ μέλλησιν τῷ βαρβάρῳ πρὸς τὸ πάλιν ἐπάγειν τὸν στρατόν, ὃς ἅπαξ διαλυθεὶς οὐ ῥαδίως ἡθροίζετο ἅτε μὴ συντεταγμένος μηδὲ συνεστῶς, ἀλλ' ὄχλος μᾶλλον ἢ στρατὸς ὑπάρχων, καὶ τῶν ἐπισιτισμῶν αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτων ὄντων ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστος ἀφικνούμενος πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ χρειῶδες ἐπενέγκηται, καὶ δυσανοσπᾶστος τε καὶ δυσόκνως καταλειπόντων

[1] ALEXANDER did not believe that Persian affairs would remain permanently quiet and peaceful, but he did think that the barbarian had provided him with a temporary respite from campaigning. The barbarian army, once disbanded, was not easily remustered, as it was not organized on a permanent basis. More a mob than a regular army, the soldiers had only those supplies which each man brought for himself when he reported for duty. Moreover, the Persians are reluctant to leave their wives, children, and homeland.

[2] τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν χώραν, αἰφνιδίως ἄγγελοί τε καὶ γράμματα ἐτάραξε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐς μείζονα φροντίδα ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπιστειλάντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπειστευμένων τὴν Ἰλλυρίδος ἡγεμονίαν ὅτι ἄρα Γερμανοὶ Ῥῆνον καὶ Ἰστρον διαβαίνοντες τὴν Ῥωμαίων πορθοῦσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις στρατόπεδα ἐπικείμενα πόλεις τε καὶ κόμας πολλῇ δυνάμει κατατρέχουσιν, εἴη τε οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ κινδύνῳ τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ

[2] Now unexpected messages and dispatches upset Alexander and caused him even greater anxiety: the governors in Illyria reported that the Germans had crossed the Rhine and the Danube rivers, were plundering the Roman empire, and with a huge force were overrunning the garrison camps on the banks of these rivers, as well as the cities and villages there. They reported also that the provinces of Illyricum bordering on and close to Italy were in danger.

[3] ἔθνη ὁμοροῦντα καὶ γειννῶντα Ἰταλίᾳ· δεῖσθαι τοίνυν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὃς ἦν σὺν αὐτῷ. δηλωθέντα δὴ ταῦτα τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐτάραξε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ στρατιώτας ἐλύπησε, διπλῇ δοκοῦντας κεχρηῆσθαι συμφορᾷ, ἕκ τε ὧν πεπόνθεσαν Πέρσαις μαχόμενοι, ἕκ τε ὧν ἐπυνθάνοντο τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστοι ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ἀπολωλότας. ἡγανάκτουν οὖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον ἐν αἰτίᾳ ὥς τὰ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς δι' ἀμέλειαν ἢ δειλίαν προδεδωκότα, πρὸς τε

[3] The governors informed the emperor that it was absolutely necessary that he and his entire army come to them. The revelation of these developments terrified Alexander and aroused great concern among the soldiers from Illyricum, who seemed to have suffered a double disaster; the men who had undergone many hardships in the Persian expedition now learned

that their families had been slaughtered by the Germans. They were naturally enraged at this, and blamed Alexander for their misfortunes because he had betrayed affairs in the East by his cowardice and carelessness and was hesitant and dilatory about the situation in the North.

[4] τὰ ἀρκτῶα μέλλοντα καὶ ὀκνοῦντα. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δέος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῖς τε συνοῦσι φίλοις ἤδη καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἡγοῦντο τὸν ἐκ Περσῶν κίνδυνον οἶον ἐκ Γερμανῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς κατοικοῦντες, μακρᾷ γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ πολλῇ διηρημένοι, τὴν Ἰταλῶν χώραν μόλις ἀκούουσι, τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ δὲ ἔθνη στενὰ ὄντα καὶ οὐ πολλὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν, παρὰ τοσοῦτον ὁμόρους καὶ γείτονας

[4] Alexander and his advisers, too, feared for the safety of Italy itself. They did not consider the Persian threat at all similar to the German. The fact is that those who live in the East, separated from the West by a great continent and a broad sea, scarcely ever hear of Italy, whereas the provinces of Illyricum, since they are narrow and very little of their territory is under Roman control, make the Germans actually neighbors of the Italians; the two peoples thus share common borders.

[5] ποιεῖ Γερμανοὺς Ἰταλιώταις. ἐπαγγέλλει δὴ ἄκων μὲν καὶ ἀσχάλλων τὴν ἔξοδον· πλὴν τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν καλοῦσης, καταλιπὼν τε δύναμιν ὅσπιν ὤτετο αὐτάρκη ρύεσθαι τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὄχθας, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπιμελέστερον τειχίσας καὶ πληρώσας ἕκαστα τοῦ ὀρισμένου στρατοῦ, αὐτὸς ἐς Γερμανοὺς ἡπείγετο

[5] Although he loathed the idea, Alexander glumly announced his departure for Illyria. Necessity compelled him to go, however; and so, leaving behind a force which he considered strong enough to defend the Roman frontiers, after he had seen to the forts and the walls of the camps with greater care and had assigned to each fort its normal complement of troops, the emperor marched out against the Germans with the rest of his army.

[6] ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ πλῆθει. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐπέστη ταῖς τοῦ Ῥήνου ὄχθαις, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Γερμανικὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο, τὸν τε ποταμὸν ναυσὶ διελάμβανεν, ὣν πρὸς ἀλλήλας συνδεθεισῶν γεφυρωθέντα εὐμαρῇ τὴν διάβασιν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέξιν ὤτετο. μέγιστοι γὰρ δὴ οὗτοι ποταμῶν ὑπ' ἄρκτῳ ρέουσι, Ῥήνός τε καὶ Ἰστρος, ὃ μὲν Γερμανοὺς ὃ δὲ Παίονας παραμείβων· οἱ θέρους μὲν ναυσίπορον ἔχουσι τὸ ρεῖθρον διὰ βάθος τε καὶ πλάτος, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους ἐν πεδίου σχήματι καθιππεύονται.

[6] Completing the journey quickly, he encamped on the banks of the Rhine and made preparations for the German campaign. Alexander spanned the river with boats lashed

together to form a bridge, thinking that this would provide an easy means of crossing for his soldiers. The Rhine in Germany and the Danube in Pannonia are the largest of the northern rivers. In summer their depth and width make them easily navigable, but in the cold winters they freeze over and appear like a level plain which can be crossed on horseback.

[7] ἀντιτυπὲς δὲ οὕτω καὶ στερρὸν γίνεται τό ποτε ρεῖθρον ὥς μὴ μόνον ἵππων ὀπλαῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀρύσασθαι θέλοντας μὴ κάλπεις ἐπ' αὐτὸ μηδὲ κοῖλα σκευὴ φέρειν, πελέκεις δὲ καὶ δικέλλας, ἵν' ἐκκόψαντες γυμνὸν τε σκεύους ἀράμενοι τὸ ὕδωρ φέρωσιν ὥσπερ λίθον.

[7] The river becomes so firm and solid in that season that it supports horses and men. Then those who want drinking water do not come to the river with pitchers and bowls; they bring axes and mattocks and, when they have finished chopping, take up water without using bowls and carry it in chunks as hard as rock.

[8] φύσις μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν αὕτη· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Μαυρουσίους τε πλείστους καὶ τοξοτῶν ἀριθμὸν πολὺν ἐπαγόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐκ τε τῆς Ὀσροηνῶν χώρας, καὶ εἴ τινες Παρθυαίων αὐτόμολοι ἢ χρήμασιν ἀναπεισθέντες ἠκολουθήκεσαν αὐτῷ βοηθήσοντες, ἐξήρτυε δὴ Γερμανοῖς ἀντιτάζων. μάλιστα γὰρ τοιοῦτος στρατὸς ὄχληρὸς ἐκείνοις γίνεται, τῶν τε Μαυρουσίων πόρρωθεν ἀκοντιζόντων καὶ τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τὰς τε ἀναχωρήσεις κούφως ποιουμένων, τῶν τε τοξοτῶν ἐς γυμνὰς τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ σώματα ἐπιμήκη ῥᾶστα καὶ πόρρωθεν κατὰ σκοποῦ τοξεύοντων ... ἐπέθεόν τε πρὸς τὴν συστάδην μάχην ἀντιτυπεῖς, καὶ ἰσόρροποι πολλάκις Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνοντο.

[8] Such is the nature of these rivers. Alexander had brought with him many Moroccan javelin men and a huge force of archers from the East and from the Osroenian country, together with Parthian deserters and mercenaries who had offered their help; with these he prepared to battle the Germans. The missile men were especially troublesome to the Germans: the Moroccans hurl their javelins from a distance and attack and retreat nimbly, while the archers, far removed from their targets, easily fire their arrows into the bare heads and huge bodies of the Germans; but when the Germans attacked at full speed and fought hand to hand, they were often the equal of the Romans.

[9] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· πλὴν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πρεσβεΐαν πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης διαλέγεσθαι. πάντα τε ὑπισχνεῖτο παρέξειν ὅσων δέονται, καὶ χρημάτων ἀφειδῶς ἔχειν. τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα Γερμανοὶ πείθονται, φιλάργυροί τε ὄντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην αἰὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χρυσίου καπηλεύοντες· ὅθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπειρᾶτο ὠνήσασθαι μᾶλλον τὰς πρὸς

[9] Alexander was thus occupied with these matters. He thought it wise, however, to send an embassy to the Germans to discuss the possibilities of a peaceful settlement. He promised to give them everything they asked and to hand over a large amount of money. The avaricious Germans are susceptible to bribes and are always ready to sell peace to the Romans for gold. Consequently, Alexander undertook to buy a truce rather than risk the hazards of war.

[10] σπονδὰς ἥ διὰ πολέμου κινδυνεύειν. οἱ μέντοι στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον διατριβῆς τε ματαίας ἐγγινομένης, καὶ μηδέν τι γενναῖον ἢ πρόθυμον ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν παρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ' ἡνιοχείαις καὶ τρυφαῖς προσέχοντος, δέον ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι

[10] The soldiers, however, were not pleased by his action, for the time was passing without profit to them, and Alexander was doing nothing courageous or energetic about the war; on the contrary, when it was essential that he march out and punish the Germans for their insults, he spent the time in chariot racing and luxurious living.

SECTION 8

[1] Γερμανοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτετολμημένοις. ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ στρατῷ Μαξιμῖνος ὄνομα, τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν ἐνδοτάτῳ Θρακῶν καὶ μιζοβαρβάρων, ἀπὸ τινος κώμης, ὡς ἐλέγετο, πρότερον μὲν ἐν παιδὶ ποιμαίνων, ἐν ἀκμῇ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας γενόμενος διὰ μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχὺν σώματος ἐς τοὺς ἱπεύοντας στρατιώτας καταταγείς, εἶτα κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν χειραγωγούσης τῆς τύχης ἐλθὼν διὰ πάσης τάξεως στρατιωτικῆς, ὡς στρατοπέδων τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν

[1] THERE was in the Roman army a man named Maximinus whose half-barbarian family lived in a village in the most remote section of Thrace. They say that as a boy he was a shepherd, but that in his youthful prime he was drafted into the cavalry because of his size and strength. After a short time, favored by Fortune, he advanced through all the military ranks, rising eventually to the command of armies and the governing of provinces.

[2] τε ἀρχὰς πιστευθῆναι. τὸν δὴ Μαξιμῖνον τοῦτον διὰ τὴν προειρημένην στρατιωτικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέστησε πάσῃ τῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ νεολαίᾳ, ὡς ἀσκοίῃ τε αὐτοὺς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐπιτηδεύουσ παρασκευάζοι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ποιούμενος τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα εὖνοιαν πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκτήσατο, οὐ μόνον διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὰ ποιητέα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις πάντων προηγούμενος, ὡς μὴ μαθητὰς εἶναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τῆς ἐκείνου

[2] Because of his military experience, which I have noted above, Alexander put Maximinus in charge of training recruits for the entire army; his task was to instruct them in military duties and prepare them for service in war. By carrying out his assignments thoroughly and diligently, Maximinus won the affection of the soldiers. He not only taught them their duties; he also demonstrated personally to each man what he was to do. As a result, the recruits imitated his manliness and were both his pupils and his admirers.

[3] ἀνδρείας. ἔτι τε καὶ δώροις αὐτοὺς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς τιμαῖς ὤκειώσατο. ὅθεν οἱ νεανίαί, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος Παιόνων μάλιστα, τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ἔχαιρον, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπέσκωπτον ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς [τε] μητρὸς ἀρχόμενον, καὶ διοικουμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπ' ἐξουσίας τε καὶ γνώμης γυναικός, ραθύμως τε καὶ ἀνάνδρως τοῖς πολεμικοῖς προσφερομένου ἐκείνου. ὑπεμύμνησκον δὲ ἀλλήλους τῶν τε ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς διὰ μέλλησιν αὐτοῦ πταισμάτων, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἀνδρεῖον

[3] He won their devotion by giving them all kinds of gifts and rewards. Consequently, the recruits, who included an especially large number of Pannonians, praised the masculinity of Maximinus and despised Alexander as a mother's boy. Their contempt for the emperor was

increased by the fact that the empire was being managed by a woman's authority and a woman's judgment, and by the fact that Alexander had directed the campaigns carelessly and timidly. They reminded each other of the defeats in the East which had resulted from the emperor's negligence and of his failure to do anything courageous or vigorous when he faced the Germans.

[4] μηδὲ νεανικὸν παρέχοιτο ἐς Γερμανοὺς ἐλθόν. ὄντες οὖν καὶ ἄλλως πρὸς τὸ καινοτομεῖν ἐπιτήδαιοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν παρὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς βαρὺ διὰ μῆκος ἐξουσίας ἡγούμενοι ἀκερδές τε ἤδη πάσης προαηλωμένης φιλοτιμίας, τὸ δὲ μέλλον καὶ προσιὸν ἔς τε τὸ κερδάλειον αὐτοῖς εὐέλπι καὶ τῷ κτωμένῳ παρὰ προσδοκίαν τίμιον τε καὶ περισπούδαστον, ἐβουλεύσαντο ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀναιρεῖν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Σεβαστὸν τὸν Μαξιμίον, συστρατιώτην τε αὐτῶν ὄντα καὶ σύσκηνον, ἔς τε τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον δι' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν

[4] The soldiers were therefore ready for a change of emperors. They had additional reasons for discontent: they considered the current reign burdensome because of its long duration; they thought it profitless for them now that all rivalry had been eliminated; and they hoped that the reign which they intended to institute would be advantageous to them and that the empire would be much coveted and highly valued by a man who received it unexpectedly. They plotted now to kill Alexander and proclaim Maximinus emperor and Augustus, since he was their fellow soldier and messmate and seemed, because of his experience and courage, to be the right man to take charge of the present war.

[5] ἐπιτήδειον δοκοῦντα. ἄθροισθέντες οὖν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὠπλισμένοι ὥς δὴ ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη γυμνάσια, προελθόντα καὶ ἐπιστάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν Μαξιμίον, εἴτε ἀγνοοῦντα τὸ πραττόμενον εἴτε καὶ λάθρα τοῦτο προκατασκευάσαντα, πορφύραν ἐπιβαλόντες βασιλικὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορεύουσιν.

[5] They therefore assembled on the drill field for their regular training; when Maximinus took his position before them, either unaware of what was happening or having secretly made prior preparations for the event, the soldiers robed him in the imperial purple and proclaimed him emperor.

[6] ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρητεῖτο καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ἀπερρίπτει· ὥς δὲ ἐνέκειντο ξιφῆρεις ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλοῦντες, τοῦ παρόντος κινδύνου τὸν μέλλοντα προελόμενος ἀνεδέξατο τὴν τιμὴν, πολλάκις αὐτῷ πρότερον, ὥς ἔλεγε, χρησμῶν καὶ ὄνειράτων τὴν τοσαύτην τύχην προειρηκότων, εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅτι ἅκων μὲν καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος ἀναδέχεται, πειθόμενος τῇ ἐκείνων

[6] At first he refused the honor and threw off the purple, but when they pressed him and, waving their swords, threatened to kill him, he preferred the future risk to the present danger and accepted the empire; often before, he said, dreams and prophecies had predicted this good fortune. He told the soldiers, however, that he accepted the honor unwillingly; he did not really want it and was simply obeying their wish in the matter.

[7] βουλήσει, παραγγέλλει δ' αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ βεβαιῶσαι τὰ δόξαντα ἀραμένους τε τὰ ὅπλα σπεύδειν ἐπιστῆναι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀγνοοῦντι, τὴν φήμην φθάσαντας, ἵν' ἐκπλήξαντες τοὺς συνόντας ἐκείνῳ στρατιώτας καὶ φρουροὺς τοῦ σώματος ἢ πείσαιεν ὁμογνωμονῆσαι ἢ ῥᾶστα

[7] He then directed the soldiers to put their thoughts into action, to take up arms and hurry off to attack Alexander while he was still unaware of what had happened. By reaching the emperor before the news of their approach came, they would surprise his soldiers and his bodyguards too. They would either persuade Alexander's forces to join them, or would overcome them with no difficulty, since the imperial forces would be unprepared and anticipating nothing of this nature.

[8] βιάσαιντο ἀπαρασκεύους τῷ μηδὲν προσδοκᾷν. ὥς δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν πάνυ προεκαλέσατο, τὰ τε σιτηρέσια ἐπεδιπλασίασε, νομάς τε καὶ δόσεις μεγίστας ὑπέσχετο, τιμωρίας τε καὶ κηλίδας πάσας αὐτοῖς ἀνῆκεν, ἐπὶ τε τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγαγεν· οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀφειστήκει τὸ χωρίον ἔνθα ἐσκήνου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

[8] After arousing great enthusiasm and good will among the troops, Maximinus doubled their rations, promised them lavish gifts, and revoked all sentences and punishments. He then marched out, for his camp was not far from the headquarters of Alexander and his companions.

SECTION 9

[1] ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐν μεγίστῃ ταραχῇ γενόμενος καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἐκπλαγεῖς, προπηδήσας τῆς βασιλείου σκηνῆς ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, δακρυρροῶν καὶ τρέμων τοῦ τε Μαξιμίνου ὡς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀχαρίστου κατηγορεῖ, πάσας τὰς ἐς ἐκεῖνον εὐεργεσίας

[1] WHEN these developments were reported, Alexander, panic-stricken by the incredible nature of the message, was in complete confusion. Bursting from the imperial headquarters as if possessed, weeping and trembling, he denounced Maximinus for his disloyalty and ingratitude, and listed all the favors he had done the man.

[2] καταταθείσας πρὸς αὐτοῦ διηγούμενος, τοὺς τε νεανίας ἡτιᾶτο ὡς προπετῶς καὶ ἐπιόρκως ταῦτα τετολμηκότας, δώσιν τε πάντα ὑπισχνεῖτο ὧν δέοντο, καὶ ἐπανορθώσεσθαι εἴ τι μέμφοιντο. οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιῶται ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας εὐφημήσαντες αὐτὸν παρέπεμψαν,

[2] He castigated the recruits for their recklessness and promised to give them everything they asked and to set straight anything that displeased them. The soldiers guarding the emperor on that day cheered his words; forming an escort, they promised to defend him to the death.

[3] ὑποσχόμενοι παντὶ σθένει προασπίσειν αὐτοῦ. τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ διαδραμούσης, κατὰ τὸ περίορθρον ἀγγειλάντων τινῶν ὅτι δὴ Μαξιμίνος πρόσεισι κόνις τε πόρρωθεν ἐγειρομένη φαίνεται βοῆς τε ἥχος πλήθους ἐξακούεται, πάλιν προελθὼν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, συγκαλέσας τε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐδεῖτο προμαχεῖν καὶ σώζειν ὃν ἀνεθρέψαντο καὶ ὑφ' ᾧ βασιλεύοντι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἀμέμπτως βεβιώκεσαν, πάντας τε ἐς οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον προκαλούμενος ὀπλίζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν καὶ ἐξελθόντας ἀντιτάττεσθαι.

[3] When the night had passed, men came at dawn to report that Maximinus was approaching; they said that a cloud of dust could be seen in the distance, and the shouting of a huge throng was audible. Then Alexander came again to the drill field, summoned his troops, and begged them to fight to preserve the life of a man whom they had reared and under whose rule they had lived well content for fourteen years. After this effort to move the soldiers to compassion, Alexander ordered them to take up arms and go forth to battle.

[4] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὑπισχνοῦντο, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἀνεχώρουν οὐδ' ὄπλα λαβεῖν ἤθελον. οἱ δὲ τινες τὸν ἐπάρχοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤτουν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν, πρόφασιν ποιούμενοι αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως γεγενῆσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐμέμφοντο ὡς φιλάργυρον καὶ τὰ

χρήματα ἀποκλείουσιν, διά τε μικρολογίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδόσεις ὀκνηρὸν

[4] At first the soldiers obeyed him, but they soon left the field and refused to fight. Some demanded for execution the commanding general of the army and Alexander's associates, pretending that they were responsible for the revolt. Others condemned the emperor's greedy mother for cutting off their money, and despised Alexander for his pettiness and stinginess in the matter of gifts.

[5] τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεμισημένου. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος τοιαῦτα διαφόρως βοῶντες προσέμενον· ὥς δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου <ὁ> στρατὸς ἦδη τε ἐν ὧσιν ἦν, καὶ βοῶντες οἱ νεανία προυκαλοῦντο τοὺς συστρατιώτας καταλιπεῖν μὲν γύναιον μικρολόγον καὶ μειράκιον δειλὸν μητρὶ δουλεῦον, προσιέναι δὲ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ σώφρονι συστρατιώτῃ τε ἐν ὅπλοις αἰεὶ καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις διητημένῳ, πεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλιμπάνουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ προσίασι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ, αὐτοκράτωρ

[5] For a time they did nothing but shout this barrage of charges. When the army of Maximinus came into view, the clamoring recruits called upon Alexander's soldiers to desert the miserly woman and the timid, mother-dominated youth; at the same time they urged his soldiers to join them in supporting a brave and intelligent man, a fellow soldier who was always under arms and busy with military matters. Convinced, Alexander's troops deserted him for Maximinus, who was then proclaimed emperor by all.

[6] τε ὑπὸ πάντων ἐκεῖνος ἀναγορεύεται. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τρέμων καὶ λιποψυχῶν μόλις ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπανερχεται· τῇ τε μητρὶ περιπλακεῖς, καὶ ὥς φασιν, ἀποδουρόμενός τε καὶ αἰτιώμενος ὅτι δι' ἐκείνην ταῦτα πάσχοι, ἀνέμενε τὸν φονεύσοντα. ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ Σεβαστὸς προσαγορευθεὶς πέμπει χιλιάρχην ἑκατοντάρχα τε τινὰς τοὺς φονεύσοντας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ εἴ τινας ἀνθίσταντο τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

[6] Trembling with fear, Alexander was scarcely able to retire to his quarters. Clinging to his mother and, as they say, complaining and lamenting that she was to blame for his death, he awaited his executioner. After being saluted as emperor by the entire army, Maximinus sent a tribune and several centurions to kill Alexander and his mother, together with any of his followers who opposed them.

[7] οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ἐπιπηδήσαντες τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτόν τε ἀναιροῦσι καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ εἴ τινας ἐδόκουν ἐκείνῳ φίλοι καὶ τίμιοι, πλὴν τῶν πρὸς ὀλίγον φυγεῖν ἢ λαθεῖν δυνηθέντων, οὓς πάντας μετ' οὐ πολὺ Μαξιμῖνος συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε.

[7] When these men came to the emperor's quarters, they rushed in and killed him with his mother; they also cut down those whom he had honored or who appeared to be his friends. Some, however, managed to flee or to hide for the moment, but Maximinus soon rounded up these fugitives and put them to death.

[8] τέλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν μητέρα, βασιλεύσαντα ἔτεσι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ὅσον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀναιμωτί· φόνων τε γὰρ καὶ ὠμότητος ἀκρίτων τε ἔργων ἀλλότριος ἐγένετο, ἔς τε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ εὐεργετικώτερον ἐπιρρεπής. πάνυ γοῦν ἂν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεία εὐδοκίμησεν ἐς τὸ ὀλόκληρον, εἰ μὴ διεβέβλητο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς φιλαργυρίαν τε καὶ μικρολογίαν.

[8] Such was the fate suffered by Alexander and his mother after he had ruled fourteen years without blame or bloodshed so far as it affected his subjects. A stranger to savagery, murder, and illegality, he was noted for his benevolence and good deeds. It is therefore entirely possible that the reign of Alexander might have won renown for its perfection had not his mother's petty avarice brought disgrace upon him.

BOOK VII.

SECTION 1

[1] Τίνι μὲν βίῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρήσατο τέλει τε ὁποῖω βασιλεύσας ἐτῶν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐδηλώσαμεν· ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν πολλὴν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο, τραχύτατα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ φόβου τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρώμενος, ἔκ τε πραείας καὶ πάνυ ἡμέρου βασιλείας ἐς τυραννίδος ὁμότητα μετάγειν πάντα ἐπειρᾶτο, δυσμένειαν ἑαυτῷ συνειδώς, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐξ

[1] THE kind of life which Alexander led and the fate which overtook him after fourteen years as emperor we have described in the preceding book. When he assumed control of the empire, Maximinus reversed the situation, using his power savagely to inspire great fear. He undertook to substitute for a mild and moderate rule an autocracy in every way barbarous, well aware of the hostility directed toward him because he was the first man to rise from a lowly station to the post of highest honor.

[2] εὐτελείας τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐς τοσαύτην τύχην ἤλασε. φύσει δὲ ἦν τὸ ἦθος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γένος, βάρβαρος· τό τε φονικὸν πάτριον ἔχων καὶ ἐπιχώριον, πρόνοιαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' ὁμότητος βεβαιῶσαι, δεδιὼς μὴ τι τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐκαταφρόνητος γένηται, οὐκ ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτοῦ τύχην ἀφορῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τῆς γενέσεως εὐτελεῖ σπάργανα. τεθρύλητο γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ διεβέβλητο, ὅτι δὴ ποιμαίνων ἐν τοῖς Θρακίοις ὄρεσιν, ἐπιδούς τε αὐτὸν διὰ μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχὺν σώματος ἐς εὐτελεῖ καὶ ἐπιχώριον στρατείαν, ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης

[2] His character was naturally barbaric, as his race was barbarian. He had inherited the brutal disposition of his countrymen, and he intended to make his imperial position secure by acts of cruelty, fearing that he would become an object of contempt to the senate and the people, who might be more conscious of his lowly origin than impressed by the honor he had won. Everyone knew and spread the story that when he was a shepherd in the mountains of Thrace, he enlisted in a local auxiliary cohort because of his huge size and great strength, and by luck became the emperor of the Romans.

[3] ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν κεχειραγώγητο. εὐθέως οὖν τούς τε φίλους πάντας, οἱ συνῆσαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σύνοεδροί [τε] ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπιλεχθέντες, ἀπεσκεύασατο, καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέπεμψε, τινὰς δὲ ἐπὶ προφάσει διοικήσεως ἀπεσεύσατο, μόνος εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ μηδένα αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἐκ συνειδήσεως εὐγενοῦς κρείττονα, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ παρόντος ᾧ νέμειν αἰδῶ ἀνάγκην

[3] He therefore immediately disposed of Alexander's friends and associates, together with his senatorial advisers. Some he returned to Rome; others he dismissed for administrative reasons, in order to gain sole command of the army. He wanted no one around him who was superior to him in birth, desiring to act the tyrant as if from a lofty height, with no one near to whom he must defer.

[4] ἔχοι, τοῖς τῆς τυραννίδος ἔργοις σχολάζοι. τὴν τε θεραπείαν πᾶσαν, ἣ συγγεγόνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν, τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς ἀπέπεμψε. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπιβουλὰς ὑποπτεύων· ἦδει γὰρ ἀλγοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνου ἀναιρέσει.

ἔτι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐς ὁμότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας ὀργὴν προυκαλέσατο συνωμοσία τις διαβληθεῖσα κατ' αὐτοῦ συγκροτουμένη, πολλῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων

[4] He banished from the imperial palace the entire band of attendants who had served Alexander for many years; he put most of them to death, suspecting that they were plotting against him, for he knew that they were still grieving over Alexander's assassination.

Maximinus was aroused to even greater fury by a plot allegedly formed by many centurions and all the senators.

[5] συμπνεόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπάντων. Μάγνος τις ὄνομα ἦν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τε καὶ ὑπατευκότων· οὗτος διεβλήθη συνάγειν κατ' αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καὶ στρατιώτας τινὰς πείθειν ἐς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν μετάγειν. ἡ δὲ συσκευὴ τοιαύτη τις ἐλέγετο ἔσεσθαι. γεφυρώσας τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ

[5] A man of the nobility and consular rank named Magnus was accused of organizing a conspiracy against the emperor and persuading some of the soldiers to transfer the empire to his charge. The plot was said to be something like this. Maximinus had bridged the Rhine River and was about to cross over and attack the Germans;

[6] Μαξιμίνοσ ἐμελλεν ἐπὶ Γερμανοὺς διαβήσεσθαι· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν εὐθὺς πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἤρξατο, καὶ διὰ σώματος μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχὺν [στρατιωτικὴν] καὶ ἐμπειρίαν πολεμικὴν δοκῶν ἐπιτελέσθαι ἔργοις τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπόληψιν ἐπιστοῦτο, τὴν τε Ἀλεξάνδρου μέλλησιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔργα δειλίαν ἐλέγχειν ἐπειρᾶτο εἰκότως κατεγνωσμένην. ἀσκῶν τε οὖν καὶ γυμνάζων τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐ διέλειπεν, αὐτός

[6] for, as soon as he got control of the empire, he immediately began military operations. Since it appeared that he had been chosen emperor because of his great size, military prowess,

and experience in war, he undertook to confirm by action the good reputation and high esteem he enjoyed among the soldiers. In this way, too, he tried to demonstrate that the charges of vacillation and timidity in military matters they brought against Alexander were well founded. Therefore he did not halt the soldiers' training and exercises, and remained under arms himself, spurring the army to action.

[7] τε ἐν ὅπλοις ὦν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν παρορμῶν. τότε τοίνυν τὴν γέφυραν ζεύξας ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ Γερμανοὺς διαβήσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Μάγνος ἐλέγετο στρατιωτῶν μὲν ὀλίγους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐξοχωτάτους καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τὴν φρουρὰν τῆς γεφύρας καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν πεπιστευμένους, ἀναπεῖσαι μετὰ τὸ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαξιμῖνον λύσαντας τὴν γέφυραν προδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, οὐχ ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ ἐπανάδου· πλάτει γὰρ καὶ βάθει μέγιστος ὁ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἄβατος αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο, οὔτε νεῶν οὐσῶν ἐν ταῖς

[7] Now, with the bridge completed, he was about to cross over to attack the Germans. Magnus, however, was said to have persuaded a few prominent soldiers, particularly those assigned to guard and maintain the bridge, to destroy the structure after Maximinus had crossed, and to betray the emperor to the barbarians by cutting off his only return route. After the bridge had been destroyed, the great river, very wide and deep, would be impassable, as no boats were available on the enemy's side.

[8] πολεμίαις ὄχθαις τῆς τε γεφύρας λυθείσης. ἡ μὲν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φήμη τοιαύτη ἐγένετο, εἴτε ἀληθὴς ὑπάρξασα εἴτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου συσκευασθεῖσα· ἀκριβὲς δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον, ἐπεὶ ἔμενεν ἀνεξέλεγκτος. μήτε γὰρ κρίσεως τινι μεταδοὺς μήτε ἀπολογίας, πάντας οὓς ὑπώπτευν αἰφνιδίως συναρπασθέντας ἀφειδῶς ἐφόνευσεν.

[8] Such was the report of the plot, but whether it was actually true or whether it was fabricated by Maximinus it is not easy to say, because the matter was not investigated. Maximinus did not bring the conspirators to trial or allow them an opportunity to defend themselves; he arrested without warning all who were suspected and executed them without mercy.

[9] ἐγένετο δέ τις καὶ Ὀσροηνῶν τοξοτῶν ἀπόστασις, οἳ πάννυ ἀλγοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, περιτυχόντες τῶν ἀπὸ ὑπατείας καὶ φίλων Ἀλεξάνδρου τινί (Κουαρτίνος δὲ ἦν ὄνομα, ὃν Μαξιμῖνος ἐκπέμψας ἦν τοῦ στρατοῦ) ἀρπάσαντες ἄκοντα καὶ οὐδὲν προειδόμενα στρατηγὸν ἑαυτῶν κατέστησαν, πορφύρα τε καὶ πυρὶ προπομπεύοντι, ὀλεθρίοις τιμαῖς, ἐκόσμησαν, ἐπὶ τε τὴν ἀρχὴν

[9] There was now unrest among the Osroenian archers. These troops were much grieved by

Alexander's death, and when they chanced to discover one of the emperor's friends, a former consul (a man named Quartinus, whom Maximinus had dismissed from the army), they seized him unexpectedly and made him their unwilling general; then, conferring upon him the purple and the proconsular fire, fatal honors, they brought to the imperial throne a most reluctant occupant.

[10] ἦγον οὗ τι βουλόμενον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καθεύδων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς νύκτωρ αἰφνιδίως ἀνῆρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ καὶ δοκοῦντος φίλου, τῶν τε Ὀσροηνῶν πρότερον ἡγουμένου (Μακεδῶν ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), καίτοι τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγοῦ [καὶ ὁμογνώμονος] τοῖς Ὀσροηνοῖς γενομένου· ὃς οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν ἔχθρας οὐδὲ μίσους ἔχων ἀπέκτεινεν ὃν αὐτὸς ἠρπασέ τε καὶ ἀνέπεισεν, οἰόμενός τε μεγάλα χαρίζεσθαι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν ἐκόμισεν.

[10] While Quartinus was asleep in his tent, a plot was formed against him, and he was assassinated during the night by a companion and presumed friend, a former commander of the Osroenians (his name was Macedon); yet this same Macedon had been a ringleader in the elevation of Quartinus to the throne and in the revolt against Maximinus; in both actions he had the full support of the Osroenians. Although he had no reason for enmity or hatred, Macedon killed the man whom he himself had chosen and persuaded to accept the empire. Thinking that this act would win him great favor with Maximinus, Macedon cut off Quartinus' head and brought it to the emperor.

[11] ὁ δὲ ἦσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, στερηθεὶς δὲ πολέμιου, ὥς ᾔετο, ... ἐκεῖνον μὲν, καίτοι μεγάλα ἐλπίζοντα καὶ δοκοῦντα ἀμοιβῆς ἐξαίρετου τεύξεσθαι, ἀπέκτεινεν ὥς καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως γεγονότα ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ἀποκτείναντα ὃν αὐτὸς ᾄκοντα ἀνέπεισεν, ἄπιστόν τε γενόμενον περὶ τὸν φίλον.

[11] When he learned of the deed, Maximinus, though he believed that he had been freed from a dangerous enemy, nevertheless had Macedon killed, when the man had every reason to hope and believe that he would receive a generous reward. Macedon was not only the instigator of the revolt and the assassin of the man whom he had persuaded to accept the throne against his better judgment, but he was also a traitor to his friend.

[12] τοιαῦται μὲν δὴ τινες αἰτίαι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τραχύτητα καὶ ὠμότητα ἠκόνησαν τὴν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ψυχὴν, καὶ πρότερον οὕτω πεφυκυῖαν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φοβερῶτατος, καὶ μέγιστος τὸ σῶμα, ὥς μὴ ῥαδίως αὐτῷ τινὰ μῆτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν σωμασκούντων μῆτε βαρβάρων τῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἐξισοῦσθαι.

[12] For these reasons Maximinus was aroused to greater cruelty and more savage acts, and he was by nature inclined to such behavior. The emperor's appearance was frightening and his

body was huge; not easily would any of the skilled Greek athletes or the best-trained warriors among the barbarians prove his equal.

SECTION 2

[1] διοικήσας δὲ τὰ προειρημένα, πάντα τε τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν, καὶ διαβὰς ἀφόβως τὴν γέφυραν, εἶχετο τῆς πρὸς Γερμανοὺς μάχης. μέγα δέ τι πλῆθος καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν σὺν ἑαυτῷ εἰσήγαγε, Μαυρουσίων τε ἀκοντιστῶν ἀριθμὸν ἀμπλειστον καὶ τοξοτῶν Ὀσροηνῶν τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ εἴ τινας Παρθυαίων ἢ χρήμασι πεισθέντες καὶ αὐτομολήσαντες ἢ ληφθέντες

[1] HAVING settled affairs in the manner described above, Maximinus led out his entire army and crossed the bridge fearlessly, eager to do battle with the Germans. Under his command was a vast number of men, virtually the entire Roman military force, together with many Moroccan javelin men and Osroenian and Armenian archers; some were subject peoples, others friends and allies, and included, too, were a number of Parthian mercenaries and slaves captured by the Romans.

[2] αἰχμάλωτοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐδούλευον. τὰ δὲ πλήθη ταῦτα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πρότερον ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤθροιστο, ηὐξήθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου καὶ ἐς πολεμικὴν ἄσκησιν συγκεκρότητο. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξόται πρὸς τὰς Γερμανῶν μάχας ἐπιτήδευοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐπιτρέχοντές τε αὐτοῖς κούφως οὐ προσδοκῶσι καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ῥαδίως.

[2] This enormous force was originally assembled by Alexander, but it was increased in size and trained for service by Maximinus. The javelin men and archers seemed to be especially effective against the Germans, taking them by surprise, attacking with agility and then retreating without difficulty.

[3] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ Μαξιμῖνος πολλὴν γῆν ἐπῆλθεν, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ ἀνθεστῶτος, ἀλλὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνακεχωρηκότων. ἐδήου τε οὖν παῖσαν τὴν χώραν, μάλιστα τῶν ληίων ἀκμαζόντων, τὰς τε κώμας ἐμπιπράς διαρπάζειν ἐδίδου τῷ στρατῷ. εὐμαρέστατα γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐπινέμεται τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτῶν ὥς ἔχουσι, καὶ τὰς οἰκίσεις

[3] Though he was in enemy territory, Maximinus advanced for a considerable distance because all the barbarians had fled and he met no opposition. He therefore laid waste the whole country, taking particular care to destroy the ripening grain, and burned the villages after allowing the army to plunder them. Fire destroys the German towns and houses very quickly.

[4] ἀπάσας· λίθων μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ πλίνθων ὀπτῶν σπάνις, ὕλαι δ' εὐδενδροί, ὅθεν ξύλων οὔσης ἐκτενείας συμπηγνύντες αὐτὰ καὶ ἀρμόζοντες

σκηνοποιοῦνται. ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν προεχώρησε, πρᾶττων τε τὰ προειρημένα καὶ λείας ἀπελαύνων, διδούς τε

[4] Although there is a scarcity of stone and fired brick in Germany, the forests are dense, and timber is so abundant that they build their houses of wood, fitting and joining the squared beams. Maximinus advanced deep into German territory, carrying off booty and turning over to the army all the herds they encountered.

[5] τὰς ἀγέλας τῷ στρατῷ αἷς περιετύγχανον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πεδίων, καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν χῶραι ἄδενδροι, ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὕλαις ἐκρύπτοντο περὶ τε τὰ ἔλη διέτριβον, ὥς ἐκεῖ τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους ποιοῖντο, τῆς συνεχείας τῶν φυτῶν ἀπασχολούσης ἐς ἑαυτὴν τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια τῶν πολεμίων, τοῦ τε ἀγχιβαθοῦς τῶν ἐλῶν Ῥωμαίοις μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν τῶν τόπων ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐσομένου, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ δι' ἐμπειρίαν τῆς χώρας ἐγνωκόσι <τὰ> ἄβητα καὶ ἀντιτυπῇ τῶν τόπων

[5] The Germans had left the plains and treeless areas and were hiding in the forests; they remained in the woods and marshes so that the battle would have to take place where the thick screen of trees made the missiles and javelins of their enemies ineffectual and where the depths of the marshes were dangerous to the Romans because of their unfamiliarity with the region. The Germans, on the contrary, were well acquainted with the terrain and knew which places provided firm footing and which were impassable. They moved rapidly and easily through the marshes, in water only knee-deep.

[6] ἐς γόνυ τε βρεχομένοις διατρέχειν ῥαδίον. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ νήχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένοι ἅτι μόνῳ λουτρῷ τοῖς ποταμοῖς χρώμενοι.

περὶ ἐκεῖνα οὖν μάλιστα τὰ χωρία αἱ συμβολαὶ ἐγίνοντο· ἔνθα καὶ γενναϊότατα αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς μάχης ἤρξεν. ἐπὶ γάρ τινι ἔλει μεγίστῳ, τῶν μὲν Γερμανῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀναχωρούντων ἐς φυγὴν, ἐς δίωξιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπείσελθεῖν ὁκνούντων, πρῶτος ὁ Μαξιμῖνος ἅμα τῷ ἵπῳ ἐμβάλων ἐς τὸ ἔλος, καίτοι ὑπὲρ γαστέρα τοῦ ἵπου βρεχομένου, τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ἐφόνευσε βαρβάρους,

[6] The Germans, who do all their bathing in the rivers, are expert swimmers.

As a result, most of the skirmishing occurred in those regions, and it was there that the emperor personally and very boldly joined battle. When the Germans rushed into a vast swamp in an effort to escape and the Romans hesitated to leap in after them in pursuit, Maximinus plunged into the marsh, though the water was deeper than his horse's belly; there he cut down the barbarians who opposed him.

[7] ὥς τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν αἰδεσθέντα προδοῦναι μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βασιλέα τολμῆσαί τε καὶ τοῖς ἔλεσιν ἐπεισελθεῖν, πολὺ δέ τι πλῆθος ἐκατέρωθεν πεσεῖν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ... τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων σχεδὸν τὴν τότε παροῦσαν δύναμιν, ἀριστεύοντος αὐτοῦ, ὥς τὸ τέναγος σωμάτων πληρωθῆναι, τὴν τε λίμνην αἵματι κερασθεῖσαν πεζομαχοῦντι στρατῷ ναυμαχίας ὄψιν παρασχεῖν.

[7] Then the rest of the army, ashamed to betray their emperor who was doing their fighting for them, took courage and leaped into the marsh behind him. A large number of men fell on both sides, but, while many Romans were killed, virtually the entire barbarian force was annihilated, and the emperor was the foremost man on the field. The swamp pool was choked with bodies, and the marsh ran red with blood; this land battle had all the appearance of a naval encounter.

[8] ταύτην τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν ἀριστείαν αὐτοῦ οὐ μόνον διὰ γραμμάτων τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐδήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆναι κελεύσας μεγίσταις εἰκόσιν ἀνέθηκε πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἀκούειν τὰ γενόμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέπειν ἔχωσι Ῥωμαῖοι. τὴν δ' εἰκόνα ὕστερον καθεῖλεν ἢ σύγκλητος μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ τιμῶν. γεγόνاسι δὲ καὶ ἕτεραι συμβολαί, ἐν αἷς ὡς αὐτουργός τε καὶ αὐτόχειρ τῆς μάχης ἀριστεύων τε πανταχοῦ

[8] This engagement and his own bravery Maximinus reported in dispatches to the senate and Roman people; moreover, he ordered the scene to be painted on huge canvases to be set up in front of the senate house, so that the Romans might not only hear about the battle but also be able to see what happened there. Later the senate removed this picture together with the rest of his emblems of honor. Other battles took place in which Maximinus won praise for his personal participation, for fighting with his own hands, and for being in every conflict the best man on the field.

[9] ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ. πολλοὺς δὲ χειρωσάμενος αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ λείαν ἀπελάσας, χειμῶνος ἤδη καταλαμβάνοντος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Παίονας, ἐν τῇ Σιρμίῳ διατρίβων, τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐκεῖ πόλει δοκούσῃ, τὰ πρὸς τὴν εἰσοδὸν εἰς τὸ ἔαρ παρεσκευάζετο. ἠπειλεῖ γὰρ (καὶ ποιήσειν ἔμελλεν) ἐκκόψειν τε καὶ ὑποτάξειν τὰ μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ Γερμανῶν ἔθνη βάρβαρα.

[9] After taking many German prisoners and seizing much booty, the emperor, since winter had already begun, went to Pannonia and spent his time at Sirmium, the largest city in that country; there he made preparations for his spring offensive. He threatened (and was determined) to defeat and subjugate the German nations as far as the ocean.

SECTION 3

[1] τὰ μὲν οὖν πολεμικὰ τοιοῦτος ἦν· καὶ ἐς δόξαν ἦρθη ἂν ἡ πράξις αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις βαρύτερος ἐγεγόνει καὶ φοβερώτερος. τί γὰρ ἦν ὄφελος βαρβάρων ἀναιρουμένων, πλειόνων γινομένων φόνων ἐν αὐτῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἔθνεσιν; ἢ λείας [αἰχμαλώτους] ἀπάγειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γυμνοῦντα καὶ τὰς

[1] THIS is the kind of military man the emperor was, and his actions would have added to his reputation if he had not been much too ruthless and severe toward his associates and subjects. What profit was there in killing barbarians when greater slaughter occurred in Rome and the provinces ? Or in carrying off booty captured from the enemy when he robbed his fellow countrymen of all their property?

[2] οὐσίας ἀφαιρούμενον τῶν οἰκείων; ἄνεσίς τε γὰρ πᾶσα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρόκλησις δέδοτο συκοφάνταις ἐς τὸ ἐπιηρεάζειν καὶ κινεῖν πράγματα προγονικά, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ ἄγνωστα καὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτα. μόνον τέ τις κληθεὶς ἐς δικαστήριον ὑπὸ συκοφάντου εὐθέως ἡττημένος ἀπῆει καὶ

[2] Complete indulgence — encouragement, I should say — was granted to informers to threaten and insult, and to reopen any known crimes committed by a man's ancestors which were hitherto unexposed and undetected. Anyone who was merely summoned into court by an informer was immediately judged guilty, and left with all his property confiscated.

[3] τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πάντων στερηθεὶς. ἐκάστης γοῦν ἡμέρας ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς χθὲς πλουσιωτάτους τῆς ἐπιούσης μετὰ τοῦτον· τοσαύτη τις ἦν τῆς τυραννίδος ἢ φιλοχρηματίας ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας χρημάτων συνεχοῦς χορηγίας· ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὥσιν κοῦφος ἐς διαβολάς, ἡλικίας τε καὶ ἀξιώματος ἀφειδῶς ἔχων. πλείστους γοῦν τῶν ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα πεπιστευμένων, μετὰ ὑπατείας τιμὴν ἢ δόξαν ἐπὶ τροπαίοις προσγενομένην, ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς διαβολῆς ἀναρπάστους

[3] It was thus possible every day to see men who yesterday had been rich, today reduced to paupers, so great was the avarice of the tyrant, who pretended to be insuring a continuous supply of money for the soldiers. The emperor's ears were always open to slanderous charges, and he spared neither age nor position. He arrested on slight and trivial charges many men who had governed provinces and commanded armies, who had won the honor of a consulship, or had gained fame by military victories.

[4] ἐποίει, καὶ ἐκέλευε τε ἄνευ ὑπηρεσίας μόνους ὀχήμασιν ἐπιτεθέντας ἄγεσθαι νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁδεύοντας ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἢ δύσεως, εἰ τύχοι,

ἀπό τε μεσημβρίας ἐς Παίονας, ἔνθα διέτριβε· σκύλας δὲ καὶ ὑβρίσας φυγαῖς ἢ θανάτοις ἐζημίου.

ἐς ὅσον μὲν οὖν ἐς τοὺς καθ' ἓνα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο καὶ μέχρις οἰκείων ἔμενον ἡ συμφορά, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς

[4] He ordered these men to be brought in chariots to Pannonia, where he was then passing the time; they were to travel day and night, without an escort, from the east, the west, and the south, wherever they happened to be. After insulting and torturing these prisoners, he condemned them to exile or death.

As long as his actions affected only individuals and the calamities suffered were wholly private, the people of the cities and provinces were not particularly concerned with what the emperor was doing.

[5] δήμοις τῶν πόλεων ἢ τοῖς ἔθνεσι διέφερε· τὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐδαιμονεῖν δοκούντων ἢ πλουσίων πταίσματα πρὸς τῶν ὄχλων οὐ μόνον ἀμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ τινὰς τῶν κακοήθων καὶ φαύλων ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ εὐφραίνει φθόνῳ τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ εὐτυχούντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μαξιμῖνος τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐνδόξων οἰκῶν ἐς πενίαν περιστήσας, ἃ δὴ μικρὰ καὶ ὀλίγα οὐδ' αὐτάρκη τῇ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει ᾤετο, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια, καὶ εἴ τινα ἦν χρήματα πολιτικὰ ἐς εὐθηνίας ἢ νομὰς τῶν δημοτῶν ἀθροιζόμενα εἴτε θεάτροις ἢ πανηγύρεσιν ἀνακείμενα, ἐς ἑαυτὸν μετήγε, ναῶν τε ἀναθήματα θεῶν τε ἀγάλματα καὶ ἡρώων τιμάς, καὶ εἴ τις ἦν κόσμος δημοσίου ἔργου ἢ καλλώπισμα πόλεως ἢ ὕλη νόμισμα ποιῆσαι δυναμένη, πᾶν ἐχωνεύετο.

[5] Unpleasant things which happen to those who seem to be fortunate or wealthy are not only a matter of indifference to the mob, but they often bring pleasure to mean and malicious men, who envy the powerful and the prosperous. After Maximinus had impoverished most of the distinguished men and confiscated their estates, which he considered small and insignificant and not sufficient for his purposes, he turned to the public treasures; all the funds which had been collected for the citizens' welfare or for gifts, all the funds being held in reserve for shows or festivals, he transferred to his own personal fortune. The offerings which belonged to the temples, the statues of the gods, the tokens of honor of the heroes, the decorations on public buildings, the adornments of the city, in short, any material suitable for making coins, he handed over to the mints.

[6] ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δήμους ἐλύπησε, πένθος τε δημόσιον ἐνεποίει δίχα μάχης καὶ ἄνευ ὀπλῶν ὄψις πολιορκίας, ὥς τινὰς τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνειν καὶ τοὺς νεῶς φρουρεῖν, ἐτοιμῶς τε ἔχειν πρότερον ἀναιρεθέντας πρὸ τῶν βωμῶν πεσεῖν ἢ σκῦλα τῶν πατρίδων ἰδεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα

κατὰ τε πόλεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη διοίδαινον τῶν ὅχλων αἱ ψυχαί. ἀπηρέσκοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς πραττομένοις, ὀνειδίζόντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθόνως συγγενῶν τε καὶ οἰκείων ὡς δὴ δι' αὐτοὺς ταῦτα πράττοντος τοῦ Μαξιμίνου.

[6] But what especially irked the people and aroused public indignation was the fact that, although no fighting was going on and no enemy was under arms anywhere, Rome appeared to be a city under siege. Some citizens, with angry shaking of fists, set guards around the temples, preferring to die before the altars than to stand by and see their country ravaged. From that time on, particularly in the cities and the provinces, the hearts of the people were filled with rage. The soldiers too were disgusted with his activities, for their relatives and fellow citizens complained that Maximinus was acting solely for the benefit of the military.

SECTION 4

[1] αἰτίαι μὲν δὴ αὗται, οὗτι γε ἄλογοι, ἐς μῖσος καὶ ἀπόστασιν τοὺς ὄχλους παρώξυνον. καὶ πάντες μὲν εὐχοντο καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἐπεκάλουν, ἄρξασθαι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα, ἔστε συμπληρουμένης αὐτῷ τριετοῦς βασιλείας ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς προφάσεως, οἷα τυραννίδος σφάλματα, πρῶτοι ὅπλα ἐκίνησαν ἐς τε ἀπόστασιν

[1] FOR these reasons, and justifiably, the people were aroused to hatred and thoughts of revolt. Prayers were offered by all, and the outraged gods were invoked, but no one dared to start anything until, after Maximinus had completed three years as emperor, the people of Africa first took up arms and touched off a serious revolt for one of those trivial reasons which often prove fatal to a tyrant. The uprising occurred in this manner.

[2] εὐσταθῶς ὥρμησαν Λίβυες, ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. ἐπετρόπευέ τις τῆς Καρχηδονίας χῶρας τραχύτατα, καὶ μετὰ πάσης ὀμότητος καταδίκας τε ἐποιεῖτο καὶ χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις, βουλόμενος εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ. ἐκεῖνός τε γάρ, οὓς ἥδει ἀρμόζοντας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώμῃ, ἐπελέγετο· οἱ τε προεστῶτες τοῦ ταμείου τότε, εἰ καὶ σπανίως χρηστοὶ ἐμπεπτόκεσαν, τὸν τε κίνδυνον προῦπτον ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοχρηματίαν εἰδότες,

[2] The procurator of Africa was a man who performed his duties with excessive severity; he handed down extremely harsh decisions and extorted money to win the emperor's favor. Maximinus always appointed men who subscribed to his way of thinking. The treasury officials at that time, even if they happened to be honest, which was rarely the case, since they foresaw their own risks and knew the emperor's avarice, acted as dishonestly as the rest, even if they did so against their will.

[3] ἄκοντες ὅμως τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐμιμοῦντο. ὁ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπίτροπος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι βιαίως προσεφέρετο, καὶ νεανίσκους τινὰς τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις εὖ γεγονότων καὶ πλουσίων καταδίκαις περιβαλὼν εἰσπράττειν τὰ χρήματα εὐθέως ἐπειρᾶτο, πατρῶων τε καὶ προγονικῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. ἐφ' οἷς ἀλγήσαντες οἱ νεανίσκοι τὰ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο, τριῶν ἡμερῶν αἰτήσαντες ἀνάθεσιν· συνωμοσίαν δὲ ποιησάμενοι, πάντας τε οὓς ἥδεσαν ἢ πεπονθότας τι δεινὸν ἢ παθεῖν δεδουκίοντας ἀναπέισαντες, κελεύουσι νύκτωρ κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκέτας, ξύλα τε καὶ πελέκεις

[3] Then the procurator of Africa, who acted the tyrant with everyone, involved in lawsuits some young men of the wealthiest and most aristocratic local families and undertook to extort money from them and rob them of their inheritances. Angered by this, the youths promised to

pay him the money, but requested a delay of a few days. Calling a meeting, they won the support of all who were known to have suffered an injury or feared that they might suffer one. They ordered the field laborers to come into the city at night armed with clubs and axes.

[4] ἐπιφέρεισθαι. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες κελεύουσι τοῖς δεσπόταις πρὸ τῆς ἑως συνῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κρύπτοντες ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἃ ἔφερον αὐτοσχεδίου πολέμου ὅπλα. μέγα δὲ τι πλῆθος ἠθροίσθη· φύσει γὰρ πολυάνθρωπος οὖσα ἡ Λιβύη πολλοὺς εἶχε τοὺς τὴν γῆν γεωργοῦντας.

[4] Obeying their masters' orders, the workmen entered the city in a body before daybreak, carrying arms for hand-to-hand fighting hidden under their clothes. A large number assembled; for Africa, which is a heavily populated province, has many farmers.

[5] ἅμα δὲ τῷ παραδραμεῖν τὸ περιόρθριον προελθόντες οἱ νεανίσκοι τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν οἰκετῶν κελεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἔπεσθαι ὡς ὄντας μέρος τοῦ λοιποῦ ὄχλου, προστάζαντες τότε ἀποκαλύπτειν ἃ ἐπέφεροντο ὅπλα καὶ γενναίως ἀνθεστάναι, εἴ τινες ἢ στρατιωτῶν ἢ δημοτῶν αὐτοῖς

[5] When dawn was approaching, the youths appeared and ordered the mob of workmen to follow them as if they were simply part of the crowd; they directed the workmen to take their assigned positions and, keeping their weapons hidden, to resist bravely if any of the soldiers or the people should attack them to avenge the deed they were plotting.

[6] ἐπίοιεν ἔκδικοι τοῦ γενησομένου ἔργου· αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια ὑποκόλπια προσίασι τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὡς δὴ περὶ τῆς ἀποδόσεως τῶν χρημάτων διαλεξόμενοι, προσπεσόντες τε αἰφνιδίως οὐ προσδοκῶντα παίσαντες φονεύουσι. τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιωτῶν γυμνωσάντων τὰ ξίφη τῷ τε φόνῳ ἐπεξελεθεῖν θελόντων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατεληλυθότες προβαλόμενοι τὰ τε ξύλα καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις, ὑπερμαχόμενοι τῶν δεσποτῶν, τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας

[6] Carrying daggers under their robes, the youths approached the procurator as if to discuss the payment of the money; then, attacking him suddenly, they stabbed and killed him. When his bodyguards drew their swords in retaliation, the workmen from the fields pulled out their clubs and axes and, fighting for their masters, easily routed their opponents.

SECTION 5

[1] ῥαδίως ἐτρέψαντο. οὕτως δὴ προχωρήσαντος τοῦ ἔργου, οἱ νεανίσκοι ἅπαζ ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι μόνην ἥδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπάρχουσαν, εἰ τὰ τολμηθέντα αὐτοῖς αὐξήσαιεν ἔργοις μείζοσι καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ ἔθνους παραλάβοιεν, πᾶν τε τὸ ἔθνος ἀναπείσαιεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν· ὅπερ ἥδεσαν πάλα

[1] THE success of their plan immediately put the youths in a desperate situation; they realized that a single avenue of safety lay open to them: to add to their bold act deeds even bolder and, enlisting the governor of the province as a partner in their peril, to rouse the whole province to revolt. They knew that the governor, who hated Maximinus, had long prayed for this, but was afraid to act.

[2] μὲν εὐχέσθαι μίσει Μαξιμίνου, φόβῳ δὲ κωλύεσθαι. σὺν παντὶ τοίνυν τῷ πλήθει ἥδη μεσαζούσης ἡμέρας ἐπίασιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπατεύοντος οἰκίαν. Γορδιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὄνομα, κλήρῳ μὲν τὴν ἀνθυπατείαν λαχὼν, πρεσβύτης δὲ ἐς ἔτος ἥδη περί που ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἑλληλακῶς, πολλῶν δὲ πρότερον ἄρξας ἑθνῶν ἔν τε πράξεσι μεγίσταις ἐξετασθεῖς. ὅθεν αὐτόν τε ἡδέως ὑποδέξεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥντο ὥσπερ κορυφαῖον τέλος τῶν προγενομένων πράξεων, τὴν τε σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἀσμένως δέξεσθαι ἄνδρα εὖ γεγονότα καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἡγεμονιῶν

[2] As it was now noon, the entire group went to the house of the proconsul. The governor, whose name was Gordian, had received the African post by lot when he was about eighty years old, after he had previously governed many provinces and served in the highest public offices. For this reason the youths believed that he would accept with pleasure the office of emperor as the crowning achievement in his career in public office; they thought that the senate and the Roman people would be glad to accept as emperor a man from the aristocracy who had risen to the high office after many governorships as if in a regular cursus.

[3] ὥσπερ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντα. συνέβαινε δὲ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἥς ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, οἶκοι τὸν Γορδιανὸν διατρίβειν ἡσυχάζοντα, δεδωκότα τοῖς καμάτοις ἀνάπαυλαν ἀργίαν τε ταῖς πράξεσιν. οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι ξιφῆρεις σὺν παντὶ τῷ πλήθει, βιασάμενοι τοὺς ταῖς αὐλείαις ἐφεστῶτας, εἰσπηδήσαντες καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τινος σκιμποδίου ἀναπαυόμενον, περιστάντες δὲ χλαμῦδι πορφυρᾷ περιβάλλουσι σεβασμίαις τε τιμαῖς

[3] It happened that on the day these events occurred Gordian was at home resting, enjoying a brief respite from his labors and duties. Accompanied by the entire band with drawn swords, the youths overpowered the guards on duty at the gates and burst into the house, where they

found Gordian resting on a couch. Standing around him, they draped him in a purple cloak and greeted him with the imperial honors.

[4] προσαγορεύουσιν. ὁ δὲ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκπλαγείς, ἐνέδραν καὶ συσκευὴν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ νομίζων, ῥίψας ἀπὸ τοῦ σκίμποδος ἐς γῆν αὐτὸν ἐδεῖτο φεῖδεσθαι γέροντος μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσαντος, σώζειν δὲ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν τῷ βασιλεύοντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν ξιφῆρεις ἐνέκειντο, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀγνοίας οὐκ ᾔδει τὸ πεπραγμένον οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς παρούσης τύχης αἴτιον, εἷς τῶν νεανίσκων, ὃς ἦν αὐτῶν γένει καὶ δυνάμει λόγων προύχων, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατασιγάσας ἡσυχάζειν τε προστάξας, ἔχων πρόκωπον τὴν

[4] Astounded by this unexpected turn of events, and thinking it was an act of treachery or part of a plot against him, Gordian threw himself to the floor, begging them to spare the life of an old man who had never harmed them and to continue to display their loyalty and good will toward the emperor. But the youths were insistent and drew their swords. Gordian, alarmed and unaware of what had occurred, did not understand the situation. One of the youths, a talented speaker of distinguished family, asked for quiet and ordered the rest to remain silent.

[5] δεξιὰν ἔλαξε πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιάδε· δύο κινδύνων προκειμένων, τοῦ μὲν παρόντος τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἤδη προδήλου τοῦ δὲ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τύχῃ, ἐλέσθαι σε δεῖ σήμερον σώζεσθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ πιστεῦσαι σεαυτὸν ἐλπίδι κρεῖττονι, ἢ πάντες πεπιστεύκαμεν, ἢ τεθνάναι ἤδη πρὸς ἡμῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ παρόντα ἔλοιο, πολλὰ τὰ ἐφόδια ἐς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας, τό τε Μαξιμίνου παρὰ πᾶσι μῖσος, πόθος τε τυραννίδος ὡμῆς ἀπαλλάξεως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς προγενομέναις πράξεσιν εὐδοκίμησις, ἔν τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ γνῶσις οὐκ ἄσημος καὶ τιμὴ ἑνδοξος

[5] Then, sword in hand, he addressed Gordian as follows: “With two dangers threatening you, the one present, the other future, the one already obvious, the other a remote possibility, you must make your choice whether to enjoy safety with us and have faith in greater things to come, in which indeed we have all placed our trust, or to die at our hands this very moment. If you elect to accept the present situation, there are many factors which augur well for the future: Maximums’ hatred of everyone; the people’s longing for deliverance from a cruel tyrant; their approval of your conduct in your former offices; and the fact that among the senate and the Roman people you enjoy a distinguished reputation and are held in high esteem.

[6] ἀεὶ. ἀντειπόντι δὲ σοι καὶ μὴ συμπνεύσαντι ἡμῖν σήμερον τέλος ἐπικεῖσεται· ἀπολούμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοί, εἰ δέοι, προαπολέσαντες <σέ>. ἔργον γὰρ ἡμῖν τετόλμηται μείζονος ἀπογνώσεως δεόμενον· κεῖται γὰρ ὁ τῆς

τυρρανίδος ὑπηρετής, καὶ δίκας ὠμότητος παρέσχε φονευθεὶς ὑφ’ ἡμῶν. ἐφ’ οἷς ἦν μὲν ἡμῖν συνάρη καὶ κοινωνὸς τῶν κινδύνων γένῃ, αὐτὸς τε τῆς ἐν βασιλείᾳ τιμῆς ἀπολαύσεις, τό τε ἡμῖν προκείμενον ἔργον ἐπαινεθήσεται καὶ οὐ κολασθήσεται.

[6] But death awaits you this very day if you decide against us and refuse to join us, and we shall die ourselves, if need be, after we have killed you. We have done a deed which calls for even more desperate measures. The tyrant’s procurator is dead, having paid the penalty for his savagery — death at our hands. If you join us and share our peril you will enjoy the honor of being emperor, and the deed which we have done will be praised, not punished.”

[7] τοιαῦτά τινα λέγοντος τοῦ νεανίσκου οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, συνδραμόντων ἤδη καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειδὴ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη, Σεβαστὸν Γορδιανὸν ἀναγορεύει. παραιτούμενος δὲ καὶ γῆρας προῖσχόμενος ἐκεῖνος, ἄλλως δὲ φιλόδοξος ὢν, οὐδὲ ἀηδῶς ὑπέστη, ἐλόμενος μᾶλλον τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον ἢ τὸν παρόντα, ἐν τε γήρᾳ ἐσχάτῳ οὐ πάνυ τι δεινὸν νομίζων,

[7] After the young man had finished speaking, the rest of the band cast aside all restraint. The entire populace of the city quickly assembled when the news was known, and the youths proclaimed Gordian Augustus. He begged to be excused, protesting that he was too old. But otherwise he was eager for fame, and did not enter into the office without some personal satisfaction, choosing to risk the future rather than the present danger, and thinking that it was not so terrible a thing to die, if need be, amidst the imperial honors.

[8] εἰ δέοι, ἐν βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τελευτῆσαι. πᾶν δὴ τὸ Λιβύων ἔθνος εὐθέως ἐδεδόνητο, καὶ τὰς μὲν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς καθήρουν, εἰκόσι δὲ καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι Γορδιανοῦ τὰς πόλεις ἐκόσμου, τῷ τε κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι προσθέντες Ἀφρικανὸν ἐκάλεσαν ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν· οὕτω γὰρ Λίβυες <οἱ> ὑπὸ μεσημβρίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καλοῦνται.

[8] Immediately the whole province of Africa was aroused; the people there pulled down Maximinus’ emblems of honor and decorated their cities with paintings and statues of Gordian; they added “Africanus” to his imperial titles, giving him their own name, for the Libyans are called Africans in Latin.

SECTION 6

[1] ὁ δὲ Γορδιανὸς ἐνδιατρίψας τῇ Θύστρῳ, ἔνθα ταῦτα ἐπράχθη, ἡμερῶν τινῶν, ἤδη φέρων βασιλέως ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα, ἀπάρας [τε] τῆς Θύστρου ἐς τὴν Καρχηδὸνα ἡπείχθη, ἣν ἥδει μεγίστην τε οὖσαν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ἔν' ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πάντα πράττοι· ἡ γὰρ πόλις ἐκείνη καὶ δυνάμει χρημάτων καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων καὶ μεγέθει μόνης Ῥώμης ἀπολείπεται, φιλονεικοῦσα πρὸς τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν περὶ δευτερείων.

[1] THESE events occurred at Thystrum, where Gordian was staying at the time. After a few days, however, he left that city, having assumed the title and appearance of emperor, and proceeded to Carthage, which he knew to be a large and heavily populated city where he might do everything just as if he were in Rome. The city of Carthage, in size, wealth, and population, is surpassed only by Rome and contends with Alexandria in Egypt for second place in the empire.

[2] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἡ βασιλικὴ πομπή, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν, οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμηκεστέρων νεανίσκων ἐν σχήματι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην δορυφόρων προϊόντων· αἱ τε ῥάβδοι ἐδαφνηφόρουν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἐς τὸ διαγνῶναι τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ιδιωτικῶν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ προεπόμπευεν, ὥς ὅψιν καὶ τύχην ἔχειν πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰκόνι, τῆς Ῥώμης τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὴν πόλιν.

[2] Gordian was accompanied by the entire imperial escort, the soldiers on duty there, and the tallest of the city's youths, who preceded him in the manner of the praetorians at Rome. The fasces were wreathed with laurel; it is the laurel which distinguishes the fasces of the emperor from those of other officials. The sacred fire was carried before him, and for a brief period Carthage was Rome in appearance and prosperity.

[3] ὃ τε Γορδιανὸς γράμματά τε ἀμπλειστα ἐκπέμπει πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πρωτεύειν δοκούντων, τοῖς τε τῆς συγκλήτου δοκιμωτάτοις ἐπιστέλλει, ὧν ἦσαν αὐτῷ πλεῖστοι φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ δημόσια γράμματα πρὸς τε τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, δι' ὧν τὴν τε Λιβύων ἐδήλου ἐς ἑαυτὸν σύμπνοιαν, τῆς τε Μαξιμίνου ὁμότητος κατηγόρει σφοδρότατα

[3] Gordian wrote letters to all the prominent men in Rome, including the leading senators, most of whom were his friends and relatives. He sent open letters to the senate and the Roman people in which he revealed his union with the Africans and attacked the savagery of Maximinus, knowing that this trait of the emperor's character was most violently hated.

[4] εἰδὼς μισομένην, αὐτός τε πᾶσαν πραότητα ὑπισχνεῖτο, συκοφάντας τε πάντας φυγαδεύων καὶ παλινδικίαν διδοὺς τοῖς ἀδίκως κατακριθεῖσι, τοὺς τε φυγάδας ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἐπανάγων· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ὑπέσχετο ἐπίδοσιν χρημάτων ὅσην οὐδείς πρότερον, τῷ τε δήμῳ νομὰς ἐπήγγειλε. προυνοήσατο δὲ τοῦ πρότερον ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην τῶν στρατοπέδων προεστῶτα· Βιταλιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ. τοῦτον ἤδει τραχύτατα καὶ ὠμότατα πράττοντα, φίλτατόν τε ὄντα καὶ

[4] He promised the Romans moderation in all things: he would banish informers, provide new trials for the unjustly condemned, and return exiles to their own lands. To the praetorians he promised more money than anyone had given them before, and he announced gifts for the people. Arrangements were made for the early execution of the commandant of the Praetorian Guard in Rome, a man named Vitalianus. Gordian knew that the prefect committed the most savage and cruel acts and that he was an intimate and devoted friend of Maximinus.

[5] καθωσιωμένον τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ. ὑποπτεύων οὖν μὴ τοῖς πραττομένοις γενναίως ἀντιστῇ καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου φόβῳ μηδεὶς αὐτῷ συνάρηται, πέμπει τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ ἔθνους, νεανίσκον φύσει εὐτολμον καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἀγεννῇ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντα, πρόθυμόν τε ἐς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ κίνδυνον, παραδοὺς αὐτῷ ἑκατοντάρχας καὶ στρατιώτας τινάς, οἷς ἔδωκε κατασεσημασμένα γράμματα ἐν πτυκτοῖς πίναξι, δι' ὧν τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτὰ ἀγγέλματα

[5] Gordian suspected that Vitalianus would strenuously resist what he was trying to do, and he further suspected that the Romans' fear of the prefect would keep them from assisting him. Consequently, he sent to Rome the quaestor of the province, a bold and physically powerful man who, in the prime of youth, was eager to risk any danger for his emperor. Gordian assigned several centurions and a contingent of soldiers to the quaestor and gave him sealed dispatches written on the folding tablets by which secret messages were sent to the emperors.

[6] τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιστέλλεται. κελεύει δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἑως ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κατελθοῦσιν ἐπιστῆναι ἔτι δικάζοντι καὶ ἀνακεχωρηκῶτι τῷ Βιταλιανῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου οἰκίσκῳ, ἔνθα μόνος τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτὰ δοκοῦντα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἡρεῦνα τε καὶ ἐξήταξε, δηλῶσαι τε ὅτι φέρουσι γράμματα πρὸς Μαξιμίνου ἀπόρρητα, ἐπὶ τοῦτό τε παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθῆναι

[6] He ordered these men to enter Rome before dawn and approach Vitalianus while he was still hearing cases, after he had withdrawn into the little office in the courtroom where, alone, he opened and read the private messages which seemed to bear upon the emperor's safety. Gordian further told them to inform the prefect that they were carrying secret messages which concerned Maximinus and that he had sent them on a matter involving the emperor's safety.

[7] ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τοῦ βασιλέως· προσποιήσασθαι δὲ βούλεσθαι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι αὐτῷ ἰδιαιτέρον ἀπαγγεῖλαί τε τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· διασχιζομένῳ δὲ ἐκείνῳ περὶ τὴν τῶν σφραγίδων ἐπίγνωσιν προσποιουμένους ὥς δὴ ἐροῦντάς τι, οἷς εἶχον ὑποκολπιδίοις ξίφεσι φονεῦσαι. ἅπερ πάντα προυχώρησεν ὥς ἐκέλευσεν. ἔτι γὰρ νυκτὸς οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος εἰώθει πρὸ ἡμέρας προῖέναι, ἐπέστησαν

[7] He ordered these men to pretend that they wished to speak with Vitalianus privately and deliver their report; while he was examining the seals on the dispatches, they were to ask him some question and kill him with the swords concealed beneath their robes. It all happened precisely as Gordian had ordered. Since Vitalianus was accustomed to appear before daybreak, the messengers came to him privately while it was still dark and only a few people were with him.

[8] αὐτῷ ἰδιαίοντι, μηδὲ πολλοῦ πλήθους παρόντος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προεληλύθεσαν, οἱ δὲ προσαγορεύσαντες πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν, ἡσυχίας τε οὖν οὔσης ὀλίγων τε πρὸ τοῦ οἰκίσκου, δηλώσαντες αὐτῷ τὰ προειρημένα ῥαδίως εἰσεδέχθησαν· ἐπιδόντες δὲ τὰ γράμματα, ἐκείνου ταῖς σφραγῖσι τὰς ὄψεις ἐπιβάλλοντος προβαλόντες τὰ ξιφίδια καὶ παῖσαντες φονεύουσιν, ἔχοντές τε αὐτὰ πρόκωπα

[8] Some visitors had not yet arrived; others had greeted him before dawn and had already left. All was quiet, with only a few people outside his door. When the messengers from Gordian revealed to the prefect what has been described above, they were readily admitted. Handing him the dispatches, they drew their daggers while he was examining the seals and stabbed him to death; then, holding their daggers ready for action, they sprang from the house.

[9] προπηδῶσιν. οἱ δὲ παρόντες ἐκπλαγέντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἰόμενοι Μαξιμίνου τὴν κέλευσιν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐποίει τοῦτο πολλάκις καὶ περὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι φιλότατους. κατελθόντες δὲ διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ προτιθέασιν τὰ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ γράμματα, τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα διδῶσιν· διασκεδάννυται τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν φήμη ὥς ἄρα καὶ Μαξιμῖνος

[9] Those who were present drew back in astonishment, thinking that Maximinus had ordered the murder, for he often did this sort of thing even to those who seemed to be his most intimate friends. Hurrying down the Sacred Way, the assassins displayed the letters of Gordian to the people and handed over his directives to the consuls and other officials. And now the rumor spread that Maximinus had been assassinated.

SECTION 7

[1] εἴη ἀνηρημένος. ὥς δὲ διεφόιτησε ταῦτα, εὐθέως πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν διέθει πανταχοῦ· καὶ πάντες μὲν γὰρ ὄχλοι κοῦφοι πρὸς τὰ καινοτομούμενα, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐν πλήθει μεγίστῳ καὶ ποικίλῳ συγκλύδων τε ἀνθρώπων πολὺ καὶ ῥάδιον ἔχει τὸ τῆς

[1] WHEN these reports became known, the people milled about as if possessed. The fact is that all peoples are eager for a change of government, but the Roman mob, because of its tremendous size and diverse elements, is unusually prone to instability and vacillation.

[2] γνώμης εὐκίνητον. ἀνδριάντες οὖν καὶ εἰκόνες τιμαί τε πᾶσαι τοῦ Μαξιμίνου κατεσπῶντο, καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸν πρότερον διὰ φόβον μῖσος ἀδεές καὶ αὐτεξούσιον γενόμενον ἀκωλύτως ἐξεχεῖτο. ἥ τε σύγκλητος συνελθοῦσα πρὶν τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰδέναι περὶ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου, ἐκ τῆς παρουσίας τύχης τὰ μέλλοντα πιστεύσαντες τὸν Γορδιανὸν ἅμα τῷ υἱῷ Σεβαστοῦς ἀναγορεύουσι, τὰς δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς

[2] Therefore the statues, paintings, and all of Maximinus' emblems of honor were destroyed, and the hatred which fear had hitherto suppressed now poured forth without hindrance, freely and fearlessly. The senators met before they received accurate information concerning Maximinus and, placing their trust for the future in the present situation, proclaimed Gordian Augustus, together with his son, and destroyed Maximinus' emblems of honor.

[3] ἀνατρέπουσι. συκοφάνται τε οὖν καὶ οἱ γενόμενοι τινῶν κατήγοροι ἢ ἔφευγον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἀνηροῦντο, ἐπίτροποι τε καὶ δικασταὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου ὠμότητος ὑπηρεταὶ συρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἐρριπτοῦντο. φόνος τε οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικησάντων ἀνθρώπων· δανειστὰς γὰρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ καὶ ἀντιδίκους ἐν πράγμασιν ἀγοραίοις, καὶ εἴ τις πρὸς τινα βραχεῖαν αἰτίαν εἶχε μίσους, ἐπαναβαίνοντες ταῖς οἰκίσεσιν ἀπροσδοκῆτως, ἐπηρεάζοντες ὥς συκοφάντας

[3] Informers and men who were bringing lawsuits either fled or were killed by those against whom they had brought unjust charges; officials and judges who had been the instruments of his savagery were dragged about the city by the mob and were then thrown into the sewers. There was great slaughter of those innocent of wrongdoing: without warning, men broke into the houses of their creditors and their opponents in lawsuits, indeed into the house of anyone they hated for some trivial reason; after threatening and abusing them as informers, their attackers robbed and killed them.

[4] ἐσύλησάν τε καὶ ἐφόνευσαν. ἐν προσχήματι ἐλευθερίας ἀδείας τε εἰρηνικῆς

ἔργα πολέμου ἐμφυλίου ἐγένετο, ὥς καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχοντα μετὰ πράξεις πολλὰς ὑπατικές (Σαβῖνος δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), βουλόμενον κωλύσαι τὰ γινόμενα, ξύλῳ παισθέντα κατὰ τοῦ κρανίου τελευτήσαι.

καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἅπαξ ἀναρριφθέντος κινδύνου φόβῳ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου πάντα

[4] Acts of civil war were committed in the name of freedom and peace and security; for example, the man who had been appointed prefect of the city after having held many consular offices (his name was Sabinus) was struck on the head by a stone and killed while he was trying to prevent what was happening in the city.

This is what the people did, but the senate, once it recognized the danger, did everything in its power to induce the provinces to revolt against Maximinus.

[5] ἔπραττεν ἐς τὸ ἀποστήσαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη. πρεσβεῖαι τοίνυν πανταχοῦ πρὸς πάντας ἡγουμένους ἐξεπέμφθησαν, ἐπιλεχθέντων ἀνδρῶν ἕκ τε τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος οὐκ ἀδοκίμων, γράμματά τε πρὸς πάντας τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην δηλοῦντα, προτρέποντά τε τοὺς «μὲν» ἡγουμένους συναίρεσθαι τῇ κοινῇ πατρίδι καὶ συνεδρίῳ βουλευούσι, τὰ δ' ἔθνη πείθεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ὧν δημόσιον ἄνωθεν τὸ

[5] Embassies composed of senators and distinguished Equestrians were sent to all the governors with letters which clearly revealed the attitude of the senate and the Roman people. These letters requested the governors to aid the common fatherland and the senate with their counsel, and urged the provinces to remain loyal to Rome, where the power and authority from the beginning had been in the hands of the people, whose friends and subjects the provinces were from the time of their ancestors.

[6] κράτος ἐστίν, αὐτά τε φίλα καὶ ὑπήκοα ἕκ προγόνων. οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν οὖν προσήκαντο τὴν πρεσβεῖαν, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀποστήσαντες ῥαδίως μίσει τῆς Μαξιμίνου τυραννίδος, τοὺς τε ἐκεῖσε πράττοντας, εἰ τὰ Μαξιμίνου φρονοῖεν, ἀποκτείναντες προσέθεντο Ῥωμαίοις· ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἢ διεχρήσαντο τοὺς ἐλθόντας πρέσβεις ἢ μετὰ φρουρᾶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον παρέπεμψαν, οὓς συλλαμβάνων ὠμῶς ἐκόλαζεν.

[6] The majority of the governors welcomed the embassies and had no difficulty in arousing the provinces to revolt because of the general hatred of Maximinus. After killing the provincial officials who favored Maximinus, the governors came to the support of the Romans. A few of the governors, however, killed the envoys who came to them or sent them to Maximinus under guard; these, upon their arrival, he tortured to death in savage fashion.

SECTION 8

[1] τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν τε καὶ γνῶμην τοιαῦτα ἦν· ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ τὰ πεπραγμένα, σκυθρωπὸς τε ἦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλαις φροντίσι, προσεποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖν. τῆς μὲν οὖν πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ἔνδον ἔμεινεν ἡσυχάζων καὶ τοῖς φίλοις περὶ

[1] THIS was the situation with respect to the city and the attitude of the Romans. When these events were reported to Maximinus, he was enraged, but, although he was seriously concerned, he pretended to ignore the matter. On the first and second days he remained quietly in his headquarters, consulting with his friends about a plan of action.

[2] τοῦ πρακτέου κοινούμενος. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον πᾶν τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ τε ἐπέκεινα πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔγνωσαν μὲν τὰ διαγγελθέντα, καὶ διοίδαινον πᾶσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τηλικούτων ἔργων εὐτόλμῳ καινοτομία, οὐδέ τις πρὸς τινα ἔλεγέ τι οὐτ' εἰδέναι τι προσεποιεῖτο· τοσοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Μαξιμίνου φόβος ὥς μηδὲν αὐτὸν λανθάνειν, παραφυλάττεσθαι δὲ πάντων οὐ μόνον τὰ διὰ φωνῆς καὶ γλώττης προφερόμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δι' ὄψεως νεύματα.

[2] The whole army there with him and all the civilians in that region knew of the developments at Rome, and were amazed at the spirit of bold insubordination revealed by these acts; no one talked about the affair, however, each man pretending to be ignorant of what was occurring. So great was Maximinus' apprehension that he allowed nothing to escape his notice; he kept close watch on all, concerned not only with what they said but even with their facial expressions.

[3] ὁ μὲντοι Μαξιμῖνος συγκαλέσας πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδῖον, προελθὼν τε τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ἀνελθὼν τε ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἐπιφερόμενος τὸ βιβλίον ὅπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ συντάξαντές τινες τῶν φίλων, ἐξ ἀναγνώσεως ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[3] Then, summoning the entire army to the plain in front of the city, the emperor came forth on the third day, carrying the speech which some of his friends had written for him:

[4] ἄπιστα μὲν οἶδα καὶ παράδοξα λέξων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ οἶομαι, οὐ θαύματος ἀλλὰ χλεύης καὶ γέλωτος ἄξια. ὅπλα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀνδρείαν οὐ Γερμανοὶ αἶρονται, οὐς πολλάκις ἐνίκησαμεν, οὐ Σαυρομάται οἱ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐκάστοτε ἰκετεύοντες· Πέρσαι τε οἱ πάλαι Μεσοποταμίαν κατατρέχοντες νῦν ἡσυχάζουσιν, ἀγαπητῶς ἔχοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν, δόξης τε τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀρετῆς [τε], πείρα τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων, ἃς ἔγνωσαν ὅτε τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις στρατοπέδων ἡγούμην,

[4] “I know that what I am going to say to you will sound strange and incredible, and I believe that you will find my remarks ridiculous and amusing, rather than awe-inspiring. It is not the Germans who are taking up arms to oppose you and your valor, those men whom we have conquered so often, nor the Sarmatians, who daily plead with us for peace. The Persians, who not long ago were overrunning Mesopotamia, are now subdued, happy to enjoy what they have, kept in check by the repute of your great skill in arms, and by the trial which they made of my military talents, of which they got a thorough knowledge when I commanded the armies on the riverbank.

[5] ἀνεχούσης αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ (μὴ τι ἄρα καὶ καταγέλαστον εἰπεῖν) Καρχηδόνιοι μεμῆνασι, καὶ πρεσβύτην ἄθλιον, ἐν ἐσχάτῳ γήρᾳ παραφρονοῦντα, πείσαντες ἢ βιασάμενοι ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς παίζουσι βασιλείαν, τίνοι θαρροῦντες στρατῷ, παρ’ οἷς ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἡγουμένου ὑπηρεσίαν ἄρκοῦσι ῥαβδοῦχοι; ποῖα φέροντες ὅπλα, παρ’ οἷς οὐδὲν πλὴν δορατίων οἷς πρὸς θηρία μονομαχοῦσι; τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτοῖς γυμνάσια χοροὶ καὶ σκώμματα καὶ ῥυθμοί.

[5] But the fact is (and you will have to laugh when you hear it) that the Carthaginians have taken leave of their senses and have either persuaded or compelled a miserable old man, doddering in advanced senility, to accept the throne, making sport of the empire as if in deliberate mockery. In what army do they trust, these men among whom lictors are sufficient to protect the proconsul? What kind of weapons do they carry, these men who have no arms except the spears they use in single combat with animals? Dancing, sarcastic quips, and rhythmic posturing are their methods of training for war.

[6] μηδὲ τινα ὑμῶν ἐκπληττέτω τὰ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα. Βιταλιανὸς μὲν ἀνῆρέθῃ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ ληφθεὶς, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δήμου τὸ κοῦφον καὶ εὐμετάβολον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε καὶ μέχρι βοῆς θρασύ· εἰ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπλίτας ἴδοιεν μόνον, ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοί τε καὶ πατούμενοι, φεύγων ἕκαστος τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον τοῦ κοινοῦ

[6] Let no one be frightened by the report of what has happened at Rome. Taken unaware by deceit and treachery, Vitalianus was murdered, but you know the unstable and capricious nature of the Roman mob, and you know that it is bold only as long as nothing is involved except shouting. But if that rabble sees only two or three armed men of the legions, each person is terrified at the thought of his own individual danger. Crowding together and trampling their neighbors, the rabble are indifferent to the common danger.

[7] ἀμελῶς ἔχει. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τις ὑμῖν διήγγειλε, μὴ θαυμάζετε εἰ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον σῶφρον τραχὺ αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ, τὸ δ’ ὁμότροπον ἐν ἀκολάστῳ βίῳ ἐκείνου προτιμᾶται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ σεμνὰ τῶν ἔργων φοβερά

προσαγορεύουσι, τὰ δ' ἀνειμένα καὶ ἐκβεβακχευμένα ὡς ἡμερα δι' ἡδονῆς ἔχουσι· διόπερ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀρχὴν οὕσαν ἐπιστρεφῇ καὶ κόσμιον ἀλλοτρίως διάκεινται, ἥσθησαν δὲ τῷ Γορδιανοῦ ὀνόματι, οὗ τὸν διαβεβλημένον

[7] If anyone has informed you of the senate's action, do not be surprised if our mild way of life seems irksome to the people and they prefer the undisciplined activities of Gordian; and do not wonder that they call manly and moderate acts fear-inspiring, and believe that unrestrained frenzy is civilized because it provides pleasure. They are, as a result, unfavorably disposed toward my rule because it is disciplined and well ordered, but they are delighted to hear the name of Gordian, whose reprehensible way of life is not unknown to you.

[8] βίον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε. πρὸς τούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος, εἴ τις οὕτως αὐτὸν καλεῖν βούλοιτο. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες, εἰ μόνον Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίημεν, ἱκετηρίους θαλλοὺς καὶ τέκνα προτείναντες ὑποστρώσουσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ποσίν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διὰ δειλίαν καὶ φαυλότητα φευζονται, ὡς ὑπάρξει ἐμοί τε [καὶ] ὑμῖν τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα δοῦναι, ὑμῖν τε ἀδεῶς λαβοῦσι καρποῦσθαι.

[8] It is with these and men like them that you will wage war, if anyone is willing to dignify it by that name. I believe that the majority, indeed, nearly everyone, will extend olive branches and hold out their children to us as soon as we set foot in Italy. They will throw themselves prostrate at our feet, while the rest will flee, in fear and trembling, and all their property will fall into my hands for distribution to you, and it will be your privilege to receive it and enjoy it in security.”

[9] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν, βλάσφημά τε πολλὰ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον δι' ὧν παρεφθέγγετο ἀπορρίψας, ταῖς τε διὰ χειρὸς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ τραχέσι προσώπου νεύμασιν ὡς πρὸς παρόντας ὀργισθεῖς, ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν ἔξοδον. διανείμας τε αὐτοῖς ἀμπλειστα χρήματα, μιᾷς ἡμέρας διαλιπὼν, τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶχετο, πολὺ τι πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενος στρατοῦ, τὴν τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις δύναμιν.

[9] After speaking thus, Maximinus attacked the senate and the Roman people with incoherent abuse, threatening gestures, and savage grimaces, as if he were enraged at his audience; he then publicly announced his departure for Rome. He made a lavish distribution of money to the soldiers, and delayed only a single day before beginning his march at the head of a huge force which included all the Roman armies.

[10] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γερμανῶν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος ἀριθμός, οὓς τοῖς ὅπλοις κεχείρωτο ἢ πείσας ἐς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐπῆκτο, μηχαναί τε καὶ πολεμικὰ ὄργανα, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἰὼν ἐπεφέρετο. αὐτὸς μὲν

σχολαιτέραν τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐποιεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀχημάτων καὶ ἐπιτηδείων πανταχόθεν συγκομιδὴν·

[10] A not inconsiderable force of Germans followed him; these he had either conquered by arms or had persuaded to join him in friendly alliance. He had engines of war and military machines, in fact everything he ordinarily took with him when he marched against the barbarians, and he slowed his progress further by collecting supplies and wagons from all sides.

[11] αἰφνιδίου γὰρ γενομένης τῆς ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου καὶ ἐπειγούσης ὑπηρεσίας τὰ χρειώδη τῷ στρατῷ ἠθροίζετο ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ προπέμψαι τὰς τῶν Παίωνων φάλαγγας· ἐκείνοις γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν, οἵπερ αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτοι ἀνεῖπον βασιλέα ἐθελονταί τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύσειν ὑπισχνοῦντο. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτοῖς φθάσαι τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χωρία προκαταλαβεῖν.

[11] As his journey to Rome was sudden and unexpected — not the usual sort but the result of hasty action — he gathered together whatever the army needed. He thought it best, under the circumstances, to send the Pannonians ahead; he had special confidence in these troops who had been first to proclaim him emperor and who wished and promised to risk their lives on his behalf. He ordered these soldiers to precede the rest of his force and seize the regions of Italy before his arrival.

SECTION 9

[1] καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ὠδοιπόρουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Καρχηδόνι οὐχ ὥς ἠλπίζεσαν τὰ πράγματα προυχώρει. Καπελιανὸς γὰρ ἦν τις ὄνομα, τῶν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου, ἡγεῖτο δὲ Μαυρουσίων τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις, Νομάδων δὲ καλουμένων. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος στρατοπέδοις ἐφρακτο διὰ τὸ περικείμενον πλῆθος Μαυρουσίων τῶν βαρβάρων,

[1] SO THE troops with Maximinus continued their march. Meanwhile, in Carthage, his affairs had prospered in a way he had not anticipated. A man of senatorial rank named Capelianus was at that time governor of the Moroccans under Roman rule, the ones called Numidians. This province was defended by garrison camps so located as to prevent marauding raids by the large number of Moroccan barbarians surrounding it.

[2] ὥς ἂν ἐπέχῃ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγὰς. εἶχεν οὖν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον στρατιωτικὴν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Καπελιανὸν τοῦτον ὁ Γορδιανὸς ἀπεχθῶς διέκειτο ἄνωθεν ἕκ τινος ἀγοραίου διαφορᾶς. τότε τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος ὀνόματι διάδοχόν τε αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.

[2] Capelianus thus had a formidable military force under his command. Gordian was hostile to Capelianus because they had earlier been involved in a lawsuit. When he assumed the title of emperor, Gordian sent a man to replace Capelianus and ordered the governor to leave the province.

[3] ὁ δὲ πρὸς τε ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας, τῷ τε Μαξιμίνῳ καθωσιωμένος, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πεπίστευτο, πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἀθροίσας ἀναπέισας τε Μαξιμίνῳ τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα δύναμιν ἄγων μεγίστην τε καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἡλικίας ἀκμάζουσαν, καὶ παντοδαπῇ ὅπλων παρασκευῇ ἐξηρτυμένην, ἐμπειρία τε πολεμικῇ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης συνηθείᾳ ἐτοίμην πρὸς μάχας.

[3] Angered by this, and devoted to Maximinus, who had appointed him governor, Capelianus assembled his entire army. Persuading his troops to remain loyal to Maximinus and faithful to their oath, the governor marched toward Carthage at the head of a huge army of young, vigorous men equipped with every type of weapon and trained for battle by military experience gained in fighting the barbarians.

[4] ὥς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Γορδιανῷ ὁ στρατὸς προσιὼν τῇ πόλει, αὐτὸς τε ἐν ἐσχάτῳ δέει ἦν, οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι ταραχθέντες, οἰόμενοι ἐν πλήθει ὄχλου, οὐκ ἐν εὐταξίᾳ στρατοῦ τὸ εὖελπι τῆς νίκης εἶναι, πανδημεὶ πάντες ἐξίσαν ὥς

δὴ τῷ Καπελιανῷ ἀντιταξόμενοι. Γορδιανὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ὥς τινὲς φασιν, ἅμα «τὸν Καπελιανόν» τῷ τῆς Καρχηδόνοιο ἐπιβῆναι ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενος, ἐννοῶν τὴν δύναμιν Μαρξίμινου, οὐδὲν δὲ ὀρώων ἐν Λιβύῃ ἀξιόμαχον ἰσόρροπον, ἀνήρτησεν

[4] When the report of this army's approach reached the city, Gordian was terrified; the Carthaginians, however, aroused by the news and thinking that their hope of victory lay in the size of a mob rather than in the discipline of an army, went forth in a body to oppose Capelianus. Then the elder Gordian, some say, was in despair because Capelianus was attacking Carthage; when he considered the size of Maximinus' army and reflected that there were no forces in Africa strong enough to match it, he hanged himself.

[5] ἑαυτὸν βρόχῳ· κρυπτομένης δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγήσοντα δὴ τοῦ πλήθους εἴλοντο. γενομένης δὲ συμβολῆς οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι ὄχλῳ πλείους ἦσαν, ἄτακτοι δὲ καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἀπαίδευτοι ἅτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθεῖα τεθραμμένοι ἐορταῖς τε καὶ τρυφαῖς σχολάζοντες αἰεὶ, γυμνοὶ τε ὅπλων καὶ ὀργάνων πολεμικῶν.

[5] His death was kept secret, however, and his son was chosen to command the crowd of civilians. When the battle was joined, the Carthaginians were superior in numbers, but they were an undisciplined mob, without military training; for they had grown up in a time of complete peace and indulged themselves constantly in feasts and festivals. To make it worse, they were without arms and proper equipment.

[6] ἕκαστος δὲ ἐπεφέρετο οἴκοθεν ἢ ξιφίδιον ἢ πέλεκυν δοράτιά τε ἐκ κυνηγεσίῳ· βύρσας τε τὰς ἐμπεσοῦσας περιτεμόντες καὶ ξύλα καταπρίσαντες ἐς τὰ παρατυχόντα σχήματα, ὥς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, πρόβλημα τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. οἱ δὲ Νομάδες ἀκοντισταὶ τε εὖστοχοι καὶ ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι, ὥς καὶ χαλινῶν ἄνευ ῥάβδῳ

[6] Each man brought from home a dagger, an ax, or a hunting spear; those who found hides cut out circles of leather, arranged pieces of wood as a frame, and fashioned shields as best they could. The Numidians, by contrast, were excellent javelin men and superb horsemen. Scorning a bridle they used only a stick to guide their mounts.

[7] μόνῃ τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἵππων κυβερνᾶν. ῥᾶστα οὖν ἐτρέψαντο τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὸ πλῆθος, οἵπερ οὐχ ὑπομείναντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἐμβολήν, πάντα ῥίψαντες, ἔφυγον· ὠθούμενοι δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πατούμενοι, πλείους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου πλήθους ἐφθάρησαν ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ υἱὸς ἀπώλετο οἷ τε περὶ αὐτὸν πάντες, ὥς διὰ πλῆθος πτωμάτων μήτε νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν πρὸς ταφὴν γενέσθαι δυνηθῆναι μήτε τὸ

[7] They easily routed the huge Carthaginian mob; without waiting for the Numidians' charge, the Carthaginians threw down their arms and fled. Crowding and trampling one another underfoot, more Carthaginians were killed in the crush than fell by enemy action. There the son of Gordian died, together with all his companions, and the number of dead was so great that it was impossible to gather them for burial. The body of the young Gordian was never found.

[8] τοῦ νέου Γορδιανοῦ σῶμα εὑρεθῆναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φεύγοντες, ὅσοι τε ἦσαν εἰσρυνέντες ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὅσοι τε λαθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, σκεδασθέντες ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, οὕσαν μεγίστην τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὀλίγοι ἐκ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος περὶ ταῖς πύλαις στενοχωρούμενον, παρεισδύναι σπουδάζοντος ἐκάστου, βαλλόμενον τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ὑπὸ

[8] A few of the many who rushed into Carthage and found a place to hide managed to save themselves; they scattered throughout the city, which is huge and densely populated. The rest of the mob crowded before the gates of the city, trying to force their way in; attacked by the cavalry and legionary troops, they were cut down to the last man.

[9] τῶν ὀπλιτῶν διεφθείρετο. πολλὴ δὲ οἰμωγὴ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων, ὧν ἐν ὧσιν οἱ φίλτατοι ἀπώλοντο. ἕτεροι δὲ φασιν, ὡς δὴ ταῦτα οἰκοὶ μεμενηκότι διὰ γῆρας τῷ πρεσβύτῃ Γορδιανῷ ἀπηγγέλη ὃ τε Καπελιανὸς εἰσελαύνων ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐδηλώθη, ἐν ἀπογνώσει δὴ πάντων γενόμενος, εἰσελθὼν μόνος ἐς τὸν οἰκίσκον ὡς δὴ καθευδήσων, ἐξαρτήσας ἥς ἐπεφέρετο ζώνης τὸν τράχηλον ἐν βρόχῳ, τοῦ βίου ἀνεπαύσατο.

[9] Loud wailing of women and children was heard everywhere in the city when they saw their loved ones slaughtered before their eyes. Others say that when these events were reported to the elder Gordian, who had remained behind because of his advanced age, and he was informed that Capelianus was marching into Carthage, in complete despair he went into his bedroom alone as if to rest; there he used the sash from his waist to hang himself.

[10] τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει Γορδιανὸς ἐχρήσατο, βιώσας τὰ πρῶτα εὐδαιμόνως, ἐν εἰκόνι τε βασιλείας τελευτήσας· ὁ δὲ Καπελιανὸς ἐς Καρχηδόνα εἰσελθὼν πάντας τε τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπέκτεινεν, εἴ τινες καὶ ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐφείδετο τε οὔτε ἱερῶν συλήσεως οὔτε χρημάτων

[10] Such was the fate of Gordian, whose life in the beginning was favored by Fortune and who died at least presenting the appearance of an emperor. When Capelianus entered Carthage, he put to death all the prominent men who survived the battle, plundered the temples, and seized the public and private funds.

[11] ἰδιωτικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων ἀρπαγῆς. ἐπιὼν τε τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ὅσαι τὰς Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς καθηρήκεσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἐξέχοντας ἐφόνευσεν, τοὺς δὲ δημότας ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἀγροὺς τε καὶ κώμας ἐμπιπρᾶναι λεηλατεῖν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεπε, προσποιούμενος μὲν τιμωρίαν εἰσπράττειν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξ Μαξιμῖνον ἡμαρτήκεσαν, λανθανόντως δὲ εὖνοιαν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μνόμενος, ἵν' εἴ τι πταίσειεν τὰ Μαξιμίνου πράγματα, αὐτὸς ἔχων δύναμιν εὐνοοῦσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιήσαιο.

[11] Continuing to the rest of the cities which had destroyed Maximinus' emblems of honor, Capelianus killed the most important men, exiling the rest. He turned the farms and villages over to the soldiers to plunder and burn, pretending to be avenging Maximinus; the truth was, however, that he was scheming to win the good will of the soldiers so that if Maximinus should be killed he would have a loyal army and might thus lay claim to the empire.

SECTION 10

[1] τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδηλώθη ἡ τοῦ πρεσβύτου τελευτή, ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ἀφασίᾳ ὃ τε δῆμος ἦν ἢ τε σύγκλητος μάλιστα, Γορδιανοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐς ὃν ἠλπίκεσαν· ἥδεσαν γὰρ ... αὐτὸν οὔτε φεισόμενον τινός· ὃς γὰρ καὶ φύσει ἄλλοτρίως καὶ ἀπεχθὼς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διέκειτο, τότε καὶ ἐπ' εὐλόγοις αἰτίαις ὥς ὁμολογουμένοις ἐχθροῖς

[1] THIS is what was happening in Africa. When the death of the elder Gordian was reported at Rome, the people and the senate particularly were completely bewildered, dumfounded to learn that Gordian, in whom they had placed their hope, was dead. They knew that Maximinus, who was naturally hostile and antagonistic toward them, would spare no one. Now that he had good reason for hatred, he would as a matter of course vent his rage upon them as upon acknowledged enemies.

[2] εἰκότως ὠργίζετο. ἔδοξεν οὖν συνελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων σκέπασθαι, ἅπαξ τε ἀναρρίψαντας κίνδυνον πόλεμον ἄρασθαι, προστησαμένους ἑαυτῶν χειροτονηθέντας βασιλέας, οὓς ἠθέλησαν μερίσαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς μὴ παρ' ἐνὶ οὔσῃ ἡ ἐξουσία ἐς τυραννίδα πάλιν ἐξοκεῖλη. συνῆλθον οὖν οὐκ ἐς τὸ σὺνηθες συνέδριον ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν <τοῦ> Καπετωλίου, ὃν σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν

[2] The senate therefore thought it best to meet and consider what should be done. Since they had already cast the die, they voted to issue a declaration of war and choose two men from their own ranks to be joint emperors, dividing the imperial authority so that the power might not be in one man's hands and thus plunge them again into autocracy. They did not meet as usual in the senate house but in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the god whom the Romans worship on the Capitoline Hill.

[3] ἀκροπόλει. συγκλείσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ σηκῷ μόνους, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ Διὶ καὶ συνέδρῳ ἐπισκόπων τε τῶν πραττομένων, ἐπιλεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀξιώματι προυχόντων οὓς ἐδοκίμαζον κατὰ ψηφοφορίαν, ἐχόντων καὶ ἄλλων ψήφους, διακριθεῖσθαι τε καὶ τοῦ πλείστου τῆς γνώμης Μάξιμόν τε καὶ Βαλβῖνον ἀνειπόντος

[3] They shut themselves up alone in this temple, as if to have Jupiter as their witness, fellow council member, and overseer of their actions. Choosing the men most distinguished for their age and merit, they approved them by ballot. Other senators received votes, but on the final count Maximus and Balbinus were elected joint emperors by majority opinion.

[4] αὐτοκράτορας ἐποίησαν. τούτων δ' ἦν ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ἐν τε πολλαῖς στρατοπέδων ἀρχαῖς γενόμενος, τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἑπαρχος καταστάς ἀνεπιστρόφως τε ἄρξας, καὶ ἐν ὑπολήψει παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις φρενῶν τε καὶ ἀγχινοίας καὶ βίου σώφρονος, ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος γενόμενος μὲν εὐπατρίδης, ἐς δευτέραν τε ὑπατείαν ἐληλακῶς ἐθνῶν τε ἡγησάμενος ἀμέμπτως, τὸ δ' ἦθος ἀπλούστερος.

[4] Maximus had held many army commands; appointed prefect of Rome, he administered the office with diligence and enjoyed among the people a good reputation for his understanding nature, his intelligence, and his moderate way of life. Balbinus, an aristocrat who had twice served as consul and had governed provinces without complaint, had a more open and frank nature.

[5] τῆς οὖν χειροτονίας ἐκείνους ἀνειπούσης Σεβαστοὶ τε ἀνηγορεύθησαν, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς ἢ σύγκλητος διὰ δόγματος αὐτοὺς ἐκόσμησεν.

ὁ δὲ δῆμος τούτων ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ πραττομένων, εἴτε ὑποβαλόντων τινῶν Γορδιανοῦ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων εἴτε γνόντες ὑπὸ φήμης, παρειστίκεσαν ταῖς πύλαις, φράζαντες πᾶσαν τὴν ἐς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἄνοδον τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὄχλων, λίθους τε καὶ ξύλα ἐπεφέροντο, ἀντιπράττοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐψηφισμένοις, καὶ

[5] After their election, the two men were proclaimed Augusti, and the senate awarded them by decree all the imperial honors.

While these actions were being taken on the Capitoline Hill, the people, whether they were informed by Gordian's friends and fellow countrymen or whether they learned it by rumor, filled the entire street leading up to the Capitol. The huge mob was armed with stones and clubs, for they objected to the senate's action and particularly disapproved of Maximus.

[6] μάλιστα τὸν Μάξιμον παραιτούμενοι· «ἦρξέ τε γὰρ» στερρότερον τῆς πόλεως, πολὺ τε τὸ ἐπιστρεφές ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς φαύλους καὶ κούφους τῶν ὄχλων. ὅθεν δεδιότες ἀπηρέσκοντο αὐτῷ ἐβῶν τε καὶ ἠπειλὸν ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτούς· ἡξίου γὰρ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ γένους βασιλέα αἰρεθῆναι, τό τε τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς ὄνομα ἀρχῆς

[6] The prefect ruled the city too strictly for the popular taste, and was very harsh in his dealings with the criminal and reckless elements of the mob. In their fear and dislike of Maximus, they kept shouting threats to kill both emperors, determined that the emperor be chosen from the family of Gordian and that the title remain in that house and under that name.

[7] ἐκείνῳ τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ ὀνόματι μεῖναι. ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος καὶ Μάξιμος ἐκ τοῦ

ἰππικοῦ τάγματος νεανίας τοὺς τε πάλαι στρατιώτας οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέτριβον, περιστήσαντες ἑαυτοῖς ξιφηφόρους προελθεῖν τοῦ Καπετωλίου ἐβιάζοντο, ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἐκωλύθησαν, ἔστε δὴ ὑποβάλοντος τινὸς αὐτοὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐσοφίσαντο. ἦν τι παιδίον νήπιον, τῆς Γορδιανοῦ θυγατρὸς τέκνον, τῷ

[7] Balbinus and Maximus surrounded themselves with an escort of swordsmen from the young Equestrians and the discharged soldiers living in Rome, and tried to force their way from the Capitol. The mob, armed with stones and clubs, prevented this until, at someone's suggestion, the people were deceived. There was in Rome at that time a little child, the son of Gordian's daughter, who bore his grandfather's name.

[8] πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον. πέμψαντες τοίνυν τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τινὰς κελεύουσι τὸ παιδίον κομισθῆναι. οἱ δὲ εὐρόντες αὐτὸ ἄθυρον οἴκοι, ἀράμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, διὰ μέσου τοῦ πλήθους, δεικνύντες τοῖς ὄχλοις Γορδιανοῦ τε ἔγγονον λέγοντες καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ προσηγορίᾳ ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Καπετώλιον εὐφημούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου

[8] The two emperors ordered some of their men to bring the child to the Capitol. Finding the lad playing at home, they lifted him to their shoulders and brought him to the Capitol through the midst of the crowd. Showing the boy to the people and telling them that he was the son of Gordian, they called him "Gordian," while the mob cheered the boy and scattered leaves in his path.

[9] καὶ φυλλοβολούμενον. τῆς τε συγκλήτου Καίσαρα αὐτὸ ἀποδειξάσης, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν προίστασθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, τῆς τε ὀργῆς ὁ δῆμος ἐπαύσατο, ἠνέσχοντό τε προελθεῖν ἐς τὴν βασίλειον αὐλήν.

[9] The senate appointed him Caesar, since he was not old enough to be emperor. The mob, placated, allowed the imperial party to proceed to the palace.

SECTION 11

[1] συνέβη δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πταῖσμα ὀλέθριον τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει, ἀρχὴν καὶ πρόφασιν λαβὼν ἐξ εὐτόλμου θράσους δύο ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου. συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πάντες σκοπόμενοι

[1] AT THIS same time a fatal blunder was made in Rome, one which originated in the rashness of two senators. The people of Rome were in the habit of coming to the senate house to find out what the senate was doing.

[2] περὶ τῶν καθεστώτων· μαθόντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται οὓς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Μαξιμίνοσ καταλελοίπει (ἥδη γὰρ πρὸς ἄφεσιν τῆς στρατείας ὄντες καὶ δι' ἡλικίαν οἴκοι μεμενηκότες) ἦλθον μέχρι τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς συγκλήτου, βουλόμενοι τὸ πραττόμενον μαθεῖν, ὅπλων μὲν γυμνοί, ἐν λιταῖς δὲ ἐσθῆσι καὶ ἐφεστρίσιν, ἐστήκεσαν δὲ μετὰ

[2] When the praetorians whom Maximinus had left behind in the camp at Rome learned of this practice (they were discharged veterans who had remained at home because of their age), they came unarmed and in civilian dress to the door of the senate house to find out what was happening and stood there with the rest of the crowd.

[3] τοῦ λοιποῦ δήμου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἔμενον, δύο δὲ τινες ἢ τρεῖς περιεργότερον ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν βουλευομένων θελήσαντες ἐς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσῆλθον, ὥς τὸν ἰδρυμένον βωμὸν τῆς νίκης ὑπερβῆναι τούτους. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ὑπατείας μὲν νεωστί, Γαλλικανὸς ὄνομα, Καρχηδόνιος δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ ἕτερος στρατηγικὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα, Μαικήνας καλούμενος, οὐδέν τι προσδοκῶντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἔχοντας δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ὑποκαθειμένας ταῖς ἐφεστρίσι, παίουσι πληγαῖς κατακαρδίους,

[3] The other spectators remained outside, but two or three praetorians who were more curious than the rest, wishing to hear what was being planned, entered the council chamber, pushing past the base of the statue of Victory. Then a senator of the Carthaginian race named Gallicanus, who had recently been consul, and another senator named Maecenas, a man of praetorian rank, attacked the soldiers as they stood with their hands under their cloaks, and stabbed them to the heart with daggers hidden under their robes.

[4] ξίφεσιν οἷς ἐπεφέροντο ὑποκολπίοις· πάντες γὰρ διὰ τὴν οὖσαν στάσιν τε καὶ ταραχὴν, οἱ μὲν φανερῶς οἱ δὲ καὶ κρύβδην, ἐξιφηφόρουσαν, ἀμυντήρια δῆθεν φέροντες ἑαυτῶν διὰ τοὺς αἰφνιδίως ἐπιβουλευόντας ἐχθρούς. τότε δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται πληγέντες καὶ πῶς ἀπροσδοκῆτως προβαλεῖν οὐ δυνηθέντες πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ

[4] As a result of the recent revolt and disorder, all the senators were armed with daggers, openly or secretly, claiming that they were carrying them for protection against possible enemy plots. The praetorians who were struck down on this occasion, having no opportunity to defend themselves because the attack was wholly unexpected, lay dead at the base of the statue of Victory.

[5] ἔκειντο. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται τοῦτο θεασάμενοι, ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ πάθει τῶν συστρατιωτῶν, φοβηθέντες τοῦ δήμου τὸ πλῆθος ἄνευ τε ὅπλων ὄντες ἔφυγον. ὁ δὲ Γαλλικανὸς ἐκδραμὼν τῆς συγκλήτου ἐς τὸν δῆμον μέσον, δεικνύς τε τὸ ξίφος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἡμαγμένην, διεκελεύετο διώκειν καὶ φονεῦν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μὲν συγκλήτου καὶ Ῥωμαίων, φίλους δὲ καὶ συμμάχους Μαξιμίνου.

[5] When the other praetorians saw this, they were terrified by the fate of their comrades. Unarmed and fearing the size of the mob, they turned and fled. Gallicanus ran out of the senate house into the crowd, displaying the dagger in his bloody hand, and ordered the mob to pursue and kill the enemies of the senate and the Roman people, the friends and supporters of Maximinus.

[6] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ῥᾶστα πεισθεὶς τὸν μὲν Γαλλικανὸν εὐφήμεῖ, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὡς ἐδύναντο διώκοντες ἔβαλλον λίθοις. οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες, ὀλίγων τινῶν καὶ τρωθέντων, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καταφυγόντες καὶ τὰς πύλας κλείσαντες, ὅπλα τε ἀναλαμβάνοντες, ἐφρούρουν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὁ δὲ Γαλλικανὸς ἅπαξ τολμήσας ἔργον τηλικούτον, ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καὶ ὄλεθρον μέγαν ἤγειρε

[6] The mob, easily persuaded, cheered Gallicanus and set out after the praetorians, hurling stones. The soldiers, few in number and wounded as well, fled before their pursuers; running into the praetorian camp, they shut the gates, took up arms, and posted guards on the walls. Gallicanus, by his reckless crime, brought civil war and widespread destruction upon the city.

[7] τῇ πόλει. τὰς τε γὰρ δημοσίας ἀποθήκας τῶν ὅπλων, εἴ τινες ἦσαν πρὸς πομπὴν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχην ἐπιτήδευοι, ἀναρρήξαι τοὺς ὄχλους ἔπεισε, τό τε σῶμα ἕκαστον φράττεσθαι ὡς οἷός τε ἦν· τὰ τε τῶν μονομάχων καταγώγια ἀνοίξας ἐξήγαγε τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅπλοις ἕκαστον ἐξηρτυμένον. ὅσα τε ἦν «ἐν» οἰκίαις ἢ ἐργαστηρίοις

[7] He persuaded the people to break into the public arsenals, where armor used in parades rather than in battle was stored, each man to protect himself as best he could. He then threw open the gladiatorial schools and led out the gladiators armed with their regular weapons; finally, he collected all the spears, swords, and axes from the houses and shops.

[8] δόρατα ἢ ξίφη πελέκεις τε, πάντα διηρπάζετο. ὃ τε δῆμος ἐνθουσιῶν πᾶν τὸ ἐμπίπτον ὕλης ἀξιωμαχοῦ ἐργαλεῖον ὄπλον ἐποιεῖτο. ἄθροισθέντες οὖν ἐπῆλθον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ὡς πολιορκήσοντες αὐτὸ δῆθεν προσέβαλλον ταῖς τε πύλαις καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται μετὰ πολλῆς ἐμπειρίας ὤπλισμένοι .. τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, τόξοις τε αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες καὶ δόρασι μακροῖς ἀπείργοντες τοῦ τείχους ἀπεδίωκον.

[8] The people, as if possessed, seized any tools they could find, made of suitable material, and fashioned weapons. They assembled and went out to the praetorian camp, where they attacked the gates and walls as if they were actually organizing a siege. The praetorians, with their vast combat experience, protected themselves behind their shields and the battlements; wounding their attackers with arrows and long spears, they kept them from the walls and drove them back.

[9] ὥς δὲ καμὼν ὁ δῆμος οἱ τε μονομάχοι τιτρωσκόμενοι ἤδη καὶ ἐσπέρας προσιούσης ἐπανελθεῖν ἠθέλησαν, θεασάμενοι αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπεστραμμένους καὶ τὰ νῶτα δεδωκότας ἀπionτας τε ἀμελέστερον, οἰομένους μὴ τολμήσειν ἐπεξελθεῖν ὀλίγους πλήθει τοσοῦτω, ἀνοίξαντες αἰφνιδίως τὰς πύλας ἐπέδραμον τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς τε μονομάχους ἀπέκτειναν, τοῦ τε δήμου μέγα τι πληθος ἀπώλετο ὠθούμενον. οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτον διώξαντες ὅσον μὴ πολὺ τι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀποστῆναι, πάλιν ἐπανῆλθον ἐντός τε τοῦ τείχους ἔμενον.

[9] With evening approaching, the besiegers decided to retire, since the civilians were exhausted and most of the gladiators were wounded. The people retreated in disorder, thinking that the few praetorians would not dare to pursue so large a mob. But the praetorians now threw open the gates and gave chase. They slaughtered the gladiators, and the greater part of the mob also perished, crushed in the confusion. After following the mob for a short distance, the praetorians returned and remained inside the walls of the camp.

SECTION 12

[1] ἐντεῦθεν μείζων ἡ ὀργή τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐγένετο. στρατηγοὶ τε οὖν κατελέγοντο ἔκ τε πάσης Ἰταλίας λογάδες, ἥ τε νεολαία πᾶσα ἡθροίζετο, ὅπλοις τε αὐτοσχεδίοις καὶ τοῖς προστυχοῦσιν ὠπλίζετο. τούτων δὴ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον μέρος ὁ Μάξιμος σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπήγαγεν ὥς δὴ Μαξιμίνῳ πολεμήσων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἔμειναν, ὥς τὴν πόλιν φρουροῖεν τε καὶ προασπίζοιεν

[1] THIS debacle increased the fury of the mob and the senate. Generals were chosen and picked men were called up for service from all parts of Italy. The young men were assembled and armed with whatever weapons were at hand. Maximus led most of these soldiers out to attack Maximinus; the rest remained behind to guard and defend the city.

[2] αὐτῆς. ἐκάστοτε οὖν τῷ τείχει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐγίνοντο προσβολαί, ἔπραττον δὲ οὐδὲν προμαχομένων ἄνωθεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν· οἱ δὲ βαλλόμενοι καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι κακῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν. ὁ δὲ Βαλβίνος οἴκοι μένων διάταγμά τε προθεὶς ἰκέτευε τὸν δῆμον ἐς διαλλαγὰς χωρῆσαι, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ὑπισχεῖτο ἀμνησίαν,

[2] Daily attacks were launched against the walls of the praetorian camp, but these assaults accomplished nothing, as the soldiers put up a stout resistance from their higher position. Struck and wounded, the attackers suffered heavily in the fighting. Balbinus, who had remained in Rome, issued an edict in which he pleaded with the people to effect a truce and promised amnesty to the soldiers, offering them pardon for all their offenses.

[3] ἄνεσιν τε πάντων ἐδίδου ἀμαρτημάτων. ἀλλ' οὐδετέρους ἔπειθε, τὸ δὲ δεινὸν ἐκάστοτε ἠϋξετο, τοῦ μὲν τοσοῦτου δήμου ἀπαξιούντος ὑπ' ὀλίγων καταφρονηθῆναι, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀγανακτούντων ὅτι δὴ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὥς ὑπὸ βαρβάρων πάσχουσι.

τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, ἐπειδὴ τειχομαχοῦντες οὐδὲν ἔπραττον, ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐκκόψαι πάντας τοὺς εἰσρέοντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀγωγούς ὕδατος, σπάνει τε ποτοῦ

[3] But he failed in his efforts to persuade either side: so huge a mob thought it disgraceful to be defied by a mere handful of men, and the praetorians were enraged to be suffering these barbaric indignities at the hands of Romans. Finally, when the attacks on the walls made no progress, the generals decided that it would be good strategy to block off all the streams flowing into the praetorian camp and thus overcome the soldiers by cutting off their water supply.

[4] καὶ ἐνδεῖα ρεῖθρων αὐτοὺς παραστήσασθαι. προσπεσόντες οὖν πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἕτερα ρεῖθρα μετωχέτευον, ἐκκόπτοντες καὶ εἰσφράττοντες τὰς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰσόδους αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὀρῶντες τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι, τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπεξῆλθον· μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης καὶ φυγῆς τῶν δημοτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως

[4] They therefore stopped the flow of water into the camp and diverted it into other channels, damming up the beds of the streams which flowed under the walls. Recognizing the danger, the despairing praetorians opened the gate and rushed forth to the attack. A sharp skirmish resulted and, when the mob fled, the guards pursued and drove them into all parts of the city.

[5] διώκοντες οἱ στρατιῶται προύβησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ταῖς συσταδὸν μάχαις ἡττώμενοι, ἀναπηδῶντες ἐς τὰ δωμάτια τῷ τε κεράμφῳ βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ λίθων βολαῖς τῶν τε ἄλλων ὀστράκων ἐλυμαίνοντο, ἐπαναβῆναι μὲν αὐτοῖς δι' ἄγνοιαν τῶν οἰκήσεων οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν οἱ στρατιῶται, κεκλεισμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ταῖς θύραις, καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν ξύλων ἐξοχαί (πολλοὶ δὲ αὗται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν), πῦρ προσετίθεσαν.

[5] Bested in the hand-to-hand fighting, the people climbed to the housetops and rained down upon the praetorians tiles, stones, and clay pots. In this way they inflicted severe injuries upon the soldiers, who, being unfamiliar with the houses, did not dare to climb after them, and, of course, the doors of the shops and houses were barred. The soldiers did, however, set fire to houses that had wooden balconies (and there were many of this type in the city).

[6] ῥᾶστα δὲ διὰ πυκνότητα τῶν συνοικιῶν ξυλείας τε πληθὸς ἐπάλληλον μέγιστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πῦρ ἐνεμήθη, ὥς πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ πλουσίων ποιῆσαι πένητας, ἀποβαλόντας θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ κτήματα, ἔν τε προσόδοις πλουσίαις καὶ ἐν ποικίλῃ πολυτελείᾳ τίμια.

[6] Because a great number of houses were made chiefly of wood, the fire spread very rapidly and without a break throughout most of the city. Many men who lost their vast and magnificent properties, valuable for the large incomes they produced and for their expensive decorations, were reduced from wealth to poverty.

[7] πληθὸς τε ἀνθρώπων συγκατεφλέχθη, φυγεῖν μὴ δυνηθέντων διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐξόδους ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς προκατελιθῆναι. οὐσίαι τε ὅλαι πλουσίων ἀνδρῶν διηρπάγησαν, ἐγκαταμιζάντων ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς τὸ ἀρπάζειν κακούργων καὶ εὐτελῶν δημοτῶν. τοσοῦτον δὲ μέρος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πῦρ ἐλυμήνατο ὥς μηδεμίαν τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων ὀλόκληρον δύνασθαι τῷ μέρει

ἐξισωθῆναι.

[7] A great many people died in the fire, unable to escape because the exits had been blocked by the flames. All the property of the wealthy was looted when the criminal and worthless elements in the city joined with the soldiers in plundering. And the part of Rome destroyed by fire was greater in extent than the largest intact city in the empire.

[8] καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην τοιαῦτα ἦν, ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἀνύσας τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐπέστη τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄροις, θύσας τε ἐπὶ τῶν μεθορίων βωμῶν τῆς ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν εἰσβολῆς εἶχετο, ἐκέλευσέ τε πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐν ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ μετ' εὐταξίας προχωρεῖν.

[8] This was the situation at Rome. In the meantime, having completed his march, Maximinus was poised on the borders of Italy; after offering sacrifices at all the boundary altars, he advanced into Italy, ordering the troops to march under arms in battle formation.

[9] τὴν μὲν οὖν Λιβύης ἀπόστασιν καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον, τὰ τε Μαξιμίνῳ πραχθέντα καὶ τὴν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ ἐδηλώσαμεν· τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς λεχθήσεται.

[9] We have now described in detail the revolt in the province of Africa, the civil war in Rome, the actions of Maximinus, and his advance into Italy; the events which followed will be related in the succeeding book.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION 1

[1] Τὰ μὲν δὴ Μαξιμίνῳ πραχθέντα μετὰ τὴν Γορδιανοῦ τελευτὴν, ἥ τε εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξις αὐτοῦ, Λιβύης τε ἀπόστασις καὶ ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαφορὰ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων λέλεκται· ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἐπιστὰς τοῖς ὅροις προύπεμψε σκοποὺς τοὺς ἐρευνήσοντας μὴ τινες ἐνέδραι ἐν κοιλάσιν ὁρῶν ἢ λόχμαις

[1] MAXIMINUS' actions after the death of Gordian and his advance into Italy have been described in the preceding book, together with the revolt in Africa and the dissension which arose at Rome between the praetorians and the people. Halting at the borders, Maximinus sent scouts ahead to find out whether any soldiers lay in ambush in the valleys, thickets, or mountain forests.

[2] ὕλαις τε κρύφιοι εἶεν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταγαγὼν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸν στρατόν, τὰς μὲν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγας ἐς τετράγωνα ἔταξε σχήματα, ἐπιμήκεις μᾶλλον ἢ βαθείας, ὥς ἂν πλεῖστον τοῦ πεδίου διαλάβοιεν· τὰ δὲ σκευοφόρα πάντα κτήνῃ τε καὶ ὀχήματα ἐν μέσῳ τάξας, αὐτὸς

[2] Leading his army down into level country, Maximinus drew up the legions in a broad, shallow rectangle in order to occupy most of the plain; he placed all the heavy baggage, supplies, and wagons in the center of the formation and, taking command of the rear guard, followed with his troops.

[3] ἅμα τοῖς δορυφόροις ὀπισθοφυλακῶν εἵπετο. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ παρέθεον αἱ τε τῶν καταφράκτων ἰππέων ἱλαὶ καὶ Μαυρούσιοι ἀκοντισταὶ τοξόται τε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς. καὶ Γερμανῶν ἰππέων μέγα τι πλῆθος ἐπήγετο συμμάχους· ἐκείνους γὰρ μάλιστα προυβάλλετο, ἵν' ἐκδέχωνται τῶν πολεμίων τὰς πρώτας ἐμβολάς, θυμοειδεῖς ὄντες καὶ εὐτολμοὶ ἐν ἀρχομένη μάχῃ, εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ

[3] On each flank marched the squadrons of armed cavalry, the Moroccan javelin men, and the archers from the East. The emperor also brought along a large number of German auxiliaries; he assigned these to the van to bear the initial assaults of the enemy. These men are savage and bold in the opening phases of battle; and if any risk were involved, the barbarian Germans were readily expendable.

[4] κινδυνεύειν δέοι, εὐκαταφρόνητοι ὡς βάρβαροι. ὡς δὲ πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον διήλθεν ὁ στρατὸς μετ' εὐκοσμίας τε καὶ εὐταξίας, ἐπέστησαν πρώτη Ἰταλίας πόλει ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἡμᾶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· πρόκειται δὲ αὕτη ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ πεδίῳ ἰδρυμένη πρὸ τῆς ὑπωρείας τῶν Ἀλπεων. ἐνθα ὑπαντῶμενοι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ οἱ προφύλακες καὶ σκοποὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἡγγειλαν κενὴν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πανδημεῖ τε πεφευγέναι ἐμπρήσαντας τὰς θύρας ἱερῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, πάντα τε, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἃ μὲν ἐκφορήσαντας ἃ δὲ καταπρήσαντας, καὶ μήτε ὑποζυγίοις μήτε ἀνθρώποις καταλελειφθαι τροφάς.

[4] When the troops had crossed the plain in good order and strict discipline, they came to the first city in Italy, the one called Ema by the natives. Ema is situated on an elevated plateau at the foot of the Alps. From there advance guards and army scouts returned to report to Maximinus that the city was deserted. The inhabitants had fled in a body after setting fire to the doors of the temples and houses. As they had burned or carried off everything in the cities and fields, no food was left for men or animals.

[5] ὁ δὲ Μαξιμίῃνος ἥσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν εὐθὺς φυγῇ, ἐλπίζων πάντας τοὺς δήμους τοῦτο ποιήσκειν οὐχ ὑπομένοντας τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθετο εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ λιμοῦ πειρώμενος. διανυκτερεύσαντες οὖν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐν ἀθύροις καὶ κεναῖς πάντων οἰκίαις, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἠπειγόντο, ἅπερ ὄρη ὑπερμήκη ὥσπερ τεῖχος Ἰταλίας ἡ φύσις ἡγειρεν, ὑπερνεφεῇ μὲν τὸ ὕψος, ἐπιμηκέστατα δέ, ὡς πᾶσαν Ἰταλίαν διειληφότα καθήκειν ἐν μὲν τοῖς δεξιοῖς Ἰταλίας μέρεσιν ἐς τὸ Τυρρηναῖον πέλαγος,

[5] Maximinus was gratified by the immediate flight of these Italians, and now anticipated that all the people of Italy would flee at his approach. But the army was by no means pleased to find itself suffering from famine at the very outset. Therefore, after spending the night at Ema, some in the city in houses already stripped of doors and everything else, others in the fields around the city, at sunrise they pressed on to the Alps. The Alps are very tall mountains which nature has erected as a defensive wall for Italy; rising high above the clouds, they extend a great distance and encompass Italy from the Tyrrhenian Sea on the west to the Ionian Sea on the east.

[6] ἐν δὲ τοῖς λαιοῖς ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον. σκέπεται δὲ ὕλαις δασεῖαις καὶ

πυκναῖς, τὰς δὲ διεξόδους ἐστένωται ἢ διὰ κρημνοὺς ἐς βάθος μέγιστον ἀπερρωγότας ἢ διὰ πετρῶν τραχύτητα· στενωποὶ γάρ εἰσι χειροποίητοι, μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου τοῖς πάλαι Ἰταλιώταις εἰργασμένοι. μετὰ δέους οὖν πολλοῦ διήει ὁ στρατός, ἐλπίζοντες τὰς τε ἄκρας κατειληφθαι πεφράχθαι τε τὰς διόδους ἐς κωλύμην τῆς αὐτῶν διαβάσεως. ἤλπιζον δὲ καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν εἰκότα, τῶν χωρίων τεκμαιρόμενοι τὴν

[6] The mountains are covered with limitless dense forests, and the passes are narrow because of the towering cliffs or rough, broken rocks. These narrow passes are man-made, fashioned with much labor by the ancient Italians. The army advanced through these gaps with great anxiety, expecting the heights to be occupied and the paths blocked against their passage. Judging by the nature of the region, they were justified in their apprehensions.

SECTION 2

[1] φύσιν. ὥς δὲ διέβησαν ἀκωλύτως μηδενὸς ἐμποδὼν γενομένου, καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἥδη ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν· ῥᾷστά τε αὐτῷ πάντα προχωρήσειν ὁ Μαξιμίνος ἤλπισεν Ἰταλῶν μηδὲ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τεθαρρηκότων, ἔνθα ἢ κρύπτειν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ σῶζειν ἠδύναντο ἢ δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, μάχεσθαι τε ἄνωθεν

[1] WHEN no opposition was offered, they crossed the Alps without hindrance; coming down to level country, they grew bolder and sang songs of thanksgiving. As the Italians had not taken advantage of the rough terrain to hide and protect themselves, Maximinus expected everything to turn out successfully for him without the slightest difficulty. The Italians had not launched treacherous attacks from ambush or fought from the heights, taking advantage of the superior position.

[2] ἐξ ὑπερκειμένων χωρίων. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, οἱ σκοποὶ ἀπήγγειλαν πόλιν Ἰταλίας τὴν μεγίστην, Ἀκυληίαν δὲ καλουμένην, κεκλειῆσθαι, τὰς δὲ προπεμφθείσας φάλαγγας τῶν Παιόνων προθύμως μὲν τειχομαχῆσαι, πολλάκις δὲ προσβαλοῦσας ἀνύειν οὐδέν, ἀπαγορεύειν δὲ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν βαλλομένους λίθοις τε καὶ δόρασι τόξων τε πλήθει. ὁ δὲ Μαξιμίνος ἀγανακτήσας πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Παιόνων ὥς ἀμελέστερον μαχομένους, αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἠπείγετο, ἐλπίζων ῥᾷστα αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν.

[2] While the army was in the plain, the scouts reported that Aquileia, the largest city in that part of Italy, had closed its gates and that the Pannonian legions which had been sent ahead had launched a vigorous attack upon the walls of this city. In spite of frequent assaults, they were completely unsuccessful. Finally, showered with stones, spears, and a rain of arrows, the Pannonians gave up and withdrew. Enraged at the Pannonian generals for fighting too feebly, Maximinus hurried to the city with his army, expecting to capture it with no difficulty.

[3] ἡ δὲ Ἀκυληία καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἅτε μέγιστη πόλις, ἰδίου δήμου πολυάνθρωπος ἦν, καὶ ὥσπερ τι ἐμπόριον Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ προκειμένη καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν ἐθνῶν πάντων ἰδρυμένη τὰ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν κατακομιζόμενα παρεῖχεν ἐμπορεύεσθαι τοῖς πλέουσι, τὰ τε ἀπὸ

θαλάττης τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀναγκαῖα, ὧν ἡ παρ' ἐκείνοις χώρα διὰ χειμῶνας οὐκ ἦν εὐφορος, ἀνέπεμπεν ἐς τὴν ἄνω γῆν· πρὸς οἶνόν τε μάλιστα πολύγονον χώραν γεωργοῦντες ἀφθονίαν ποτοῦ παρεῖχον

[3] Before these events occurred, Aquileia was already a huge city, with a large permanent population. Situated on the sea and with all the provinces of Illyricum behind it, Aquileia served as a port of entry for Italy. The city thus made it possible for goods transported from the interior by land or by the rivers to be traded to the merchant mariners and also for the necessities brought by sea to the mainland, goods not produced there because of the cold climate, to be sent to the upland areas. Since the inland people farm a region that produces much wine, they export this in quantity to those who do not cultivate grapes.

[4] τοῖς ἄμπελον μὴ γεωργοῦσιν. ἔνθεν πολὺ τι πλῆθος ἐπεδήμει οὐ πολιτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ ξένων τε καὶ ἐμπόρων. τότε δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπολυπλασιάσθη τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν ὄχλων πάντων ἐξ ἀγρῶν ἐκεῖσε συρρυσθέντων, πολίχνας τε καὶ κόμας τὰς περικειμένας καταλιπόντων, πιστευσάντων δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῷ προβεβλημένῳ τείχει, ὃ παλαιότατον <ὄν> ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους πρότερον μὲν κατερήριπτο, ἅτε μετὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μηκέτι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἢ τειχῶν ἢ ὅπλων δεηθεῖσάντων, μετελιφνουμένων δὲ ἀντὶ πολέμων εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν καὶ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολιτείας κοινωνίαν·

[4] A huge number of people lived permanently in Aquileia, not only the native residents but also foreigners and merchants. At this time the city was even more crowded than usual; all the people from the surrounding area had left the small towns and villages and sought refuge there. They put their hope of safety in the city's great size and its defensive wall; this ancient wall, however, had for the most part collapsed. Under Roman rule the cities of Italy no longer had need of walls or arms; they had substituted permanent peace for war and had also gained a participating share in the Roman government.

[5] πλὴν τότε ἡ χρεια ἥπειξε τὸ τεῖχος ἀνανεώσασθαι τὰ τ' ἐρείπια ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, πύργους τε καὶ ἐπάλξεις ἐγεῖραι. τάχιστα οὖν φράξαντες τῷ τείχει τὴν πόλιν, τὰς τε πύλας κλείσαντες, πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἰδρυμένοι τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἀπεμάχοντο. ἐστρατήγουν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα εἶχον διὰ φροντίδος ἄνδρες δύο, ἀπὸ ὑπατείας μὲν,

ἐπιλεχθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου· ὧν ὁ μὲν Κρισπῖνος ὁ δὲ Μηνίφιλος ἐκαλεῖτο.

[5] Now, however, necessity forced the Aquileians to repair the wall, rebuild the fallen sections, and erect towers and battlements. After fortifying the city with a rampart as quickly as possible, they closed the gates and remained together on the wall day and night, beating off their assailants. Two senators named Crispinus and Menipphilus, former consuls, were appointed generals.

[6] καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προνοίας τά τε ἐπιτήδεια πάμπλειστα εἰσεκομίσαντο, ὥς ἐκτένειαν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ἐπιμηκεστέρα γένοιτο πολιορκία. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ἀφθονία φρεατιαίου· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ ὀρύγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει· ποταμός τε παραρρεῖ τὸ τεῖχος, ὁμοῦ παρέχων τε προβολὴν τάφρου καὶ χορηγίαν ὕδατος.

[6] These two had seen to everything with careful attention. With great foresight they had brought into the city supplies of every kind in quantities sufficient to enable it to withstand a long siege. An ample supply of water was available from the many wells in the city, and, a river flowing at the foot of the city wall provided both a defensive moat and an abundance of water.

SECTION 3

[1] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πόλει οὕτω παρεσκευάστο· τῷ δὲ Μαξιμίνῳ ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγγέλη φρουρουμένη καὶ κεκλεισμένη γενναίως ἡ πόλις, ἔδοξε πέμψαι ἐν σχήματι πρεσβείας τοὺς κάτωθεν διαλεξιμένους, εἰ ἄρα πείσαιεν αὐτοὺς ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ χιλιάρχος ὃ πατρίς μὲν ἡ Ἀκυλῖα ἦν, τέκνα τε καὶ γυνὴ οἰκεῖοί τε

[1] THESE are the preparations which had been made in the city. When it was reported to Maximinus that Aquileia was well defended and tightly shut, he thought it wise to send envoys to discuss the situation with the townspeople from the foot of the wall and try to persuade them to open the gates. There was in the besieging army a tribune who was a native of Aquileia, and whose wife, children, and relatives were inside the city.

[2] πάντες ἔνδον ἀποκέκλειντο. τοῦτον οὖν ἔπεμψε σὺν ἑτέροις ἑκατοντάρχαις, ἐλπίσας ῥᾶστα πείσειν ὥς πολίτην. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι ἄρα κελεύει Μαξιμῖνος ὁ κοινὸς βασιλεὺς ὅπλα μὲν αὐτοὺς καταθέσθαι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, φίλον δὲ ἀντὶ πολεμίου δέχεσθαι, σπονδαῖς δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ θυσίαις σχολάζειν ἢ φόνοις, μηδὲ περιορᾶν πατρίδα μέλλουσαν ἄρδην καὶ ἐκ θεμελίων ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἐνὸν αὐτοῖς τε σώζεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σώζειν, διδόντος αὐτοῖς χρηστοῦ βασιλέως ἀμνηστίαν συγγνώμην τε τῶν ἁμαρτηθέντων· οὐ γὰρ

[2] Maximinus sent this man to the wall accompanied by several centurions, expecting their fellow citizen to win them over easily. The envoys told the Aquileians that Maximinus, their mutual emperor, ordered them to lay down their arms in peace, to receive him as a friend, not as an enemy, and to turn from killing to libations and sacrifices. Their emperor directed them not to overlook the fact that their native city was in danger of being razed to its very foundations, whereas it was in their power to save themselves and to preserve their city when their merciful emperor pardoned them for their offenses. Others, not they, were the guilty ones.

[3] αὐτοὺς αἰτίους γεγενῆσθαι ἄλλ' ἄλλους. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις τοιαῦτά τινα κάτω παρεστῶτες ἐβόων, ὥς ἐξάκουστα εἶη· ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος δῆμος τῷ τείχει καὶ τοῖς πύργοις ἐφεστῶς, πλὴν τῶν τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη φρουρούντων,

[3] The envoys shouted their message from the foot of the wall so that those above might understand it. Most of the city's population was on the walls and in the towers; only those standing guard at other posts were absent. They all listened quietly to what the envoys were saying.

[4] ἐπήκουεν ἡσυχάζων τῶν λεγομένων. ὁ δὲ Κρισπῖνος φοβηθεὶς μή πως ἄτε ὄχλος ταῖς ὑπνοσχέσεσιν ἀναπαισθελὶς, εἰρήνην τε ἀντὶ πολέμου ἐλόμενος, ἀνοίξῃ τὰς πύλας, περιθέων τὸ τεῖχος ἐδεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει μένειν τε θαρραλέως καὶ ἀντέχειν γενναίως, μηδὲ προδιδόναι τὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ Ῥωμαίων δῆμον πίστιν, σωτῆρας δὲ καὶ προμάχους Ἰταλίας πάσης ἀναγραφῆναι, μὴ πιστεύειν δὲ ὑποσχέσεσι τυράννου ἐπιόρκου τε καὶ ἀπατεῶνος, μηδὲ χρηστοῖς λόγοις δελεασθέντας ὀλέθρῳ προύπτῳ παραδοθῆναι, ἐνὸν πιστεῦσαι πολέμου ἀμφιβόλῳ

[4] Fearing that the people, convinced by these lying promises, might choose peace instead of war and throw open the gates, Crispinus ran along the parapet, pleading with the Aquileians to hold out bravely and offer stout resistance; he begged them not to break faith with the senate and the Roman people, but to win a place in history as the saviors and defenders of all Italy. He warned them not to trust the promises of a tyrant, a liar, and a hypocrite, and not to surrender to certain destruction, lulled by soft words, when they could put their trust in the always unpredictable outcome of war.

[5] τύχη· πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγοι πλείονων περιεγένοντο, καὶ δοκοῦντες ἀσθενέστεροι καθεῖλον τοὺς ἐν ὑπολήψει ἀνδρείας μείζονος· μηδ' ἐκπλήττεσθαι τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μαχόμενοι καὶ τῆς παρ' ἐτέρῳ ἐσομένης εὐδαιμονίας, εἴπερ γένοιτο, μετριάζουσιν ἐν τῷ προθύμῳ τῆς μάχης, εἰδότες ὡς τῶν μὲν κινδύνων αὐτοὶ μετέξουσιν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα

[5] Often, he continued, few have prevailed over many and those who appeared to be weaker have overcome those assumed to be stronger. Nor should they be frightened by the size of the besieging army. "Those who fight on another's behalf," he said, "well aware that the benefits, if any should result, will be not theirs but his, are less eager to do battle, knowing that while they share the risks, another will reap the greatest prizes of the victory.

[6] καὶ κορυφαῖα τῆς νίκης ἄλλος καρπώσεται· τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος

μαχομένοις καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίδες κρείττους, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὰ ἄλλων λαβεῖν ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτῶν σῶζειν εὐχονται. τό τε ἐς τὰς μάχας πρόθυμον οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου κελεύσεως ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκείας ἀνάγκης ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς νίκης πᾶς ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῖς περιγίνεται.

[6] But those who fight for their native land can look for greater favor from the gods because they do not pray for help in seizing the property of others, but ask only to be allowed to retain in safety what is already theirs. They show an enthusiasm for battle which results not from the orders of another but from their own inner compulsion, since all the fruits of victory belong to them and them alone.”

[7] τοιαῦτά τινα λέγων ὁ Κρισπῖνος καὶ πρὸς ἐκάστους καὶ κοινῇ, φύσει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως αἰδέσιμος ὢν, ἔν τε τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ εὐπρόσφορος ἐν λόγοις, ἐπιεικῶς τε αὐτῶν προεστῶς, ἔπεισε μένειν ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις, τοὺς τε πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ τῇ ἐνστάσει τοῦ πολέμου. ἔμμεμενηκέναι πολλῶν ἔνδον ὄντων περὶ θυτικὴν τε καὶ ἥπατοσκοπίαν ἐμπίρων, τὰ τε ἱερὰ αἴσια ἀπαγγελλόντων· μάλιστα γὰρ τῇ

[7] By saying such things as these, Crispinus, who was venerable by nature and highly skilled in speaking Latin, and had governed the Aquileians moderately, succeeded in persuading them to remain at their assigned posts; he ordered the envoys to return unsuccessful to Maximinus. He is said to have persevered in his prosecution of the war because the many men in the city who were skilled at auguries and the taking of auspices reported that the omens favored the townspeople. The Italians place particular reliance upon the taking of auguries.

[8] σκέψει ταύτη πιστεύουσιν Ἰταλιῶται. καὶ χρησμοὶ δέ τινες <δι>εδίδοντο ὡς δὴ τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ νίκην ὑπισχνουμένων· Βέλεν δὲ καλοῦσι τοῦτον, σέβουσὶ τε ὑπερφῶς, Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι ἐθέλοντες. οὗ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἔλεγον τινες τῶν Μαξιμίνου στρατιωτῶν φανῆναι πολλάκις

[8] Oracles, too, revealed to them that their native god promised them victory. They call this god Belis, and worship him with special devotion, identifying him with Apollo, whose image, some of Maximinus’ soldiers said, often appeared in the sky over the city, fighting for the Aquileians.

[9] ἐν ἀέρι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μαχομένην. ὅπερ εἴτε ἀληθῶς ἐφαντάσθη τισίν, ἢ καὶ βουλομένοις μὴ ἀσχημονεῖν τοσοῦτον στρατὸν πρὸς ὄχλον δημοτῶν πολὺ ἐλάττονα μὴ ἀντισχόντα, δοκεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων νενικῆσθαι, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω· τὸ δὲ παράδοξον τῆς ἀποβάσεως ποιεῖ πάντα πιστεῦσαι.

[9] Whether the god actually appeared to some of the besiegers, or whether they simply said that he did because they were ashamed that so large an army was unable to overcome a mob of civilians, and it would thus seem that they had been beaten by gods, not by men, I am unable to say, but the strangeness of the whole affair makes everything about it credible.

SECTION 4

[1] πλὴν τῶν πρέσβων ἀπράκτων πρὸς Μαξιμίῳ ἐπανελθόντων, ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ χρώμενος πλείονι μᾶλλον ἡπείγετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο πρὸς τινι ποταμῷ μεγίστῳ, ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως σημεῖα ἑκατάδεκα, τὸ ρεῖθρον εὖρε

[1] WHEN the envoys returned unsuccessful, Maximinus, in a towering rage, pressed on toward the city with increased speed. But when he came to a large river sixteen miles from Aquileia, he found it flowing very wide and very deep.

[2] διὰ τε μεγίστου βάθους καὶ πλάτους φερόμενον· τῶν γὰρ ὑπερκειμένων ὀρῶν τὰς δι' ὅλου τοῦ χειμῶνος παγείσας χιόνας λύουσα ἢ τοῦ ἔτους ὥρα παμμεγέθη τὸν χειμάρρουν εἰργάζετο. ἄπορος οὖν ἦν ἡ διάβασις τῷ στρατῷ· τὴν γὰρ γέφυραν, ἔργον μέγα καὶ κάλλιστον ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων γεγενημένον ἐκ τετραπέδων λίθων, στύλῳ κατ' ὀλίγον αὐξανομέναις ὑπειλημμένον, διηρήκεσαν καὶ καταλελύκεσαν οἱ Ἀκυλῆσιοι. οὔτε οὖν γεφύρας οὔσης οὔτε νεῶν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν ἀφασίᾳ καθειστήκει.

[2] The warmth at that season of the year had melted the mountain snow that had been frozen all winter, and a vast, snow-swollen flood had resulted. It was impossible for Maximinus' army to cross this river because the Aquileians had destroyed the bridge, a huge structure of imposing proportions built, by earlier emperors, of squared stones and supported on tapering piers. Since neither bridges nor boats were available, the army halted in confusion.

[3] Γερμανοὶ δὲ τινες οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ποταμῶν τὰ σφοδρὰ καὶ καταρρηγνύμενα ρεύματα, οἰόμενοι δὲ σχολαίτερα ἐπινήχεσθαι τοῖς πεδίοις ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς (διὸ καὶ πηγνύται ῥαδίως, μὴ σφοδρῶς κινουμένου τοῦ ρέυματος), ἐπεισπληθήσαντες ἅμα τοῖς ἵπποις διανήχεσθαι εἰθισμένοις, παρενεχθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

[3] Some of the Germans, unfamiliar with the swift, violent rivers of Italy and thinking that these flowed down to the plains as lazily as their own streams (it is the slow current of the German rivers which causes them to freeze over), entered the river with their horses, which are trained to swim, and were carried away and drowned.

δύο μὲν οὖν ἡ τριῶν ἡμερῶν σκηνοποισάμενος ὁ Μαξιμίνοις, τάφρου τῷ στρατῷ περιβληθείσης μὴ τινες ἐπέλθοιεν, ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὄχθῃ, σκεψόμενος ὅπως τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρώσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ξύλων ἦν ἀπορία καὶ νεῶν, ὡς ἔδει ζευχθείσας γεφυρώσαι τὸ ρεῖθρον, ὑπέβαλόν τινες τῶν τεχνιτῶν πολλὰ εἶναι κενὰ οἰνοφόρα σκευὴ περιφεροῦς ξύλου ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις ἀγροῖς, οἷς ἐχρῶντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐς ὑπηρεσίαν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς παραπέμπειν τὸν οἶνον ἀσφαλῶς τοῖς δεομένοις· ἅπερ ὄντα κοῖλα δίκην νεῶν, ἀλλήλοις συνδεθέντα ἐπινηξέσθαι μὲν ἔμελλεν ὥσπερ σκάφη, μὴ παρενεχθήσεσθαι δὲ διὰ τε τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ ἐπάλληλον, φρυγάνων τε ἄνωθεν ἐπιβληθέντων, τοῦ τε τῆς γῆς μετρίως ἐς αὐτὰ σωρευθέντος χειρὶ πολλῇ καὶ σπουδῇ.

[4] After a ditch had been dug around the camp to prevent attacks, Maximinus halted for two or three days beside the river, considering how it might be bridged. Timber was scarce, and there were no boats which could be fastened together to span the river. Some of his engineers, however, called attention to the many empty wooden kegs scattered about the deserted fields, the barrels which the natives use to ship wine safely to those forced to import it. The kegs are hollow, like boats; when fastened together and anchored to the shore by cables, they float like pontoons, and the current cannot carry them off. Planks are laid on top of these pontoons, and with great skill and speed a bank of earth is piled up evenly on the platform thus fashioned.

[5] ἐφεστῶτος οὖν αὐτοῦ διαβάς ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει. τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομήματα τῶν προαστείων ἔρημα εὕρισκον, ἀμπέλους μέντοι καὶ δένδρα πάντα ἐξέκοπτον, ἃ δὲ ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τὴν πρότερον τοῖς χωρίοις ὑπάρχουσαν ὥραν κατήσχυον. δένδρων γὰρ στοίχοις ἴσοις ἀμπέλων τε πρὸς ἀλλήλας δέσει πανταχόθεν ἡρτημένων ἐν ἐορτῇ στήματι, στεφάνῳ ἂν τις τὴν χώραν κεκοσμηθῇ ἐτεκμήρατο· ἅπερ πάντα ριζόθεν ἐκκόψας

[5] After the bridge had been completed, the army crossed over and marched to Aquileia, where they found the buildings on the outskirts deserted. The soldiers cut down all the trees and grapevines and burned them, and destroyed the crops which had already begun to appear in those regions. Since the trees were planted in even rows and the interwoven vines linked them together everywhere, the countryside had a festive air; one might even say that it wore a garland of green. All these trees and vines Maximinus' soldiers cut down to the very roots before they hurried up to the walls of Aquileia.

[6] ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη ἡπείγετο. κεκμηκότι δὲ αὐτῷ προσβαλεῖν εὐθέως οὐκ ἔδοξε· μέιναντες δὲ ἔξω τοξεύματος καὶ διαιρεθέντες κατὰ λόχους καὶ φάλαγγας περὶ πᾶν τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἐκάστοις κατὰ μέρος προστέτακτο, μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀναπαυσάμενοι, τοῦ λοιποῦ εἶχοντο τῆς πολιορκίας.

μηχανὰς τε οὖν παντοίας προσέφερον, καὶ τειχομαχοῦντες παντὶ σθένει οὐδὲν παρέλειπον εἶδος πολιορκίας.

[6] The army was exhausted, however, and it seemed wiser not to launch an immediate attack. The soldiers therefore remained out of range of the arrows and took up stations around the entire circuit of the wall by cohorts and legions, each unit investing the section it was ordered to hold. After a single day's rest, the soldiers kept the city under continuous siege for the remaining time.

They brought up every type of siege machinery and attacked the wall with all the power they could muster, leaving untried nothing of the art of siege warfare.

[7] πολλῶν δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας γινομένων προσβολῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ὥσπερ σαγηνεύσαντος τὴν πόλιν, μετὰ πολλῆς βίας καὶ προθύμου μάχης τειχομαχοῦντες ἀντεῖχον οἱ Ἀκυλήσιοι, νεῶς μὲν καὶ οἰκίας ἀποκλείσαντες, πανδημεὶ δὲ ἅμα παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἄνωθεν ἐξ' ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων ἀπομαχόμενοι. οὐδὲ τις οὕτως ἦν ἄχρηστος ἡλικία ὥς μὴ μετέχειν τῆς

[7] They launched numerous assaults virtually every day, and the entire army held the city encircled as if in a net, but the Aquileians fought back determinedly, showing real enthusiasm for war. They had closed their houses and temples and were fighting in a body, together with the women and children, from their advantageous position on the parapet and in the towers. In this way they held off their attackers, and no one was too young or too old to take part in the battle to preserve his native city.

[8] ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος μάχης. τὰ μὲν γὰρ προάστεια, καὶ εἴ τι τῶν πυλῶν ἔξωθεν ἦν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου στρατοῦ κατέστραπτο, τῇ τε ξυλείᾳ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐς τὰς μηχανὰς κατεκέχρηντο. ἐβιάζοντο δὲ τοῦ τείχους κἂν μέρος τι καθελεῖν, ἵν' ἐπεισελθὼν ὁ στρατὸς πάντα τε διαρπάσῃ καὶ

κατασκάψας τὴν πόλιν μηλόβοτον καὶ ἔρημον τὴν χώραν καταλίπη· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ὁδὸν εὐπρεπῇ καὶ ἔνδοξον ἔσεσθαι, μὴ τῆς πρώτης ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεως ἀντιστάσης καθαιρεθείσης.

[8] All the buildings in the suburbs and outside the city gates were demolished by Maximinus' men, and the wood from the houses was used to build the siege engines. The soldiers made every effort to destroy a part of the wall, so that the army might break in, seize everything, and, after leveling the city, leave the area a deserted pasture land. The journey to Rome would not be fittingly glorious if Maximinus failed to capture the first city in Italy to oppose him.

[9] ὑποσχέσεσί τε οὖν δωρεῶν καὶ δεήσεσιν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃν πεποιῇκει Καίσαρα, περιθέοντες ἵπποις ἐποχούμενοι, τὸν στρατὸν ἀνέπειθον λιπαροῦντες ἐς προθυμίαν τε ἐγείροντες. οἱ δὲ Ἀκυλῆσιοι λίθοις τε ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν, καὶ κινῶντες θείῳ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πίσσαν ἔλαιόν τε, κοίλοις σκεύεσιν ἐμβαλόντες λαβὰς ἐπιμήκεις ἔχουσι καὶ πυρώσαντες, ἅμα τῷ προσπελάζειν τοῖς τείχεσι τὸν στρατὸν κατεσκεδάννυσαν, καταχέοντες

[9] By pleading and promising gifts, Maximinus and his son, whom he had appointed his Caesar, spurred the army to action; they rode about on horseback, encouraging the soldiers to fight with resolution. The Aquileians hurled down stones on the besiegers; combining pitch and olive oil with asphalt and brimstone, they ignited this mixture and poured it over their attackers from hollow vessels fitted with long handles. Bringing the flaming liquid to the walls, they scattered it over the soldiers like a heavy downpour of rain.

[10] ὄμβρου δίκην ὁμοθυμαδόν. φερομένη δὲ ἡ πίσσα σὺν οἷς προείρηται, δυομένη τε διὰ τῶν γεγυμνωμένων μερῶν τοῦ σώματος, ἐς πᾶν ἔχεϊτο, ὥστε τοὺς θώρακας αὐτοὺς πεπυρωμένους ἀπορρίπτειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅπλα, ὧν ὁ σίδηρος ἐθερμαίνετο, τὰ τε ἐκ βυρσῶν τε καὶ ξύλων ἐφλέγετο καὶ συνείλκετο. ἦν γοῦν ἰδεῖν γεγυμνωμένους τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ σκύλων ὄψιν ὅπλα παρῆχεν ἐρριμμένα, σοφία τέχνης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνδρεία μάχης περιηρημένα. ἔκ τε τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἀμπλειστον πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ τάς τε ὄψεις ἐπηρεοῦντο καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἠκρωτηριάζετο, τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εἴ τι γυμνὸν ἦν τοῦ σώματος. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς προσαγομέναις δᾶδας

ἐπέβαλλον ὁμοίως πίσση καὶ ῥητίνη δεδευμένας ἐπὶ τε τῷ ἄκρῳ βελῶν ἀκίδας ἐχούσας· αἱ ἀναφθεῖσαι φερόμεναι, ἐμπαγεῖσαι ταῖς μηχαναῖς καὶ προσπεφυκυῖαι ῥαδίως αὐτὰς κατέφλεγον.

[10] Carried along with the other ingredients, the pitch oozed onto the unprotected parts of the soldiers' bodies and spread everywhere. Then the soldiers ripped off their blazing corselets and the rest of their armor too, for the iron grew red hot, and the leather and wooden parts caught fire and burned. As a result, soldiers were seen everywhere stripping themselves, and the discarded armor appeared like the spoils of war, but these were taken by cunning and treachery, not by courage on the field of battle. In this tragedy, most of the soldiers suffered scarred and disfigured faces and lost eyes and hands, while every unprotected part of the body was severely injured. The Aquileians hurled down torches on the siege engines which had been dragged up to the walls. These torches, sharpened at the end like a javelin, were soaked in pitch and resin and then ignited; the firebrands, still blazing, stuck fast in the machines, which easily caught fire and were consumed by the flames.

SECTION 5

[1] τῶν μὲν οὖν πρώτων ἡμερῶν ἀντίπαλός πως καὶ ἰσόρροπος ἔμενεν ἡ τύχη τῆς μάχης· χρόνου δὲ ἐγγενομένου ὃ τε στρατὸς τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ὀκνηρὸς ἐγίνετο, καὶ παταίων τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀθύμως διέκειτο· οὓς γὰρ ἠλπίκεσαν μηδεμίαν ὑπομενεῖν προσβολήν, τούτους εὗρισκον οὐκ

[1] DURING the opening days, then, the fortunes of war were almost equal. As time passed, however, the army of Maximinus grew depressed and, cheated in its expectations, fell into despair when the soldiers found that those whom they had not expected to hold out against a single assault were not only offering stout resistance but were even beating them back.

[2] ἀντέχοντας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθεστῶτας. οἱ δὲ Ἀκυλήσιοι ἐπερρώννυντό τε καὶ προθυμίας πάσης ἐνεπίμπλαντο, τῇ τε συνεχείᾳ τῆς μάχης πεῖραν καὶ θάρσος ὁμοῦ προσλαμβάνοντες κατεφρόνουν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥς καὶ ἀποσκώπτειν ἐς αὐτούς, ἐνυβρίζειν τε τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ περινοστοῦντι, ἕς τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπορρίπτειν δυσφήμους καὶ αἰσχρὰς βλασφημίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκεῖνος κενούμενος

[2] The Aquileians, on the other hand, were greatly encouraged and highly enthusiastic, and, as the battle continued, their skill and daring increased. Contemptuous of the soldiers now, they hurled taunts at them. As Maximinus rode about, they shouted insults and indecent blasphemies at him and his son. The emperor became increasingly angry because he was powerless to retaliate.

[3] ὀργῆς μᾶλλον ἐνεπίμπλατο. χρῆσθαι δὲ κατὰ τῶν πολέμιων οὐ δυνάμενος, ἐκόλαζε τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἡγουμένων τῶν ἰδίων στρατιωτῶν ὥς ἀνάνδρους καὶ ῥαθύμως προσφερομένους τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ περιεγένετο πρὸς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων μῖσός τε καὶ ὀργή, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων πλείων ἡ καταφρόνησις.

συνέβαινε δὲ τοῖς Ἀκυλησίοις πάντα ὑπάρχειν ἔκπλεα καὶ ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν, ἐκ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν πάντων σεσωρευμένων ὅσα ἦν ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήνεσιν ἐς τροφὰς καὶ ποτὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς πάντων <ἦν> ἐν σπάνει, τῶν τε καρποφόρων δένδρων

[3] Unable to vent his wrath upon the enemy, he was enraged at most of his

troop commanders because they were pressing the siege in cowardly and halfhearted fashion. Consequently, the hatred of his supporters increased, and his enemies grew more contemptuous of him each day.

As it happened, the Aquileians had everything they needed in abundant quantities. With great foresight they had stored in the city all the food and drink required for men and animals. The soldiers of the emperor, by contrast, lacked every necessity, since they had cut down the fruit trees and devastated the countryside.

[4] ἐκκεκομμένων καὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδηωμένης. μένοντες δὲ ὑπὸ σκηναῖς αὐτοσχεδίοις, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ὑπὸ γυμνῷ τῷ ἀέρι, ὄμβρων τε καὶ ἡλίου ἠνείχοντο, λιμῷ τε διεφθείροντο, μηδὲ ἐπεισάκτου τροφῆς αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ὑποζυγίοις εἰσκομιζομένης. πανταχόθεν γὰρ τὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὺς παραφράξαντες ἦσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τειχίων

[4] Some of the soldiers had built temporary huts, but the majority were living in the open air, exposed to sun and rain. And now many died of starvation; no food was brought in from the outside, as the Romans had blocked all the roads of Italy by erecting walls provided with narrow gates.

[5] τε ἐγέρσεσι καὶ पुलίδων ἀσκήσεσιν. ἄνδρας τε ὑπατευκότας ἐξέπεμψεν ἢ σύγκλητος σὺν ἐπιλέτοις καὶ λογάσιν ἀπ' Ἰταλίας πάσης ἀνδράσιν, ἵν' αἰγιαλοὶ τε πάντες καὶ λιμένες φρουρῶνται καὶ μηδενὶ ἔκπλους συγχωρῆται, ὥς ἄπυστα καὶ ἄγνωστα εἶναι Μαξιμίνῳ τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πραττόμενα· αἱ τε λεωφόροι ὁδοὶ καὶ ἀτραποὶ πᾶσαι ἐφυλάττοντο ὥς μηδένα διαβαίνειν. συνέβαινε δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δοκοῦντα πολιορκεῖν αὐτὸν πολιορκεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ μήτε τὴν Ἀκυληίαν ἐλεῖν ἐδύνατο, μήτε ἀποστὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην χωρῆσαι διὰ τε νηῶν καὶ ὀχημάτων ἀπορίαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ προκατεῖληπτο καὶ συνεκέκλειστο.

[5] The senate dispatched former consuls and picked men from all Italy to guard the beaches and harbors and prevent anyone from sailing. Their intent was to keep Maximinus in ignorance of what was happening at Rome; thus the main roads and all the bypaths were closely watched to prevent anyone's passing. The result was that the army which appeared to be maintaining the siege was itself under siege, for it was unable to capture Aquileia or leave the city and proceed to Rome; all the boats and wagons had been hidden, and no

vehicles of any kind were available to the soldiers.

[6] φῆμαι δὲ ἐξ ὑποψίας μείζους ἀληθείας διεδίδοντο, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅπλοις εἴη, Ἰταλία τε πᾶσα συμπεπνεύκοι, πάντα τε ἔθνη Ἰλλυρικὰ καὶ βάρβαρα τά τε ὑπ' ἀνατολαῖς καὶ μεσημβρίαῖς στρατὸν ἀγείρει, μιᾷ τε γνώμῃ καὶ ψυχῇ ὁμοίως Μαξιμίνοσιν μεμίσσηται. ὅθεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει ἦσαν καὶ πάντων σπάνει

[6] Exaggerated rumors were circulated, based only on suspicion, to the effect that the entire Roman people were under arms; that all Italy was united; that the provinces of Illyricum and the barbarian nations in the East and South had gathered an army; and that everywhere men were solidly united in hatred of Maximinus. The emperor's soldiers were in despair and in need of everything. There was scarcely even sufficient water for them.

[7] οἱ στρατιῶται, σχεδὸν καὶ ὕδατος αὐτοῦ. ὁ γὰρ ἦν μόνον ἐκ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ ποτόν, αἵματι καὶ φόνοις μεμιασμένον ἐπίνετο· οἱ τε γὰρ Ἀκυλῆσιοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τελευτῶντας οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅπως θάψωσιν, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερρίπτουν, οἱ τε ἐν τῷ στρατῷ φονευόμενοι ἢ διαφθειρόμενοι νόσῳ ἐδίδοντο τῷ ῥέματι, οὐκ ἔχόντων αὐτῶν τὰ πρὸς ταφὰς ἐπιτήδεια.

[7] The only source of water was the nearby river, which was fouled by blood and bodies. Lacking any means of burying those who died in the city, the Aquileians threw the bodies into the river; both those who fell in the fighting and those who died of disease were dropped into the stream, as the city had no facilities for burial.

[8] παντοδαπῆς οὖν ἀπορίας καὶ δυσθυμίας τὸν στρατὸν κατεχούσης, αἰφνιδίως ἀναπαυομένου τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ἀνέσει τοῦ πολέμου οὔσης, τῶν τε πλείστων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα τῆς φρουρᾶς χωρία ἀνακεχωρηκότων, ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει στρατόπεδον εἶχον ὑπὸ τὸ καλούμενον ὄρος Ἀλβανόν, ἔνθα παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καταλελοίπεσαν, φονεῦσαι τὸν Μαξιμῖνον, ὥς παύσαιντο μὲν χρονίου καὶ ἀπεράντου πολιορκίας, μηκέτι δὲ πορθοῖεν Ἰταλίαν ὑπὲρ τυράννου

[8] And so the completely confused army was in the depths of despair. Then one day, during a lull in the fighting, when most of the soldiers had gone to

their quarters or their stations, Maximinus was resting in his tent. Without warning, the soldiers whose camp was near Rome at the foot of Mount Alba, where they had left their wives and children, decided that the best solution was to kill Maximinus and end the interminable siege. They resolved no longer to ravage Italy for an emperor they now knew to be a despicable tyrant.

[9] κατεγνωσμένου καὶ μεμισημένου. τολμήσαντες οὖν ἐπίασι τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ περὶ μέσῃν ἡμέραν, συναραμένων δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν φρουρούντων δορυφόρων τὰς τε εἰκόνας ἐκ τῶν σημείων κατασπῶσι, καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ παιδὶ προελθόντα τῆς σκηνῆς, ὥς δὴ ἄρα διαλέξαιτο αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι ἀναιροῦσι. φονεύουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντας τε τοὺς ἐκείνῳ θυμῆρεις φίλους· ῥίψαντές τε τὰ σώματα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ πατεῖν εἴασαν κυσὶ τε καὶ ὄρνισι βοράν. τοῦ δὲ Μαξιμίνου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν.

τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει <ὁ> Μαξιμῖνος καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ

[9] Taking courage, therefore, the conspirators went to Maximinus' tent about noon. The imperial bodyguard, which was involved in the plot, ripped Maximinus' pictures from the standards; when he came out of his tent with his son to talk to them, they refused to listen and killed them both. They killed the army's commanding general also, and the emperor's close friends. Their bodies were handed over to those who wished to trample and mutilate them, after which the corpses were exposed to the birds and dogs. The heads of Maximinus and his son were sent to Rome. Such was the fate suffered by Maximinus and his son, who paid the penalty for their savage rule.

SECTION 6

[1] ἐχρήσαντο, δίκας πονηρᾶς ἀρχῆς ὑποσχόντες· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς πᾶς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ γενόμενα, ἔν τε ἀφασίᾳ ἦσαν καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι τῷ πραχθέντι πάντες ἠρέσκοντο, καὶ μάλιστά γε οἱ Παῖονες καὶ ὅσοι βάρβαροι Θρᾶκες, οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἐγκεχειρίκεσαν. πλὴν τοῦ ἔργου ἅπαξ γεγονότος ἄκοντες μὲν, ἔφερον δέ· ἀνάγκη τε ἦν

[1] WHEN the soldiers were informed of what had happened, they were to a man dumfounded, but by no means all the troops were pleased about the assassination. The Pannonians and the barbarians from Thrace were especially angered, for these were the men who had actually placed the empire in Maximinus' hands. Since the deed was accomplished, they tolerated it, but unwillingly; they had no choice but to be hypocritical and pretend to be pleased with all that had happened.

[2] συνήδεσθαι τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑποκρινομένους. καταθέμενοί τε τὰ ὅπλα ἐν εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι προσήεσαν τοῖς τείχεσι τοῖς Ἀκυλησίων, ἀγγέλλοντες τὸν φόνον τοῦ Μαξιμίνου· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἀνοίγειν ἠξίουں, δέχεσθαι τε φίλους τοὺς χθρὸς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀκυλησίων στρατηγοὶ τὰς μὲν πύλας ἀνοῖζαι οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν, προθέντες δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας Μαξίμου καὶ Βαλβίνου Γορδιανοῦ τε Καίσαρος στεφάνοις καὶ δάφναις κεκοσμημένας αὐτοὶ τε εὐφήμουν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠξίουں γνωρίσαι καὶ ἀνειπεῖν εὐφημῆσαι τε τοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ συγκλήτου

[2] Then, laying down their arms, the soldiers came to the walls of Aquileia, this time in peace, and reported the assassination of Maximinus, expecting the Aquileians to throw open the gates and welcome as friends yesterday's enemies. The Aquileian generals, however, did not allow the gates to be opened to them; bringing forward the statues of Maximus and Balbinus and Gordian Caesar, they cheered these rulers themselves and thought it appropriate that Maximinus' soldiers also acknowledge them and shout their approval of the emperors chosen by the senate and the Roman people.

[3] ἀναδειχθέντας αὐτοκράτορας. Γορδιανούς δὲ ἔλεγον ἐκείνους ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ θεὸν ἀνακεχωρηκέαι. προύθεσάν τε ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν ἀγοράν, ὧνιον παρέχοντες πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τροφῶν τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ ποτῶν ἀφθονίαν, ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἐδύνατο παρέχειν ἐς χρῆσιν

[3] They informed the soldiers that the other two Gordians had gone to join Jupiter in heaven. And now the Aquileians set up a market on the walls, offering for sale a huge quantity of goods of all kinds, including ample supplies of food, drink, clothing, and shoes — in short, everything that a prosperous and flourishing city could provide for human consumption.

[4] πόλις εὐδαιμονοῦσα καὶ ἀκμάζουσα. ὄθεν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξεπλάγη ὁ στρατός, συνεῖς ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πάντα αὐτάρκη ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον πολιορκοῖντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν σπάνει πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων θᾶττον ἄν' διεφθάρησαν ἢ εἶλον πάντα ἔχουσιν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ στρατός ἔμενε περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἔχων τὰ χρειώδη, ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐλάμβανον, ὅσα ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο· διελέγοντό τε ἀλλήλοις. καὶ ἦν εἰρήνης μὲν καὶ φιλίας διάθεσις, σχῆμα δὲ ἔτι πολιορκίας, τῶν τειχῶν κεκλεισμένων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ διαιτωμένου.

[4] At this the soldiers were even more amazed; they now realized that the Aquileians had enough of everything they needed even if the siege were prolonged, whereas they lacked all the necessities and would have perished to the last man before they captured a city so abundantly supplied. The army continued to remain in position around the city, while the soldiers purchased what they needed from the walls, each man buying as much as he chose. In the meantime, they discussed the situation among themselves. A state of peace and amity actually existed, even though the surrounded city appeared still under siege, with the army encamped on all sides.

[5] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀκυληίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς οἱ τὴν Μαξιμίνου κεφαλὴν κομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκυληίας μετὰ πάσης ἐπέιξεως ὠδοιπόρησάν τε, καὶ ἐπιφοιτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις <αἱ> πύλαι ἀνεῳγνυντο, καὶ δαφνηφοροῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ δῆμοι ὑπεδέχοντο. ὥς δὲ διέπλευσαν τὰς τε λίμνας καὶ τὰ τενάγη <τὰ> μετὰξὺ Ἀλτίνου καὶ Ῥαβέννης, περιέτυχον Μαξίμῳ αὐτοκράτορι διατρίβοντι ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ, ἔνθα τοὺς τε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας λογάδας

[5] This was the situation at Aquileia. The horsemen carrying the head of Maximinus to Rome made the journey at top speed; the gates of all the cities on their route were thrown open to receive them, and the people welcomed them with laurel branches. When they had crossed the marshes and shallows

between Altinum and Ravenna, they found the emperor Maximus in Ravenna levying picked men from Rome and Italy.

[6] ἤθροιζεν. ἀφῆκτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γερμανῶν οὐκ ὀλίγη συμμαχία, πεμφθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατ' εὐνοίαν ἣν εἶχον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν, ἐξ οὐπὲρ ἦν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἄρξας. παρασκευάζοντι οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν ὡς πολεμήσουσαν τῷ Μαξιμίνου στρατῷ προσίασιν οἱ ἱππεῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ τε Μαξιμίνου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς φέροντες, νίκην τε καὶ εὐπραγίαν ἀγγέλλοντες, ὅτι τε ἄρα ὁ στρατὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖ, καὶ σέβει αὐτοκράτορας οὓς ἡ

[6] The Germans sent to Maximus a large number of auxiliary troops; their good will toward the man was of long standing and resulted from his moderate governorship of their country. While he was preparing for war against Maximinus, the horsemen arrived with the heads of the emperor and his son and reported the victory. They informed Maximus that the army was in agreement with the Romans about the emperors and had sworn allegiance to the men elected by the senate.

[7] σύγκλητος ἐποίησε. τούτων δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀγγελθέντων θυσίαι τε βωμοῖς εὐθὺς προσήγοντο, καὶ νίκην ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες ἦν ἀκοντι ἐνίκησαν· ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος καλλιερήσας ἐκπέμπει τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγγελοῦντάς τε τὰ πραχθέντα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κομιοῦντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰσέπεσόν τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν δεικνύντες τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ πολέμιου ἀνεσκολοπισμένην, ὡς πᾶσι περίοπτος εἶη, οὐδ' εἶπεῖν ἔστι

[7] When these unexpected developments were announced, sacrifices were led to the altars, and all joined in celebrating a victory won without striking a blow. Finding the omens favorable, Maximus sent the horsemen on to Rome to report to the people what had happened and to display the heads of the two men. When the messengers arrived, they rushed into the city and raised on high the heads of their enemies impaled on a spear for all to see. No words can describe the rejoicing in the city on that day.

[8] λόγῳ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν ἑορτήν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡλικία τις ἦν ἢ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἠπείγετο, οὔτε τις ἔμενεν οἶκοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες ἐφέροντο συνηδόμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον συνθέοντες ὥσπερ ἐκκλησιάζοντες «ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ» χωρίῳ. ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκατόμβας ἔθυνεν, ἀρχαί τε πᾶσαι καὶ σύγκλητος, ἕκαστός τε ὥσπερ

ἀποσεισάμενος πέλεκυν τοῖς αὐχέσιν ἐπικείμενον ὑπερυφραίνοντο· ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκες δαφνηφόροι διεπέμποντο.

[8] Men of all ages rushed headlong to the altars and temples; no one remained at home, but, like men possessed, the people congratulated each other and poured into the Circus Maximus as if a public assembly were being held there. Balbinus sacrificed a hecatomb, and all the magistrates and the entire senate shouted with joy, each feeling that he had escaped an ax suspended over his head. Messengers and heralds with laurel branches were sent around to the provinces.

SECTION 7

[1] καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην [έορτῆς] εἶχεν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥαβέννης ἀπ'άρας ἐπέστη Ἀκυληία, διαβὰς τὰ τενάγη, ἃ ὑπὸ τε Ἑριδανοῦ ποταμοῦ πληρούμενα καὶ τῶν περικειμένων ἐλῶν ἐπὶ στόμασιν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκχεῖται· ἔνθεν καὶ τῇ ... φωνῇ καλοῦσιν οἱ

[1] THUS was holiday kept at Rome. Meanwhile, Maximus left Ravenna and proceeded to Aquileia, crossing on his way the shallows fed by the Eridanus River and the surrounding marshes; these shallows empty into the sea through seven outlets, and for this reason the natives call the marsh, in their own language, the “Seven Seas.”

[2] ἐπιχώριοι Ἐπὶ πελάγη τὴν λίμνην ἐκείνην. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ Ἀκυλήσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ὑπεδέχοντο, αἱ τε [ἀπὸ] Ἰταλίας πόλεις πρεσβείας ἔπεμπον τῶν πρωτεύόντων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν, οἱ λευχειμονοῦντες καὶ δαφνηφόροι θεῶν πατρίων ἕκαστοι προσεκόμιζον ἀγάλματα καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν στέφανοι χρυσοῦ ἐξ ἀναθημάτων, εὐφήμουν τε καὶ ἐφυλλοβόλουν τὸν Μάξιμον. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τὴν Ἀκυληίαν πολιορκήσας προῆι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι δαφνηφόρος, οὐκ ἐξ ἀληθοῦς μὲν διαθέσεως πᾶς, προσποιήτῳ δὲ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν

[2] The Aquileians immediately opened their gates and welcomed Maximus into the city. Now all the cities of Italy sent embassies to him of their most distinguished citizens, clad in white and carrying laurel branches. Each group brought the statues of its ancestral gods and the gold crowns among the votive offerings. These men cheered Maximus and scattered leaves in his path. The soldiers who were besieging Aquileia now came forward, carrying the laurel branches symbolic of peaceful intent, not because this represented their true feelings but because the presence of the emperor forced them to pretend respect and good will.

[3] ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῆς βασιλείας τύχην. οἱ πλεῖστοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡγανάκτουν καὶ λανθανόντως ἤλγουν <ὀρῶντες> τὸν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεχθέντα βασιλέα καθηρημένον, κρατοῦντας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ συγκλήτου ἡρημένους. ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος ἐν τῇ Ἀκυληίᾳ γενόμενος πρώτης μὲν καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ἱεουργίαις ἐσχόλαζε, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν συγκαλέσας ἐς τὸ πεδίον πάντα τὸν στρατόν, βήματός τε αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντος, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

[3] The truth is that most of the soldiers were secretly angered and grieved to see their chosen emperor killed and the emperors elected by the senate in full command. In Aquileia, Maximus attended to the sacrifices on the first and second days; on the third day, however, he summoned the entire army to the plain and from a platform erected for his use addressed them as follows:

[4] ὅσον μὲν ὑμᾶς ὦνησε μεταγνόντας τε καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονήσαντας, πείρα μεμαθήκατε, ἀντὶ πολέμου μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχοντες, πρὸς <δὲ> θεοὺς οὕς ὁμωμόκατε, [καὶ] νῦν φυλάσσοντες τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, ὃς ἐστὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς σεμνὸν μυστήριον. χρὴ δ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ διὰ παντὸς τούτων ἀπολαύειν, τὰ πιστὰ τηροῦντας Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ συγκλήτῳ καὶ αὐτοκράτορσιν ἡμῖν, οὕς ἐξ εὐγενείας καὶ πολλῶν πράξεων [καὶ] μακρὰς διαδοχῆς ὥσπερ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀναβάντας

[4] “How much it has profited you to change your minds and support the actions of the Romans you have learned from recent experience. Now you are at peace instead of at war. You are enjoying the protection of the gods by whom you swore. And you are keeping your soldier’s oath, that sacred rite of the Roman empire. All good things are yours to enjoy from this time on, for you have confirmed your pledges to the senate and the Roman people and to us, your emperors, chosen by the senate and the people for our nobility of birth, the many positions of authority we have held, and the long succession of offices which made it appear that we had risen to the throne by a regular cursus.

[5] κρίναντες ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπελέξαντο. οὐ γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἴδιον κτῆμα ἡ ἀρχή, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ἵδρυται τύχη· ἡμεῖς δὲ διοικεῖν καὶ διέπειν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς σὺν ὑμῖν ἐγκεχειρίσμεθα. ταῦτα δὲ μετ' εὐταξίας τε καὶ κόσμου τοῦ πρόποντος, αἰδοῦς τε καὶ τιμῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὑμῖν μὲν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πάντων ἀνενδεῇ παρέξει βίον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις εἰρήνην καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους πειθῶ. βιώσεσθαι τε ... καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις, οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ κακοπαθοῦντες.

[5] The empire is the personal property of no man. It is from of old the common possession of the people of Rome, the seat of your empire’s fortune. To us and to you have been entrusted the administration and management of

that empire. With good discipline and proper behavior, with respect and honor for those who command you, a prosperous life, full of every good thing, will be yours. For all other men in the provinces and the cities, peace will result, and obedience to their governors. You will be able to live as you like among your kinsmen; you will not suffer injury in some foreign land.

[6] ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα ἡσυχάζειν ἔθνη, διὰ φροντίδος ἡμεῖς ἔξομεν. δύο μὲν γὰρ ὄντων βασιλέων εὐμαρέστερον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διοικίσκεται καὶ εἴ τι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἐπείγοι, πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν αἰ τοῦ πρὸς τὰ καλοῦντα ῥαδίως παρόντος. μηδὲ τις ὑμῶν οἰέσθω τῶν πεπραγμένων εἶναι τινα μνήμην, εἴτε ὑφ' ἡμῶν (ἐκελεύεσθε γὰρ) εἴτε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, οἱ ἀδικούμενοι ἀπέστησαν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔστω πάντων ἀμνηστία, καὶ σπονδαὶ φιλίας βεβαίου, εὐνοίας τε καὶ εὐκοσμίας πίστις αἰώνιος.

[6] As to the matter of keeping the barbarian nations quiet, that will be our concern. As two emperors invested with equal power, we shall manage affairs at Rome jointly. Should any difficulty arise abroad, one of us can easily be present wherever and whenever the occasion demands. Let no one of you think that we shall remember what has occurred, either what you did (for you were simply obeying orders) or what the Romans and the other provincials did, for they rebelled because they were unjustly treated. But rather let us proclaim an amnesty for all offenses, and let there be pacts of lasting friendship and pledges of eternal good will and good conduct.”

[7] τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Μάξιμος, νομάς τε χρημάτων μεγαλοφρόνως αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγείλας, ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν διατρίψας ἐν τῇ Ἀκυληΐᾳ τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπάνοδον συγκροτεῖ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στρατιωτικὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἔξ τε τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα στρατόπεδα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν τε τοῖς δορυφόροις, οἱ τὴν βασιλείον φρουροῦσιν αὐλήν, σὺν τε τοῖς ὑπὸ Βαλβίνῳ στρατευομένοις.

[7] After this speech, Maximus promised the soldiers lavish gifts of money; then, remaining in Aquileia only a few days longer, he arranged to return to Rome. He sent the rest of the army to the provinces and to duty in their own local garrisons, while he went to Rome with the praetorians, the guards of the imperial palace, and the troops enrolled by Balbinus.

[8] ἐπανῆλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Γερμανίας ἐληλυθότες σύμμαχοι· ἐθάρσει γὰρ

αὐτῶν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἅτε καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπικεικῶς πρότερον ἄρξας, ὅτε ιδιώτευνεν. εἰσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὃ τε Βαλβῖνος ὑπὴντετο, ἐπαγόμενος Γορδιανὸν Καίσαρα, ἣ τε σύγκλητος καὶ ὁ δῆμος εὐφημοῦντες ὥσπερ θριαμβεύοντα ὑπεδέχοντο.

[8] The auxiliaries from Germany also accompanied him to Rome; he put great faith in their loyalty, relying on the fact that before he became emperor he had governed the province of Germany in moderate fashion. Balbinus came out to meet his co-emperor on the outskirts of Rome, bringing with him Gordian Caesar. The senate and the people welcomed Maximus with cheers, as if he were celebrating a triumph.

SECTION 8

[1] ἦρχον δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας τε καὶ εὐταξίας, ἰδία τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ πανταχοῦ εὐφημούμενοι· ἔχαιρέ τε ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς, σεμνυνόμενος εὐπατρίδαις καὶ ἀξίοις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοκράτορσιν. οἱ μέντοι στρατιῶται διοίδαινον τὰς ψυχάς, καὶ οὔτε ταῖς εὐφημίαις τοῦ δήμου ἠρέσκοντο, ἐβαροῦντό τε αὐτῶν αὐτὴν τὴν εὐγένειαν, καὶ ἡγανάκτουν ὅτι ἄρα ἔχοιεν ἐκ

[1] FOR the rest of the time the two emperors governed in an orderly and well-regulated manner, winning approval on every hand both privately and publicly. The people honored and respected them as patriotic and admirable rulers of the empire. The praetorians, however, were privately disgruntled, not at all pleased that the people had demonstrated their approval of the emperors. The noble birth of the two men was an affront to the praetorians, and they were indignant also because the emperors had received the imperial office from the senate.

[2] συγκλήτου βασιλέας. ἐλύπουν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ Γερμανοὶ παρόντες τῷ Μαξιμῷ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντες· ἀντιπάλους γὰρ ἔξειν ἡλπίζον, εἴ τι τολμῶεν, καὶ ἐφεδρεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπώπτευνον, εἴ τιτι δόλφ ἀποζωσθεῖεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἅτε παρόντες ῥαδίως ὑποκατασταῖεν· τό τε Σεβήρου ὑπόδειγμα, ὃς τοὺς Περτίνακα ἀποκτείναντας ἀπέζωσεν, εἰσήει αὐτούς.

[2] The praetorians feared that the German troops with Maximus in Rome would oppose them if they should instigate a revolt. They suspected that the Germans were lying in wait for them; if the praetorians were discharged from service by trickery, the Germans would be at hand to replace them as the imperial bodyguard. They recalled the example of Severus, who dismissed the praetorians who had killed Pertinax.

[3] ἐπιτελουμένου δὲ ἀγῶνος τοῦ τῶν Καπετωλίων, πάντων τε περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τὰς θεὰς ἀσχολουμένων, αἰφνιδίως ἦν εἶχον γνώμην λανθάνουσαν ἐξέφηναν, καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ μὴ κρατήσαντες, ὁρμῇ δὲ ἀλόγῳ χρησάμενοι, ἀνῆλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, τοῖς τε πρεσβύταις

[3] When the Capitoline Games were drawing to an end and all the people were occupied with festivals and shows, the praetorians suddenly brought

their hidden resentments into the open. Making no attempt to control their anger, they launched an unreasoning assault; rushing into the palace with one purpose, they approached the aged emperors.

[4] βασιλευσιν ἐπεισῆλθον. συνέβαινε δὲ κάκεινους μὴ πάνυ τι ἀλλήλοις ὁμονοεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷα περ μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ ἀκοινώνητον ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις «εἶωθε ποιεῖν,» ἕκαστος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν δύναμιν ἀνθεῖλκεν, ὁ μὲν Βαλβίνος κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ διπλὴν προάγουσαν ὑπατείαν πρωτεύειν ἀξιῶν, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος διὰ τε τὸ ἑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι καὶ ἔχειν ὑπολήψεις ἐμπειρίας πραγμάτων· ἐκατέρωθέν τε εὐγενεῖς καὶ εὐπατρίδαι καὶ γένους πλῆθος αὐταρκες ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν

[4] It so happened that the two men were not in complete accord: so great is the desire for sole rule and so contrary to the usual practice is it for the sovereignty to be shared that each undertook to secure the imperial power for himself alone. Balbinus considered himself the more worthy because of his noble birth and his two terms as consul; Maximus felt that he deserved first place because he had served as prefect of Rome and had won a good reputation by his administrative efforts. Both men were led to covet the sole rule because of their distinguished birth, aristocratic lineage, and the size of their families.

[5] μοναρχίας ἔπειθεν. ὅπερ αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα γέγονεν ἀπωλείας αἴτιον. ὥς γὰρ ἐτύθετο ὁ Μάξιμος ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ αὐτῶν τοὺς πραιτωριανοὺς καλουμένους, ἐβούλετο μεταπέμψασθαι τοὺς Γερμανοὺς συμμάχους, ὄντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, αὐτάρκεις ἐσομένους ἀντιστῆναι τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν. ὁ δὲ Βαλβίνος οἰόμενος δόλον τινὰ εἶναι καθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σόφισμα (ἤδει γὰρ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς τῷ Μαξίμῳ εὐνοοῦντας) ἐκώλυε, φάσκων οὐκ ἐς κωλύμην οὐδ' ἐς ἀντίστασιν αὐτοὺς τῶν πραιτωριανῶν ἀφίξεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ περιποιῆσαι τῷ Μαξίμῳ τὴν

[5] This rivalry was the basis of their downfall. When Maximus learned that the Praetorian Guard was coming to kill them, he wished to summon a sufficient number of the German auxiliaries who were in Rome to resist the conspirators. But Balbinus, thinking that this was a ruse intended to deceive him (he knew that the Germans were devoted to Maximus), refused to allow Maximus to issue the order, believing that the Germans were coming not to put down a praetorian uprising but to secure the empire for Maximus alone.

[6] μοναρχίαν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ τούτων διαφέρονται, εἰσδραμόντες οἱ στρατιῶται ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες, ἐκστάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ τὰς αὐλείους εἰσόδους φυλασσόντων, ἀρπάζουσι τοὺς πρεσβύτας, περιρρήξαντες δὲ ἅς εἶχον περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐσθῆτας λιτὰς ἅτ' οἴκοι διατρίβοντες, γυμνοὺς τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς ἐξέλκουσι μετὰ πάσης αἰσχύνης καὶ ὕβρεως· παίοντές τε καὶ ἀποσκώπτοντες τοὺς ἀπὸ συγκλήτου βασιλέας, γενεῖων τε καὶ ὀφρύων σπαραγμοῖς καὶ πάσαις τοῦ σώματος λώβαις ἐμπαροινοῦντες, διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆγον, οὐ θελήσαντες οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποκτεῖναι ἀλλὰ ζῶσιν ἐνυβρίσαι, ἵν' ἐπὶ πλεόν ὧν πάσχουσιν

[6] While the two men were arguing, the praetorians rushed in with a single purpose. When the guards at the palace gates deserted the emperors, the praetorians seized the old men and ripped off the plain robes they were wearing because they were at home. Dragging the two men naked from the palace, they inflicted every insult and indignity upon them. Jeering at these emperors elected by the senate, they beat and tortured them, pulling their beards and eyebrows and doing them every kind of physical outrage. They then brought the emperors through the middle of the city to the praetorian camp, unwilling to kill them in the palace; they preferred to torture them first, so that they might suffer longer.

[7] αἰσθοῖντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι οἱ Γερμανοί, λαβόντες ὅπλα, ἠπείγοντο ὡς ἀμυνοῦντες αὐτοῖς, μαθόντες οἱ πραιτωριανοὶ ἀφικνουμένους φονεύουσιν ἤδη πᾶν τὸ σῶμα λελωβημένους τοὺς βασιλέας. καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰ σώματα ἐρριμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς λεωφόρου, ἀράμενοι δὲ τὸν Γορδιανὸν Καίσαρα ὄντα, αὐτοκράτορά τε ἀναγορεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἄλλον οὐχ εὔρον, βοῶντές τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι ἄρα εἶησαν ἀπεκτονότες οὓς ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἄρξαι, Γορδιανόν τε ἐπελέξαντο ἐκείνου τε ἀπόγονον καὶ ὃν αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξεβιάσαντο, ἔχοντες αὐτὸν ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας ἡσύχαζον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ μαθόντες ἀνηρημένους τε καὶ ἐρριμμένους ὧν χάριν ἠπείγοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι πόλεμον μάταιον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν τεθνηκότων, ἐπανήλθον, ἐς τὸ ἐαυτῶν καταγώγιον.

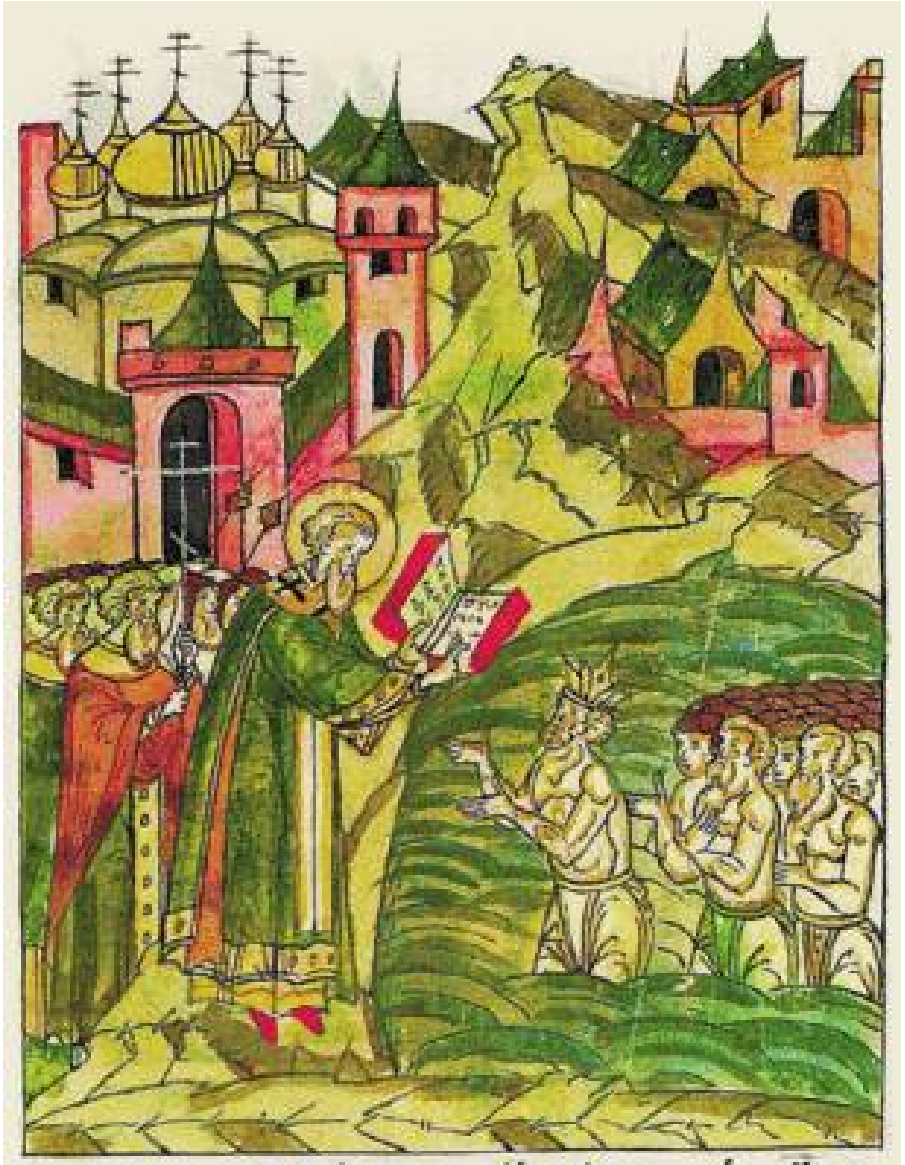
[7] When the Germans learned what was happening, they snatched up their arms and hastened to the rescue. As soon as the praetorians were informed of their approach, they killed the mutilated emperors. Leaving the corpses exposed in the street, the praetorians took up Gordian Caesar and proclaimed

him emperor, since at the moment they could find no other candidate for the office. Proclaiming that they had only killed the men whom the people did not want to rule them in the first place, they chose as emperor this Gordian who was descended from the Gordian whom the Romans themselves had forced to accept the rule. Keeping their emperor Gordian with them, they went off to the praetorian camp, where they shut the gates and remained quiet. Learning that the men they were hurrying to rescue had been killed and their bodies exposed, the Germans returned to their quarters, unwilling to fight fruitlessly for men already dead.

[8] τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ἐχρήσαντο ἀναξίῳ τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνοσίῳ σεμνοὶ καὶ λόγου ἄξιοι πρεσβῦται, εὐγενεῖς τε καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐληλυθότες· ὁ δὲ Γορδιανὸς περὶ ἔτη που γεγωνὸς τρισκαίδεκα αὐτοκράτωρ τε ἀνεδείχθη καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνεδέξατο.

[8] Such was the undeserved and impious fate suffered by these two respected and distinguished elder statesmen, nobly born men deservedly elevated to the imperial throne. Gordian, at the age of about thirteen, was designated emperor and assumed the burden of the Roman empire.

The Biography



Photius baptising the king of Bulgaria and the Bulgarians, sixteenth century manuscript — the first person to review Herodian is the ninth century patriarch of Constantinople, Photius.

Introduction to Herodian by Edward C. Echols



THE Roman historians inherited from the Greeks a long and distinguished historical tradition. It was Hecataeus of Miletus who, in the fifth century B.C., first turned rational attention to the skeletal contemporary sources of history — the traditional myths, uncritically accepted, and the local annalistic records, uncritically evaluated. By the beginning of the Hellenistic period, Greek historiography included every form of historical writing: the discursive, rambling accounts deriving from Herodotus; the objective, scientific, and highly literate histories in the manner of Thucydides; partisan histories designed as propaganda; and historical biographies. Men of action described their personal exploits, and histories written to entertain or shock foreshadowed historical fiction. By the end of the fourth century B.C., history was a legitimate and accepted field of literary inquiry.

The Greek writers of the third century B.C., however, failed to find at home a subject worthy of their talents. The growing importance of Rome tended to counteract the decline of Greek influence, and Timaeus of Sicily, in the third century, wrote at some length of his neighbor in Italy. For the next several centuries, great events tended to produce great historians, and virtually every phase of Rome's history was carefully studied and competently published.

The early Roman historians were Greeks. The intent of these writers was to interpret for the Greek-reading world the phenomenon of Rome's rise to a position of dominance in the Mediterranean world. Greatest of these pioneer Graeco-Roman historians was the soldier-statesman-author Polybius (*ca.* 203-*ca.* 120 B.C.), who wrote a *Universal History* covering events from 220 to 144 B.C. He describes in admirable detail, and with an equally admirable grasp of the issues involved, Rome's familiar external wars during this important formative period. A pragmatic historian, describing contemporary times, Polybius was a competent analyst and interpreter.

These pragmatic histories, describing in detail short periods of time, were soon replaced at Rome by the annalistic reconstruction of Rome's early history; the formulation of an annalistic tradition was necessitated by the

growth of nationalism resulting from Rome's increasing importance in the Mediterranean world. Once the native Roman historiography was firmly established, it soon embraced all the extant historico-literary forms; by the Augustan Age, Latin historians were writing antiquarian history, contemporary history, military history, "literary" history, and the historical biography.

The Graeco-Roman historians continued to write after the field was dominated by the Latin historians. Before the last century of the Republic, the great Stoic philosopher-historian, Posidonius of Apamea, wrote a continuation of Polybius' *Universal History* covering the period from 144 B.C. to the dictatorship of Sulla. Posidonius, who had visited Rome and had been the teacher of many distinguished Romans at Rhodes, profoundly affected the literary careers of such Roman historians as Livy, Sallust, Julius Caesar, Tacitus, and Plutarch. Indeed, Posidonius has been credited with paving the way for the glory of the Augustan Age by awaking Rome's historians to a realization of her past and future greatness.

The Greek writers of Roman history were still active in the early empire. Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote a rhetorical account of Rome's origins, and Flavius Josephus produced in Greek an all-inclusive history of the Jews, as well as an eyewitness account of the Flavian conquest of Palestine in AD 68-70.

The growing importance of the individual in the empire raised historical biography to a position of major importance. In the first century B.C., Cornelius Nepos wrote his *De Viris Illustribus*, a series of comparative biographies of Greeks and Romans. Plutarch (*ca.* A.D. 46-*post* 120) continued this literary form in a lengthy series of biographies comparing ancient and contemporary figures. Balancing these "antiquarian" biographies are the imperial biographies of Suetonius (A.D. 69-*ca.* 140), in which he described the empire in terms of its chief personalities, beginning with Julius Caesar.

Paralleling the increasing emphasis upon the place of the individual in history was the trend toward epitomes, eclectic and excerpted accounts concerned with long periods of time. Among the most successful of the annalistic epitomizers was the Bithynian, Dio Cassius, who, in the third century of the Christian era, wrote in Greek his history of Rome from 753 BC to AD 229. Dio's history is the major source of information for much of the

post-Flavian period, when Rome's historical *felicitas* at last began to fail. The late historical summarizers, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Festus, Zosimus, and others, treat this period briefly in their epitomes.

The imperial biographers of the *Historia Augusta*, which seems to date from the late fourth century, provide information about the emperors from Hadrian through Numerianus in 284.

The third original source for the history of this period of the Roman empire is the *Ab Excessu Divi Marci* by Herodian of Syria, who wrote in Greek an account of the Roman empire from the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 to the accession of Gordian III in 238. Dio and Herodian provide the only extant contemporary histories of this important period of the empire.

Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes.

Juvenal *Sat.* III 62

When Juvenal was moved to this peevish observation in the second century of the Christian era, the influx of Syria and Syrians into Rome was a recognized and often-deplored fact. Not all second-century Syrians in Rome, however, could be identified with Juvenal's light entertainers. In the field of history, Posidonius of Apamea made an important contribution in the first century BC. In the field of government, the Syrian phase began about 186, when the commander of a legion in Syria married the daughter of a priest of Elagabalus in Emesa. When Septimius Severus became emperor in 193, Rome had a Syrian empress, Julia Domna. When Caracalla became emperor in 211, Rome had a half-Syrian emperor; when Elagabalus became emperor in 218, Rome had a Syrian emperor.

The key figure in Rome's Syrian dynasty was Julia Domna. A shrewd, highly capable woman, she had assumed imperial responsibility with her husband. When Caracalla became sole emperor, Julia was put in charge of imperial correspondence and state records. She soon gathered about her the most distinguished literary men of the day, many of whom held important political posts: the jurists Papinian and Ulpian, the biographer Diogenes Laertius, the sophist Philostratus, the historian Dio Cassius.

After Julia's death, she was replaced at court by her younger sister, Julia Maesa. Rich and wily, Maesa plotted the overthrow of Macrinus and placed upon the throne her grandson Elagabalus, the first Syrian emperor of Rome.

The Syrian domination was continued by the thirteen-year reign of Alexander Severus, with whom the dynasty came to an end in 235.

Thus, throughout most of the sixty-year period covered by Herodian's history, Rome was under some degree of Syrian domination. Herodian states that he had a career in the imperial civil service (1.2.5) which enabled him to write much of his history from personal experience and observation. Since his book ends with the year 238, it is hardly likely that he began his career before the accession of Septimius Severus. Marcus Aurelius had no reason to favor Syria, which had supported the unsuccessful pretender Avidius Cassius in 175. Commodus also seems to have taken relatively little interest in the country. But with the accession of Severus and Julia Domna, the time was favorable for an influx of Syrians into the civil service. Severus did not trust the native Romans, since he dismissed the Praetorian Guard and replaced it by veterans from his legions. The Syrian (?) Papinianus served as praetorian prefect under Severus. The imperial bias after 193 was definitely Eastern, and the literary language of the contemporary literary figures was Greek.

Herodian belonged to the educated class in a country where Aramaic was still the spoken language. An educated Syrian would obviously be of value in the records division of the imperial civil service. It may be suggested that Herodian, a trilingual Syrian (Latin sources were employed for the first four books of his history), joined the civil service after the defeat of Niger by Severus.

Herodian's early association with the Syrian dynasty at Rome would account for the amazing "Romanness" of his outlook. Herodian is so thoroughly patriotic and so Romanized that he can speak of his fellow non-Romans as barbarians, and can offer an analysis of his fellow Syrians that is thoroughly unflattering.

Assuming that he began his imperial service with Septimius Severus and ended it under Alexander or soon thereafter, Herodian may have been a member of Julia Domna's Eastern-oriented literary coterie. He read Dio Cassius; he used his sources; it is entirely possible that he knew Dio Cassius. In view of Dio's advanced age in 229, Herodian probably survived his greater contemporary.

Dio had already produced the definitive "world" history of his age. If Herodian, after his long career in letters, had any serious historical intent, an

epitome was obviously out of the question. I hazard the guess that the *Ab Excessu Divi Marci* is a true “memoir,” but that Herodian had played so minor a role in the period he undertakes to describe from personal observation and experience that he was forced to supplement his limited knowledge by reference to the standard sources. His work therefore does not compete with that of Dio Cassius; instead, he offers a moralizing account of the downward spiral of the empire. We must credit Herodian with enough sense of history to recognize that the death of Marcus Aurelius signified the end of an era. Herodian’s chief concern is with the corruption that accompanied the decline in Rome’s world position. That he was not a professional historian is apparent. That he was literate, concerned with the recording of history, aware of the long tradition of Greek historiography but at the same time very much a product of his own age, is equally apparent. He is a rhetorician, pompous, repetitive, and derivative. His fabricated speeches in the Thucydidean mode, which were intended to enliven the narrative, generally have the opposite effect. His insight into causes and motivation is superficial and unconvincing; he obviously lacked the personal experience and broad background that are needed for passing judgment on men and events. Perhaps Polybius is right: only the man of action can write history. Herodian’s biographical approach to this period of imperial history is not too successful; his men on all levels are given a curious sameness of character that reminds us of Cornelius Nepos; with Nepos, the career of one Greek general is very much like that of any other Greek general.

Herodian has been criticized for his many sins of omission, among them his failure to note Caracalla’s extension of citizenship throughout the empire. We can only suggest that this action of the emperor’s was not nearly so impressive at the time as it now seems. Herodian’s geography is vague and must be cited with extreme care. His indefinite and inexact data suggest again the narrow limits of his personal knowledge. His decision to ignore the sexual experiments of many of the emperors is odd in the extreme. These clinical observations were basic features of imperial biography beginning with Suetonius, and the general historians, including Dio Cassius, did not overlook them. Herodian was doubtless a sincere moralizer; a Syrian, he would be reluctant to reveal the more spectacular activities of the Syrian emperors.

As a historian, then, Herodian is an amateur; as a stylist he is typical third-

century baroque. If he is no Polybius, no Livy, no Tacitus, it is only fair to point out that neither is any other third-century Roman historian. Herodian is a product of his age, and his work is an interesting and valuable specimen of later classical historiography from a period in which original sources are scarce.

The manuscript tradition is discussed in the preface of the Teubner edition (1883) by K. Mendelssohn, and summarized in the Teubner edition (1922) by K. Stavenhagen. They conclude that there are five codices, one from the eleventh century and four from the fifteenth century. A sixth codex, used by Aldus for the *editio princeps* in 1503, has been lost. Three of these fifteenth-century codices derive from one source; the other three, including the lost codex of Aldus, are from a second source. These two sources derive in turn from a single source which goes back to the archetype. This archetype is also the source of the excerpts quoted by the seventh-century John of Antioch; these excerpts are outside the surviving manuscripts. I have seen none of these codices.

During the Renaissance, Herodian was studied with interest. At the request of Pope Innocent VIII, the Italian humanist Politian prepared, in 1487, and published both at Bologna and Rome, in 1493, so excellent a Latin version of Herodian that it was believed by many to be an original history in Latin. This translation was reprinted with the Greek text many times in the next two centuries.

The first translation into English, prepared from the Latin of Politian by Nicholas Smyth, was published in London perhaps in 1550. Another English translation, by J. Maxwell, appeared in London in 1629 and 1635. G. B. Stapylton produced a metrical version in English in 1652. The last translation into English is apparently that of J. Hart, London, 1749. The first translation into French seems to have been that of Jean Collin in 1541; Leon Halevy was responsible for the second French version of Herodian in 1824, republished in 1860. Adolph Stahr did a German translation in 1858.

Present-day scholarship has been concerned chiefly with Herodian's contributions to a knowledge of individual emperors. The most recent extensive work is the Princeton dissertation of Reynold Burrows, which considers Herodian and Septimius Severus. Twentieth-century classical and historical scholarship has neglected Herodian. This neglect reflects the general

indifference of scholars to the period of the late Roman empire. Only a revival of interest in this significant era will lead to an adequate reappraisal of Herodian as a basic source for the eventful and important years treated in his history.

I have based my translation directly upon the Greek text edited by K. Stavenhagen for the Teubner Series (Leipzig, 1922), supplemented by the Latin version of Politian in the edition of 1532, and I had access also to the translations of Hart, Halevy, and Stahr. A variant of the old dictum frequently applies: "Four translators, four versions." I have elected to avoid a slavish adherence to the Greek idiom and style, and have essayed a version for readers without Greek. For readers of Greek I sincerely recommend the Stavenhagen text in the Teubner Series.

For place names I have chosen to employ the Latin versions: for example, Perennis for Perennius. On occasion I have substituted familiar modern place names for the classical forms: for example, Danube for Ister. The names by which the emperors are generally known have sometimes been substituted for those used by Herodian: for example, Elagabalus for Antoninus.

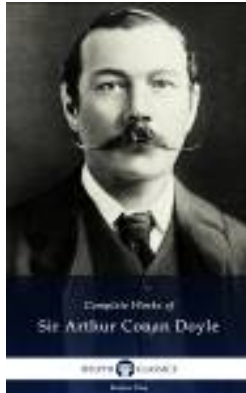
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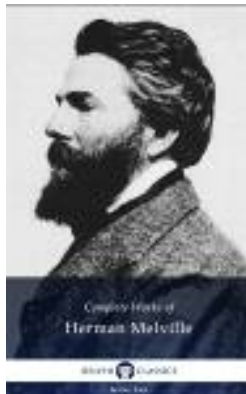
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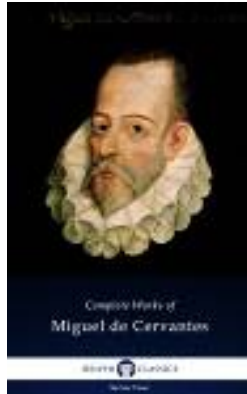
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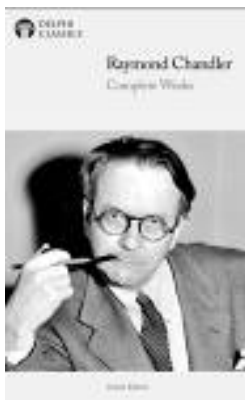
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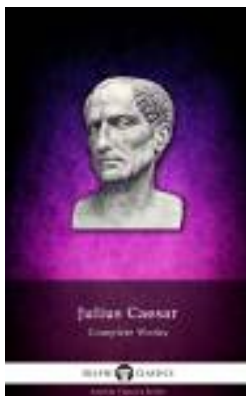
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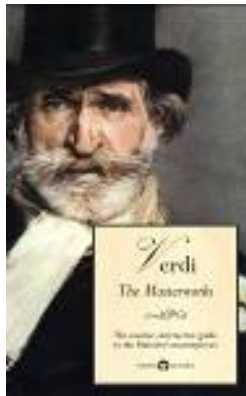
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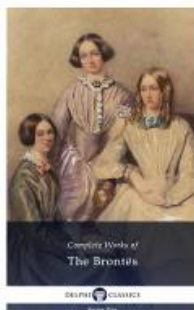
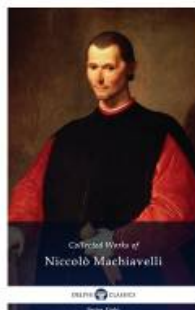
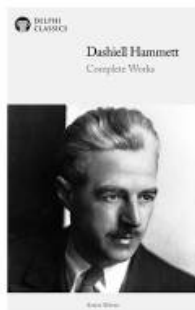
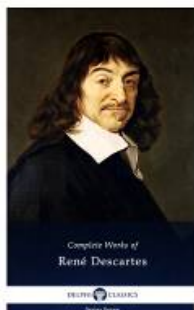
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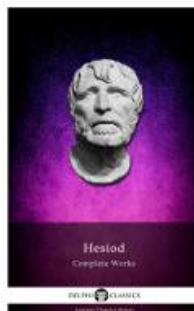
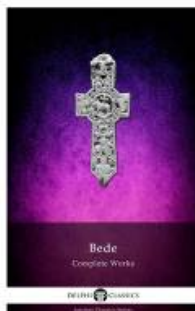
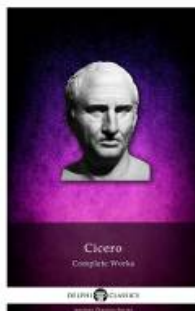
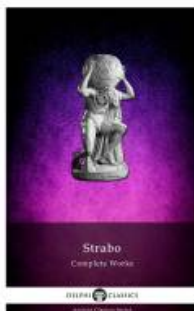
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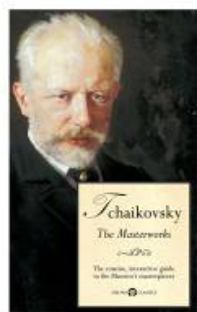
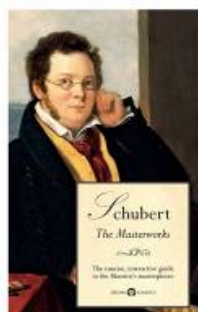
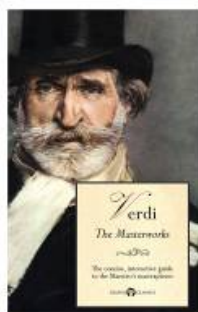
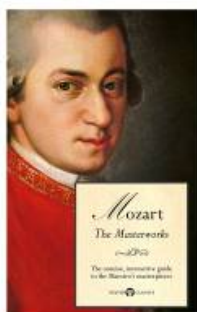
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